

DARCIES
ANNALS OF
QUEEN
ELIZABETH

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1625



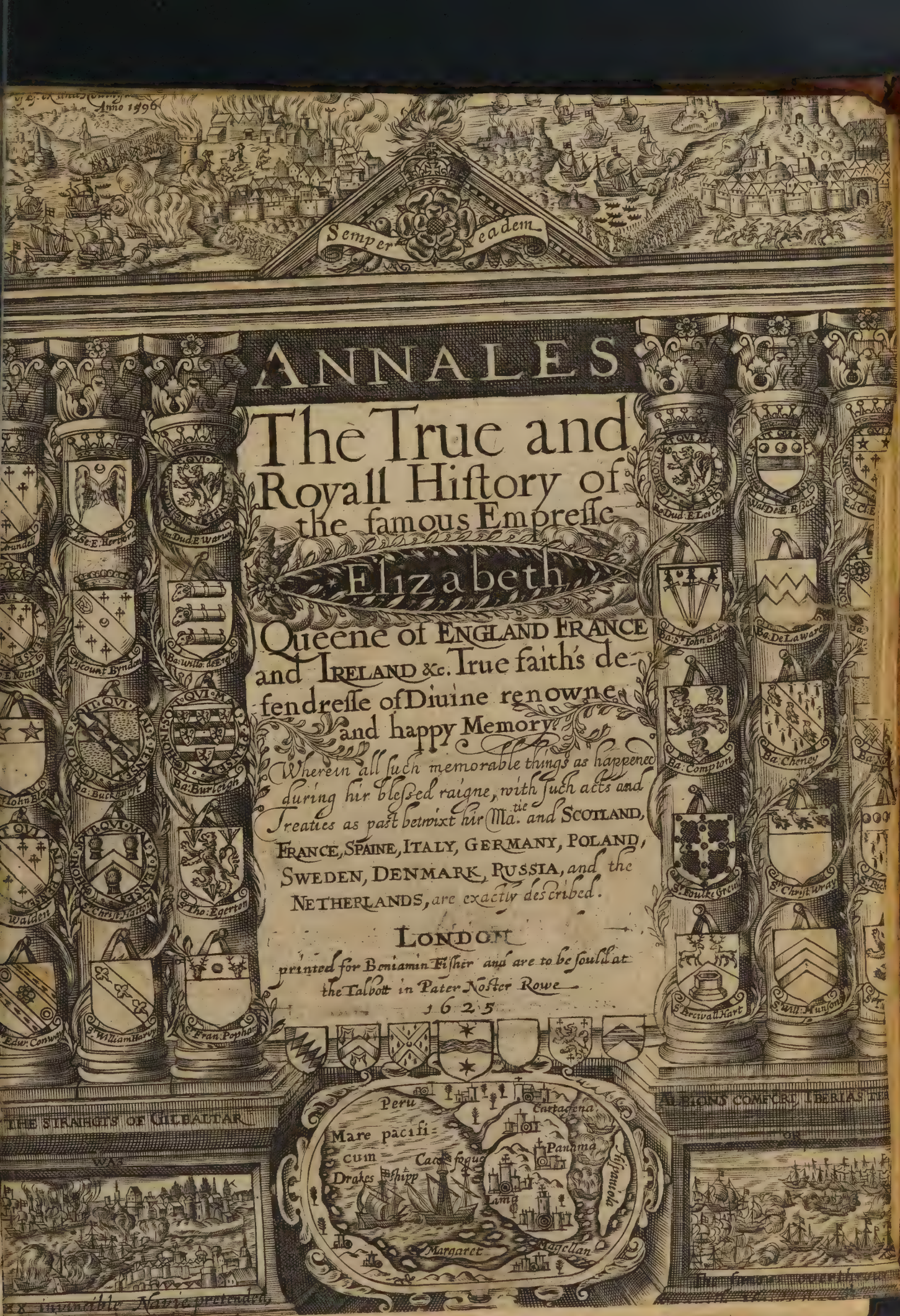


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[Camden, William]


Anno 1596
Semper eadem
ANNALES
The True and
Royall Hiſtory of
the famous Empreſſe
Elizabeth
Queene of ENGLAND FRANCE
and IRELAND &c. True faith's de-
fendreſſe of Diuine renowne
and happy Memory.
Wherein all ſuch memorable things as happened
during hir bleſſed raigne, with ſuch acts and
Treaties as paſt betwixt hir Ma.tie and SCOTLAND,
FRANCE, SPAINE, ITALY, GERMANY, POLAND,
SWEDEN, DENMARK, RUSSIA, and the
NETHERLANDS, are exactly deſcribed.
LONDON
printed for Beniamin Fiſher and are to be ſould at
the Talbott in Pater Noſter Rowe
1625
Peru
Cartagena
Mare pacifi-
cum
Panama
Drakes
Hiſpaniola
Lima
Margaret
Magellan
THE STRAIGHTS OF GIBALTAR
AL BIONS COMFORT IBERIAS TER
xx invincible Navie pretended



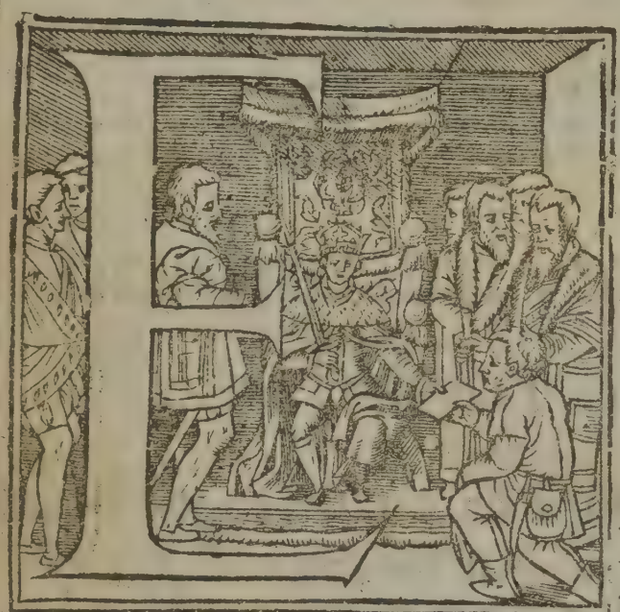
The explication of this Bookes FRONTISPICE.

e Pillers deckt with Armes, Palms, Laurell bowes,
porting the Rare PHOENIX, to you shows
e Nobles, on whose loyall prudent brest,
e Phœnix-Queene, ELIZAS peace did rest:
Wisedome's pillars did vphold her Crowne,
nnes, on which rested her renowne.
ble valour did support this land;
er proud insulting foes withstand:
exploits it pleas'd her Maiesty
e Knights of dreadlesse chiualry;
so only did to Knighthood rayse,
kingdome made them props and stayes.
whose merits added to their worth
Glory, Honour to their birth.
hose true worthy acts she most delighted,
with the Order of the Garter, knighted.
she restor'd in their Ancestors place,
viscount Bindon, one of Noble Race:
arles, some Barons, all she did restore,
create as they had won before:
ee summon'd, by her wisedome's choyce,
ament, as Peeres to have there voyce:
udence, and whose valors (vnder God)
nglands peace, to Spaine a heauy rod.
red townes, which on each side are plac't,
rize how Spaine was once disgrac't:
at braue Essex, England's Generall,
ttingham, that famous Admirall,
itie Cadiz did with force surprise
e their countrey with their victories.
umberland, whose fame no Age can blot,
ortarico with his Thundring shot
panish towne; yet his victorious force
e resisting, pardn'd with remorse
Those that with bended knees did him entreat
He would not them nor theirs of life defeat. (shov
Now vnderneath DRAKES famous ship is (blo
(Whose bright renown swift Honors trump ha
How he therein did circuit earth's whole fram
And in his voyage added to his fame.
The glory of a prize won through his paine,
The CACAFOGVE, Royall Ship of Spaine.
At the two corners, two great Spanish Fleets
Your gazing eyes with admiration greets.
One is consum'd by vnquench't flames of fire,
The other is ore'whelm'd through NEPTVNES
Which moralizeth, our good God doth bend
His wrath, gainst those that Albions ill inten
Which wrath did fall most mercilesse on Spain
And euer will to their disgrace remaine.
One thousand (doth) fiue hundred eighty seuen
Their ambitions with infamy, make euen.
The Port of Gilbaltars straights, sure can tell,
How that a Spanish Fleet (by DRAKE) there
The very seas will witnesse, that with foure
Of royall Ships, he burnt two hundred more.
If you enquire, from whence those Royals came;
From Englands shore, Spaines fury for to tame.
To end, the Fleet of Eighty-eight doth show,
England was ayded in that ouerthrow
Giuen to Spaine, by God, whose potent hand
Preseru'd ELIZAS glory, and her land.
Gainst those that owe true Religion spight,
Both seas and earth, for Albions cause will fight
Not to the seas let's bend, but to that power
Which must preserue vs, at the dreadfull houre.
And as 'tis meet, so let vs prostrate fall
Vnto our Hope, our Ayde, our Generall.

TO THE MOST
August, most Sacred, and most excellent Maiesty of
IAMES THE FIRST,
Emperour of Great Britanne, king of France, Ireland and Virginia, defendor of the Faith.

The Translator of these ANNALLS wisheth to His Imperiall Maiestie, blessednesse, perpetuall health, with all happinesse, prosperitie, and felicitie, in both worlds.

THE FRENCH Epistle dedicatory to His *Sacred Majesty of Great Britanne.*



EXcellent monarch; heere is the first-borne of a Labour, as vnhoped for as the occasion is extraordinarie, which prostrates it selfe, with all humilitie, at the feete of your Maiestie, to doe you an Homage of his Birth, and in paying vnto you his first duetie, craues leaue to wander the World, and visit his friends.

In these vnhappy times, which lately made *France* (my countrey) the sad obiect of pitie, and the mournfull subiect of good

good peoples ſorrowes; on a day, ſitting vpon the ſhores of *Babylons* gulph, aſpecting with watry eyes the deplorable eſtate of Chriſts true Church, which in the throng of theſe miſeries was ſore wounded with iniuries, appearing as if ſhee had attained the decrepit age of a dying life, which breath's forth her laſt gaſpe: And as I expreſſed by my teares the dolor of her afflictions, and by my ſighes the deſires of her deliuerance, my eyes imitating in their glances the wiſhes of my ſoule, ſought for the place where the great god *Pan* vſed to feed and keepe his flockes at noone day: I diſcouered a far off, ſome ſparkes of the Sunne of Iuſtice, which in this happy country of *Goſhen* ſhines perpetually, whileſt an eternal night couers *Egypt* with the gloomie clouds of darkeneſſe. Thither ſuddenly I directed my Vowes; which God proſpered ſo happily by his prouidence, that (after many dangers, tedious and toylſome iournies) I at length arriued here, where I found

A PEACEABLE KING, in whom is brightly diſcerned an harmonious vnity of all chriſtian & roial vertues, the Empire of that great Empreſs of vertue, *Piety*, from whence all others deriue, & the admirable Oeconomy of Charity, conducted with Prudence, educated by Experience, and that experience drawn from diuers examples of precedent ages, & proofs of this preſent; which produceth in him all kindes of actions both iuſt and neceſſary, by which he freely giueth himſelfe to the *Church* and *Common-wealth* for pledge and caution of their peace and proſperity.

AN HAPPY NATION (which vnder the fauourable Scepter of ſuch a Prince, in whom the ſacred fountaine of the moſt exquiſite graces of heauen, abounding with all ſorts of

prosperity, hath aboue others the honour to settle the Church of Christ, and with her, Piety and Iustice her constant followers) whom the benigne aspect of heauen causeth to flourish with ioy and perfect peace, whilest a crueil Warre spoiles and ransackes both neighbouring countries and remoter parts, with vnheard-of torments and excessiue sorrowes.

God, who calls himselfe the Prince of Peace, stiles himselfe also the King of Warre; to shew, that he rules all worldly affaires with his incomprehensible eye of prouidence, as well as with his inuincible hands of all-powerfulnesse. But, to make plaine to all mens vnderstandings how farre God is against Warres, Strifes, and Contentions; and on the contrary, how much he loues Peace and Vnitie, it is said, Blessed be the Peaceable, because they shall be thereby knowne to be the elect of Christ, and heyres of heauen.

Your Maiesty (great Monarch) on whose head God (as his Lieutenant here on earth) hath placed three Crownes; beares both the warlike Sword of *Mars*, and the peaceable Oliue branch of *Minerua*, as did that *Pallas*, whom the Athenians took for their titulary goddesse, because she presided in peace as well as in warre. But what is the expedition of Warre, to the subduing vnder his lawes, by the sweetnesse of Peace, the passions of men? to bring them to reason, and to settle them in a firme and assured rest? what to vanquish by force a people, to the conquering of whole nations hearts by loue? to lose them, in stead of gayning them? The multitude, wondring at the Sonne of God, who calm'd the greatest tempest, cryed out, What is he whom both Seas and Windes do obey? Euen so (happy King) when I saw at my landing so many exquisite effects of your rare wisedome, the peace & happinesse

of

of your subiects, with the tranquillitie & blessednesse of your diuine soule; I could not but likewise exclaime, *Ah! what is this* IVST MASTER, *and prudent King, whose admirable Spirit workes so many wonders!*

God gouernes, from the highest place of heauen, the earth; and from the lowest place of it, the heauens: because his prouidence and almighty power, being infinite, fills all places, yet vnlimited. For though by his omni-presence hee be euery where, yet he is included no where.

Your Maiestie, who by the excellent and harmonious order of your wise dispensation, doe rule with a melodious & delightfull harmonie, with One of your Kingdome, all the Three; & from the farthest place of Great Brittanne, all Great Brittanne; presiding by your power in all places, disposing by your wisedome all things neere and farre, and perfecting them by your iustice: you cause all the dependences of your essence to be found in all places, and all things to be but one and the same thing, & each thing to be as all things. And euen as to the humane body, that excellent part of the brain, which the Anatomists call the admirable lines or traces, by their serpentine courses and turnings, exquisitely folded and vnited together, whose number is no lesse infinite than the workmanship thereof most rare; doth so excellently refine the vital spirits, that they are sent thither from the heart, which makes them moueable, and serue as instruments of Conception, of Iudgement, and Memory: Your Maiestie doth in like maner receiue in your Spirit, which is the most admirable and exquisite peece of that great imperiall body, of which your Maiestie is the head, the aduises and counsailes, the requests and demonstrances, which from the heart of your estate, as the

vitall spirits of it, are sent to you, for to passe them thorow (that labyrinth of Rarity) your iudgement, where you refine them so with the diuers considerations of your prudency, that they proue necessary instruments of peace, the tranquillitie and prosperitie of all your subiects.

The entrance or beginning of a raigne is most commonly thornie and difficult, yea dangerous and painefull; not onely full of cares, but also tedious and troublesome: so that it had beene better for some kings to haue neuer raigned, or else to haue ended their dayes at their beginning. This moued the Philosopher *Solon* to sing these verses to *Mydas* king of Phrygia, at the entrance of his Cities:

Le puissant Dieu de tout Souuerain Maistre
Ne sçauroit mieux les hommes secourir,
Qu'entre mortels ne les laisser point naistre,
Ou estans nez, les faire tost mourir.

But your Maiestie (great King) who by the speciall grace of God, and the prudence wherewith he hath endued you, farre aboue all other Princes, haue found the entrance of your raign spacious, delightfull and secure: and being grounded vpon the protection, enuironed with the blessings, & conducted by the prouidence of that Soueraigne dispenser of Scepters and Crownes; you haue hitherto raigned, to the admiration of all the world, PVISSANT AND MAGNIFICENT, RICH AND CONTENT, HAPPY AND GLORIOVS; and in all, perfect and accomplisht.

PVISSANT AND MAGNIFICENT indeede, sith that (with full power and authoritie you raigne ouer so many puissant

ſſant Nations, which God hath ſubiected to your Maieſtie, /nder the homage and duety which you daily pay vnto him, is to the onely ſoueraigne King of kings.

RICH AND CONTENT, in poſſeſsing them peaceably, /ithout oppoſition; extracting pleaſure of all that can be con- ributed for the glory of God, which you ſeeke for your owne contentment.

HAPPY AND GLORIOVS alſo, ſith that (by thoſe teſti- monies of loue which God giues you, and the thankeſgiuing which your Maieſty yeeldeth him) you haue vpon all occaſi- ons free acceſſe to his incomprehenſible Maieſty, a familiar entertainment with his infinite goodneſſe; Heauen being al- wayes open to your contemplations, and whatſoeuer your Maieſty can thinke moſt exquiſite, rare on earth, fauourable to your wiſhes, is all bent for your felicitie. Oh how happy is your ſacred Maieſtie! what mortall can apprehend it? how glorious! and who is he that can expreſſe it?

But behold, this is the chief point, ouer which my conſide- rations cannot paſs without ſtaying; & yet reſt they neuer ſo little, they enter as it were into a labyrinth for a while. Gods graces and bleſsings fall moſt commonly into vngratefull hands, who diſpence thereof the more niggardly, by how much they receiue them aboundantly: and the moſt part of men erre ſo farre, that in ſtead of worſhipping in them the ſoueraigne power and prouidence of God, they ſtriue to ex- cell him; nay, it lies meerly in their owne vnpowerfulneſſe, that they doe not ouerthrow his incomprehenſible Empire and Throne of glory. By meanes whereof, it falls out that it oftimes chances to them, as to thoſe ſubalternal Deities, who for putting themſelues in *Iupiters* bedde, were by a boyſterous

winde

winde, ſuddenly metamorphoſed into ſtrange ſhapes.

But your Highneſſe (mighty king) makes vſe of it, as fire of the perfume; you returne thoſe bleſsings to heauen againe through your praiſes and thanksgiuing: you diſperſe them about you by your royall liberality; for whoſoeuer hath the honour to approach neere your Diuinity, is enlightned with the beames of your diuine vertues. And as *Salomon* did build and (with the ſtones of mountaines, and Cedars of Libanus) erect Altars to God: ſo you make therof inſtruments, and materialls to prop the houſe of God.

Soueraigne authority vpon the people, meetes oftentimes with violent hearts, which makes him not vnlike the daily motion of the Sunne; ſo ſwift, that it is terrible; and ſo terrible, that it would conſume away if it ſhould laſt long: but your Maieſty knowes well how to temper your Authoritie by your Iuſtice, & likewiſe your will by your prudence; inſomuch that this firſt courſe is moderated by the ſecond, which is yearely, and runneth from Weſt to Eaſt by the oblique Zodiaque circle: by this ſweet, temperate and moderate courſe you order the ſeaſons in your Monarchy: you cauſe a delightſome Spring, that produceth diuerſity of flowers in aboundance; a rich and pleaſant Summer, which yeelds all kinde of fruites plentifully, by which you reward paines and labours, you reflect the deſires, you content the hopes of euery one, according to your wiſe diſpenſation. And as God is not contented meerely to bring forth his actions in the higheſt heauen; but by his Spirits adminiſtration, deſcends from that palace of glory, to the loweſt deep, runing & flying thorow all quarters of this Hemiſphere, to diſpoſe all things by his almighty powerfulneſſe: Your Highneſſe (prudent King) imi-

tating

tating the proceedings of that incomprehensible Monarch of Heauen and earth, which alone is a patterne to your soueraigne Maiesty, do not anchor your actions in that Imperiall Hauen of your glory, the kingdome of England, which, gouerned by the Soueraign authority of your Highnesse, as her *primum mobile*, carries those to others which are ioined to him, by the bands of one only power, Scotland and Ireland: but also the fame of your rare vertues spreads all ouer beyond the seas, your admirable prudency, & your immortal pen, the fruit of your deep learning, at which nations being amazed, admire with reuerence, so rare and accomplisht a Maiesty.

But what East wind driues my sails into so wide an Ocean, carrying away my endeuours farre beyond the reach of my power? Stay, my thoughts; whither runne yee? Rest contented. My curiositie, what seekest thou? Silence, my tongue; what dost thou say? Oh! would my skill, which is so small, dare to aspire to so high a taske, so weake and rashly to think to penetrate thorow so bright a sunne? so short, and presume to sound his depth? *Good King* pardon these hardy glances of my spirit, enlightned with a diuine light, and animated by an extraordinary vertue. Those which aspect the beames of the Sunne, within the Sunne, thinke a long time after they behold still a Sunne before their eyes; not being able, by withdrawing the sense of the obiect, to draw the Idea of the spirit. Thus since I haue had the honour to see in so *happy* and *glorious deeds* your *actions*, in your *actions* your *vertues*, in your *vertues* your *Maiesty*, and your *Maiesty* in it *selfe*; these rare and exquisite obiects, as so many Sunnes, haue so rauished my senses and eyes, that they seeme to see them alwaies present before them. Moreouer, the Idea which is remayning in my intellect, hath

brought them to ſuch extraordinary deſignes, that if my forces were correſpondent to my deſires, and my vnworthineſſe to the dignity of the ſubiect which animates me, I had alreadie proclaim'd your diuine perfections from one end of the earth to the other, yea from the earth to the heauens: and taking for my auditors ſo many bleſſed ſoules, which there glorioufly inhabite, I ſhould haue recited to them, with the admirable actions of your incomparable vertues, theſe glorious and bleſſed deeds which iſſue thereof, and the moſt excellent glory which your Maieſtie thereby inherites; at leaſt, how in theſe laſt fearefull troubles of my ſad, afflicted, and ſorely deſolate countrey, which ſo farre oppreſt her, that loſing the ſight of her owne reaſon, ſhe had almoſt loſt her ſelfe in it ſelfe; or, as I may well ſay, ſpoyled her ſelfe with her owne ſtrength and defence. Your Piety (all-rare Prince) which is all-Iuſtice, caſt her compaſsionate eyes vpon the deplorable and moſt lamentable condition of her poore oppreſſed brood: your Iuſtice, which is all-Charity, lent her eare to their wofull & ſorrowfull complaints: your Charity, which is all-Prudence, opened her heart to their needy miſeries and extreme wants, and your Prudence (which hath alwayes the eyes, the eares, and the heart open at all times to ſuch poore afflicted wretches, who doe implore of your Maieſtie like pious actions) making at that time a charitable diſtribution, euer bound both publike and particulars to vow their heartie prayers to heauen for your health; & their true ſeruices to the world for the proſperitie, greatneſſe, pleaſure and contentment of your Maieſtie.

But the worthineſſe of the ſubiect, and my inſufficiency, hauing deterr'd me from ſo high an enterpriſe; I haue moderated

ted my deſignes,which aſpired ſo high,and placing them in a meane region,I rul'd my endeauours by my might, doing my beſt to finde out,as well for my owne ſatisfaction , as for the good of others,to whom I communicate as many conſolations for miſeries,and inſtructions of this wicked ages experience;in which we ſee regenerated what remained of workmen,inſtruments,materials and labours,to perfect the worke of this ages iniquity , the lees of ages paſt, which with his muddy wine troubles the braines,corrupts the manners, and debaucheth the nobleſt functions of manie : I haue deſtinated them for to ſeek out the growth,beginning, and progreſſe of this happy and magnificent reeſtabliſhment of Euangelicall truth and puritie, the firſt and ſoueraigne cauſe of your Maieſties glory,the ſecuritie of your eſtate, and proſperitie of your people, which in this flouriſhing Empire hath three crowns,of which your Ma:is the firſt Monarch,who receiue from Gods fauourable grace,by the hands of your religious prudence,ſo great a perfection,that it makes the whole work moſt wonderfull : a prop ſo ſolid, that when the raine is fallen,the ſtormy ſtreames and impetuous floods come againſt it,and when the windes haue raged ſtrongly,and blowne furiouſly at it, it could not be ſhaken, but ſtill remained firme, ſtrong,conſtant,and alwayes a flouriſhing pillar of ſecuritie.

And my deſignes haue ſo happily , though vnfortunately, ſucceeded,that when I had collected my ſenſes , and prepared my ſelfe for this Work,I found it ready done by one of your Ma: ſubiects , in the Latine Hiſtory, which he hath digeſted into yeares,deſcribing ſuch things as paſſed during the moſt glorious raigne of that heroick & inuincible Princeſſe,aboue her ſexe,full of magnanimitie,rare in Piety , admirable in her

counsailes, wonderfull in her courage, and blessed in all her enterprises, that incomparable Queene ELIZABETH, who in her time vndertooke to build the royall worke of this happy reestablishment, vpon the ground and ancient foundations laid by her ancestors, for a time slackt and decayed; but after her Maiesty had gloriously raised it to the last Story, she left the rest vnto your most sacred Maiesties care, to perfect, who hath truely brought it into that happy and magnificent estate now flourishing, hauing vtterly disipated the many errors and abominations, which here (before her raigne) abounded; as he, who bearing Armes after *Ionathan*, slew the Philistines, who fell dead before him.

Had I not regarded others, but my selfe onely, I had sufficient matter to content my curiositie (in enioying, with rest & leisure, the sweet fruit of a labor meerly premeditated) without bringing it to this most tedious & no lesse pennible, than difficult action. But as my naturall disposition & reason possesse my inclinations, still to practise, study and labour for the common good, though neuer so much preiudicial to my particular affaires; and as this Piety, of which I carefully sought the mystery (directly opposite to the mysterie of iniquitie risen in these later times) permits me not to bury my talent in the earth, how small, and of little value soeuer it be; and likewise the experience which I haue purchased in the diuerse voyages, forraigne abodes, accesse, frequentation, and knowledge of this my peregrination, taught and assured me, that this History cannot but be welcome, kindly receiued, deerely cherished, and preciously valued of an infinite number, as well your Maiesties subiects, as others, to whom their ignorance in the language, interdicted the reading then: And as my

selfe

selfe in the vnderstanding of it, found that it was in its nakednesse and simplicity, adorned with the most rare draught, most liuely and naturall colours, which can be found eyther in Art or Nature, and in the chiefest parts thereof, filled with exquisite and solid instructions, which the best able can giue, the most curious wish, and the most subtle and ready witts apprehend; iudging, that the more it is knowne, the more glory comes thereby to God, the more seruice to your sacred Maiesty, the more prosperitie to your blessed raigne, the more strength to your powerfull state, and the more terrour to all your foes: I haue done it in the French, my natiue language, which is now the only tongue that entertains the commerce of conceptions, amongst the diuersitie of nations, to shew to the world, that among an infinitie of memorable causes and things, remarkeable effects and successe, at least this magnificent peace and prosperitie, which begun to bud forth vnder the raigne of this most prudent, pious, magnanimous, truely Catholike and Christian Empresse (who can neuer be by any duely praised, and to this day propagated & continued in this your Maiesties most blessed and peaceable gouernment, with so illustrious splendor, that though it be enuied of many, yet it is admired of all) proceedeth directly from the reestablishment of Christs true and pure seruice; and by so many, diuerse, happy, glorious, and particular deeds most eminent, arising to this triumphant nation, is plainly manifested, that truly the only meanes well and happily to raigne, is sincerely to serue God, who defends those that defend his Faith, and honours them that honour him: For to such as first seeke the tranquillity and aduancement of his raigne, all things fall out answerable to their wishes; also that the seedes of iustice are

sowed in the fields of peace, to be reaped by the peace-makers; that piety hath both the promise of the present and the future life, and that indeed it is the originall source from whence spring all other vertues.

Your sacred Highnesse (pious Monarch) hath already seene and perused the manuscripts of this worke, which I presented to your Maiesty some moneths agoe, to receiue from you, as from my Oracle, direction, whether I should publish it or not. But since it hath pleased your most sacred Ma: to honour these lines of mine with your iudicious approbation, I haue caused them to be printed, and vpon this expressiue caution, as earnest of your gracious fauour, I assure my timorous desires, that your Ma: will be pleased to see the same now in its perfect shape. Sith your Highnesse daign'd to grace it with the benigne beames of your goodnesse at its birth, I prostrate it at your feete, as a *præludium* of my industry, and the premises of my most humble seruice. And if I may be so happy, as to see this my labour once more approued, & my oblation graciously receiued of your Ma: I hope that my courage, animated with so good fortune, will performe a greater enterprise; and so great a fauour, rousing vp and reuiuing my spirits, will make my labours so fruitfull, that I may be able in time to quit my selfe of my vowes and duties, & pay vnto your Ma: (with a better labour) more agreeable seruices, & to the world fairer fruits of my study.

I once thought to detaine it captiue vnder silence, fearing to aduenture so vnpolisht a peece of worke among so many Worthies (who haue already settled their worth in the beleef of others) lest they, by the shril sound of their lustre, might obscure this worthlesse worke: neyther would I haue exposed

(but

(but vnder your Maieſties protection) its fortune to the malignant malice of this age, its honeſt meaning and ſimplicitie, to the ſcoffes and wicked interpretation of helliſh ſlanderous tongues, and baſe worldlings, my contentment to the deſpiſings of the enemies of its originall, my talent and its gaine, to the pillage & ranſacking of thoſe, who (being partially intereſſed, hauing their eyes & iudgements blinded with affected intereſt) perhaps will diſcharge their paſsions herein, paying my labours with ingratitude, and my holieſt intentions with perſecutions. But ſith 'tis in a maner a tranſlatiõ which repreſents faithfully the authors conceptions (ſo well approued, that it is a true proofe of his ingenious induſtry; which will ſufficiently content the moſt curious, cleare the Reader of doubt, and chiefly thoſe doubts conceiued by this works ill-willers) the worſt which can befall me, is to be a caution of my deeds and faults, and in neyther changing, adding, or diminiſhing, free & abſolue me from all blames: ſith Piety, which begot it, expreſſely commands me; and Charity, which brought it forth, graciouſly ſummons me to publiſh it, and to beſtow the profit & pleaſure thereof vpon my neighbours, to whom queſtionleſſe it will be moſt delightfull, pleaſant, and vſefull. And truly thoſe which it moſt concernes, haue had, of a long time, that power vpon my owne proper benefites, ſith my contentment conſiſts not in the praiſe of Printing, but to pleaſe and profite thereby the vertuous and gracious. The courſes of this worlds affaires, and the diuerſe inclinations of men, inſtruct me that it will be beneficiall to diuers, yea to the enemies hereof, who for not vnderſtanding truely the Latine hitherto, could not haue a true knowledge of its particularities. And for as much as your Maieſties gracious approbati-

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on assures me of your royall protection, and God which hath preserued it heretofore, doth warrant me from all misfortunes, I venture this assay of my luck, and publish this commerce of my talent, both vnder his Diuine prouidence, and your Maiesties leaue and authority, that it may therfore wander the world with security, and yeeld contenting pleasures to those who shall honour it with the gracious beams & fauorable aspect of their eies: I doubt not but it may meet with peaceable mindes, fauourable spirits, pure hearts, and sincere affections, who will reade it without pasion, censure it (with meekenesse) without partialitie, to draw thereby the good which I intend them. May it therefore be acceptable to your most excellent, most August, and most Imperiall Maiestie, to whom I dedicate and consecrate it, vpon the Altar of my sinceritie, in testimonie of my humble seruices, deuotions, and to purchase to my selfe the dignitie to be entitled,

Your Majesties most humble,

and most obedient seruant,

P. D. B.

THE AVTHOR TO THE READER.

WILLIAM CECIL, *Baron of* Burghley, *Lord High Treasurer of* England, *(about* 16. *yeers past) opened vnto me (farre from my thought) first, some memorials of State of his own: afterwards, those of the Kingdome; and from them, willed me to compile a* Historie *of* Q. Elizabeths *Raigne from the beginning. I know not to what intent, vnlesse whilest he prouiding for the propagation of the Queenes honour, meant to take a taste of my abilitie in this kind. I obeyed, and indeed not vnwillingly, lest I should be thought to haue been wanting to the memory of the best Princesse, his expectation, and truth it selfe; which to me equals them both. For shee being escaped, and hauing hidden herselfe, my hope is to finde her there, or no where.*

But in the first entrie, a most intricate difficultie deterred me: I fell vpon whole masses of writings, & instruments of all kinds, well enough digested for the computation of the times, but very confused for varietie of argument; in examining whereof, I was couered with dust and sweat. I diligently collected together fit matter, harder to find out than I expected: but he dying, mine industrie slackt. And after that, that incomparable Princesse had rendred her diuine soule to heauen, I waited a while with a greedy expectation, not only who, but if some one, of so great a number of learned men, who by her bounty abound in riches & leasure, would repay this due and deserued thanks. But when I had certainly obserued, that weightier affaires hindred some that were best able to performe it; others, (I know not for what causes) with specious excuses refused it: Afterwards, I eftsoones betook my selfe to my interrupted study, & embraced it more vehemently than before. I sought all manner of helps on euery side, I sedulously volued & reuolued Characters of Kings & Peers, Letters, Consultations held at the Councell-Table; I ran through the instructions & letters of Ambassadors, & likewise the Records & Iournals of Parliaments, Acts & Statuts, & read ouer al Proclamatiõs. For most of which (as I ought) I hold my selfe chiefly bound to sir R: Cotton. *kt. Baronet, who with great expence, & happy labor, hath gatherd together most choice variety of Histories & Antiquity: for at his torch, he willingly sufferd me to light my taper. So as* (Reader) *if in this I haue don any thing pleasing vnto thee or profitable, thou owest him the merited thanks.*

I haue also made search throughout mine own Cabinets; & although I am an admirer of venerable antiquitie, I am not iniurious to later things: I haue seen & obserued much, & haue from elder men than my selfe, worthy of beliefe (who were present when these were acted, & studious on both sides, in this diuision of

Religion) receiued them, & haue weighed thē in the ballance of my Iudgment, such as it is, lest by a deceiueable credulity I should incline towards those which are false. For the study of TRVTH, *as it hath beeu the only spur to prick me forward to this worke: so hath it beene mine only Scope. To detract from Historie, is nothing else than to pluck out the eies of a beautifull creature, and for a medicinable potion, to offer poison to the Readers vnderstanding.*

All those things which are wont to hinder the light of Truth, I purposely auoided, and as much as in me lay, haue vncased IGNORANCE *&* FALSHOOD, *by the light of a Witnesse pure & neat, drawn from these.* VNSKILFVLNESSE *& her deriuatiues,* DOVBT *&* FALSITY *haue I dispelled, as well as I could, by the splendor of an incorrupt faith, out of those monuments aboue al exception; & it may be, from them haue gotten no lesse knowledge of those things, than they which haue had long & great imployment in the Common-wealth. I haue auoided* PREIVDICE, *as an abuser of the Iudgement, which so infects the mind in affairs of Religion and the Reipublique; that like them that haue sore eyes, they see nothing cleerly. I haue not feared* DANGER, *no not from them, who by their present power thinke the memorie of the succeeding Age may be extinguished. And let them remember, that as many as haue beene iniurious to Writers, louers of the Truth, haue procured to themselues dishonour; to them glorie.*

The hope of a LITTLE GAINE *misse-led me not; To make the dignitie of Historie mercenarie, I (who haue alwaies contented my selfe with a meane fortune) haue held sordid and seruile. I haue left no place to the* SVSPICION OF FAVOVR OR PRIVATE GRVDGES; *for of these I am to write of. Scarce two were known to me by any benefit: by iniury, not one; that I should be reckoned among the* PARTIAL *or the* OFFENDED. *Those which are aliue, I haue scarse touched at. Inueighing against the enemies of my Countrie, I haue held it ridiculous, to hunt after the name of a good Patriot, with the aspersion of an ill Historian. These things haue I been carefull of, that (as* POLYBIVS *commands) I might* SACRIFICE ONLY TO TRVTH. *Neither shall any man, I hope, finde wanting in me, that ingenious liberty (ioyned with modestie) of speech, worthy of an Historian: That, which vnder a false disguise ioyned with the poison of obtrectation personates libertie, and is so pleasing to euery eare, I detest from my heart. Things* MANIFEST, *I haue not concealed, things* DOVBTFVL *I haue tenderly interpreted: the more* ABSTRVSE, *I haue not been too inquisitiue of; The vnsearchable intents of Princes (saith that Prince of Historie) and what they out of reasons of State pretend, is not fit to inquire; & being doubtfull, not to be explored. And with* HALYCARNASSÆVS, *I am iustly angry which the ignorant critiques, who go about to know or find out more than is iustly permitted. As to the rest, although I know, that matters militarie and politique are*

the proper subiects of an Historian, yet I neither could nor ought to omit Ecclesiasticall affaires (for betwixt Religion and policy there can be no diuorce. But seeing the Writer of the Ecclesiasticall Historie, may lawfully challenge these things, as proper to himself, I haue not touched at them otherwise than as it were with a light and cursory hand; whereas it is the Law and dignitie of an Historian, to run through the most eminent actions, and not to dwell vpon small ones: I haue not therefore laboured in them, yet there are passages of lesse cõsequence, which may concern another professor, though not him. I haue not omitted any circumstances, by which, not only the euents of things, but their reasons also and causes may be known; That of POLYBIVS pleaseth me exceedingly, If you take out of History, WHY, HOVV, TO WHAT END, and WHAT IS DONE. and whether the Actions answer the intents, that that remaines, is rather a mocking than an instruction; And for the present may please, but will neuer profit Posteritie; I haue not betrayed my IVDGEMENT to affection, for writing with an impartiall minde, I haue rather desired to finde out the affections of other men. I haue inserted little of mine own, treating of matters in another kind, it being a controuerted point, whether or no it be lawfull for an Historian to doe it. Let euery one abound in his owne sense: I haue thrust in no occasions, but such as were truly spoken; or those reduced to fewer words: much lesse haue I fained any. I haue seldome vsed Sentences, nor beautified my discourses with those obseruatiõs which the Greeks aptly call ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ, my intent being as it were insensibly to instruct the minde. I haue shunned digressions; I haue vsed formall words; I haue not neglected discriptions of places, pedigrees, nor Chronologies, following, as neere as is possible, the order of the Times; beginning the yeare (as our Chronologers were wont) from the first of IANVARY.

I haue inscribed my discourses with the name of ANNALS, because I place euery passage in his owne yeare; and because TACITVS directs vs, that great & illustrious Actions should be committed to Annals; whose principall office it is to take care, that Vertue be not obscured, and by the relation of euill words or deeds, to propose the feare of infamie, with posteritie. And that sterile and contracted kind of writing (such as mine is) is for Annals, of all other, most fit.

With these beginnings I applyed my mind to write; with this resolutiõ I proceeded, & intended to bestow the rest of my time and industrie, in the beauifying, polishing, and exornation of these Annals: and then by my last Will, to bequeath them to my honorable friend IAMES AVGVSTVS THVANVS, who hath begun a Historie of his owne Times, with great truth and modestie; lest that, as strangers are wont he, a man most deare vnto me, should like a traueller in a forraine Countrie, be ignorant of our affaires. But this resolution I was forced

(I know not by what fate) to alter; for a great part being sent vnto him, some few years past, whē they were like rough-drawn pictures scarcely begun, deformed with blots & imperfect places, swarming with errors & patches thrust in, as they fell from a hasty pen, & ill vsed by Transcribers: Out of these he took & as it were inter-weaued some things into the eleuenth and twelfth Tomes of his Historie, hauing first polished them by adding, altering, substracting, but all with good iudgement (according to that order of the worke which he proposed to himselfe) (for he intended a vniuersall Historie of his owne Time) selecting some few things concerning ENGLAND and IRELAND, omitting many things not only fit, but peraduenture necessary for vs to know; and I had heard that beyond the Seas, the Historie of English affaires was much (and not without reproach) desired; I therefore betook me to my intermitted study, read all ouer againe, corrected, added diuers things, refined the eloquution, yet without affectation; for it sufficeth me, if I may place this Booke like a picture in water colours, vnskilfully done, in a commodious light.

But when all was done, I was much perplext & irresolute, whether I should publish it or not. But CENSVRES, PREIVDICE, HATRED, OBTRECTATION, which I foresaw to display their colors, and bid battell against me, haue not so much deterred me, as the desire of TRVTH, the loue of MY COVNTRY, and the memory of that PRINCESSE, (which deserues to be deare and sacred amongst English men) did excite me against those, who shaking off their allegeance towards their Prince and Country, did not cease beyond the Seas, to wound aswel the Honor of the one, as the glory of the other, by scandalous libels, conceiued by the malice of their own hearts; & now, (which they sticke not to confesse) are about to publish a Book to remain to posteritie, as a monument of their wickednesse. As for me, I desire nothing more, than to be like my self, & they like themselues. Succeeding ages will giue to euery one their deserued Honor. I confesse with sorrow, that I haue not done so wel, as the height of the argumēt requires; but what I could, I haue done willingly. To my selfe, as in other writings, so neither in these, haue I giuen satisfaction. But I shall hold it more than sufficient, if out of an earnest desire to conserue the memorie of things, of truth in relating them, & instructing mens minds with that which is wise and honest, I shall be ranked only amongst the lowest writers of great things:

WHATSOEVER IT IS,

AT THE *ALTAR* OF *TRVTH*,

I Dedicate, and Consecrate it { TO GOD, MY COVNTRIE, AND POSTERITIE.

SIR,



COVLD not but shelter this Historie vnder your most renowned Name: for to whom can I commit the Story of Her, who whilst shee liued, was the ioy of England, the terror and admiration of the World,

HIGHTY, CHARLES
but to your HIGH-
NESSE, who is the
Fame and Honour of
this ſpacious hemiſphere
& Great Britaines both
hope & ſolace, by your
princely valour & con-
ſtant vertues, no leſſe
dreaded and admired a-
broad than feared & be-
loued at home.

A true admirer & humble Obſeruer of your diuine worth A. Darcie.

AND MIGHTY PRINCE OF GREAT BRITANNE, &c.

To the Highly Borne Princeſſe, *Frances* Ducheſſe Dowager of *Richmond & Lenox.*

AND

To the noble Prince, her Coſin, *Thomas Earle of Arundell & Surrey, Earle Marſhall of England.*

This Noble Princeſſe's Father was *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, created Viſcount Bindon, by Queen *Elizabeth*, the firſt yeare of her raigne, ſecond ſon to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*.

This Duke of *Norfolke*, the Ducheſſe of *Richmond* and *Lenox's* Grandfather, had two wiues; the firſt, was the noble Princeſſe *Anne*, Daughter to King *Edward* the fourth; by which he had iſſue, a young Prince, who died young: The other was the Lady *Elizabeth*, daughter to *Edward Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, by whom he had iſſue, the Lord *Henry Howard*, whoſe ſon ſucceeded to the Dukedome of *Norfolk* (which Dukes eldeſt ſon, Philip *Howard* was by Queen *Elizabeth* also created, and ſummoned in Parliament where he ſate as Earl of *Arundel*, being the primary Earledome of *England*, in the right of his Mother, ſole daughter and heire to Henry *Fitz-Allen*, Earle of *Arundell*. He was this Noble Earles Father) *Thomas* Viſcont *Bindon*, and a Daughter, who was Ducheſſe of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*, Counteſſe of *Nottingham*, Aunt to the now Ducheſſe of *Richmond* and *Lenox*: This ſaid Duke of *Norfolke*, after a long ſickneſſe, tooke his iourney peaceably to Heauen, at his Palace in *Kinninghall* in *Norfolke*, the firſt yeare of Queene *Mary*.

AND

To the Illuſtrious fauourers of *Vertue, true mirrors of Honour, and* exact patternes of Nobilitie

William Earle of Hartford, &c,

AND

To the Noble Lady, Frances his Princely Counteſſe.

Edward Earle of Dorſet, Baron of Buckhurſt.

AND

To his noble ſiſters, the Lady *Anne Beauchamp*, And the Lady *Cecilia Compton.*

This Earles grandfather *Lord Edward Seimor*, ſon to *Edw.* Duke of *Somerſet*, was reſtored to his honours & patrimonie by Queene *Elizabeth*, who created him *Earle* of *Hartford*, and Baron of *Beauchamp*, in the Tower of *London*, the ſecond yeare of her raigne. This noble Counteſſe's grandfather, alſo was created Earle of *Eſſex*, &c. by Qu. *Elizabeth*, the 14. of her raigne, he died in *Ireland*, 1575. and was magnificently buried at *Carmarden* in Wales, where he was borne.

This illuſtrious Earle and honourable Ladies grandfather, was a moſt prudent and learned man, for his heroick deſerts and Princely deſcent from an ancient and true noble blood, was created by Q. *Elizabeth*, Baron of *Buckhurſt*, next by her Maieſtie enſtalled in the royall order of the Garter, one of her intimate priuy Counſellors, & Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, &c.
Chancellor of the Vniuerſity of Oxford. Hee died in White-hall 1608.

Theophilus, Lord CLINTON, Earle of LINCOIN.

Anno 1572. *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Lord high Treaſurer of *England*, was created Earle of *Lincolne*, by Queene *Elizabeth*; for his Noble merits, and faithfull ſeruice to his Soueraigne Lady. The ſame day her Maieſty created Sir *Walter Deureux*, Earle of *Eſſex*; He died the eighth day of *Ianuary*, *Anno* 1585. and was with great ſolemnitie buried at *Windſor*
To this right Honorable Lord, *Theophilus* Earle of *Lincolne*, he was great Grand-father.

Thomas Earle of Suffolke, knight of the moſt honorable Order of the Garter.

This worthy Earle (ſecond ſonne to *Thomas Howard*, the laſt Duke of *Norfolke*) by his martiall valour, was Princely vertue, and by Queene *Elizabeth* created Lord *Howard* of *Walden*, and tooke place in the high Court of Parliament, among the Peeres, as Baron of *Walden*. And Q. *Elizabeth*, partly to requite his warlike exploits, (for ſhee imployd him in ſundry Sea-ſeruices, to his immortall honour and commendation) made him Knight of the Garter.

Charles Earle of Nottingham, Baron of Effingham.

Anno 1597, The 23. of *Octob.* the Lord *Charles Howard*, for his Princely deſert, and illuſtrious birth, was created by Q. *Elizabeth*, Earle of *Nothingham*: Likewiſe for his worthy ſeruices done to his Prince and Countrie, in generouſly repelling *Spaines* inuincible Nauy of 88, being Lord High Admirall; As alſo for his Martiall valiancy, in the ſacking of *Cadiz*, with the Earle of *Eſſex*: her Maieſtie honour'd him with the Gartet, the nobleſt order of Knighthood.

Iohn Baron of Elſemere Viſcont Brackley, Earle of Bridge-water.

This Noble Earles Father, Sir *Thomas Egerton*, Viſcont *Brackley* Baron of *Elſemere*, Lord high Chancellour of *England*, was a Noble man of admirable parts, excellently well ſeene in the Lawes of *England*, induſtrious in State affaires, which mou'd Q. *Elizabeth* to chooſe him her Maieſties Solicitor, *Anno* 1583. And for his other deſerts, *Anno* 1593, ſhe Knighted him; Next ſhe made him Maſter of the Rolls; and finally, Lord Keeper of the great Seale of *England*, *Anno* 1594.

Sir *William Cecil*, for his graue wisedome, and excelleat vertues, was by Q. *Elizabeth* created Baron of *Burghley*, he was also one of her Maiesties Priuy Councell, Lord High Treasurer, and Chancellor of *Cambridge's* Vniuersitie. He was these two Noble Earles grandfather: both issued of two of his Sonnes.

William, Earle of Salisbury, &c. And *William Earle of* Excester, &c.

William Earle of Northampton. And *Spencer, L. Compton,* his Noble sonne.

This noble Earles grandfather, Sir *William Compton*, was for his worthinesse, created Baron Compton by Queene *Elizabeth*. *Anno 1572.*

To the no lesse Illustrious than Noble,

HENRY CARY, Lord Chamberlain to Queen *Elizabeth*. His cousin (for he was the sonne of *William Carie*, Esquire to the body of King *Henry* the eight, by the Lady *Mary Bullen*, his wife, sister to Queene *Anne Bullen*, the mother of Queene *Elizabeth*); this *Henry* was by Queene *Elizabeth*, created Lord *Carie*, Baron of Hunsdon: Also, by her Maiestie, made Knight of the Garter; one of the Lords of her Priuie Councell, and gouernour of Barwicke. To this Noble Lord *Henry*, Viscont *Rochford*, hee was Grandfather; and this Illustrious Lady *Barkley*, was his only daughter and heire.

Henry Lord Cary, Baron of Hunsdon, Viscont Rochford. AND *The Noble Lady, Elizabeth* Barkeley, now married to Sir Thomas Chamberlaine.

Rob. Lord Willoughby of Eresby, Baron of Perke. AND *Henry West, Baron* de la Warre.

Peregrine, the Father to this generous Lo: *Willoughby*, was restored in his ancestors Honors by Qu. *Elizabeth*, who created him Baron *Willoughby* of Eresby, the 14. of her raign 1582. (before shee sent him with the Garter to the King of *Denmarke*) being the son of the Duchesse of *Suffolke*, sole daughter and heire to the Lo: *Willoughby* of Eresby.

Also, Sir *William West* (This Lord *de la Warr's* grand Sire) was created Baron *de la Warre* by Queene *Elizabeth*, being Nephew to *Thomas West*, Lord *de la Warre*, and knight of the Garter, in King *Henry* the eight's daies; who died without issue, *Anno* 1570.

Anno 1594. WILLIAM POVLET, this Noble Lord's Grandfather, was (in the time of his Father, *IOHN* Lord Marquesse of *Winchester*) by Queene *ELIZABETH* made a Peere of England, and sate in that High Court of Parliament, among the Barons and Peeres of the Realme, as Baron Saint *Iohn* of *Basing*. He died the first day of *Ianuary 1595.* and was sumptuously buried by his predecessours, at *Basing*.

IOHN POVLET, *Lord Saint Iohn Baron of Basing, heire apparant to the Lord* Marquesse of Winchester, &c.

The truly Pious Lady Frances Wray, Counteesse dowager of *Warwicke*. AND *The Lady Elizabeth*, daughter, and sole heire to *Francis*, Lord *Norrice*, late Earle of Barkshire Viscount *Thame*, and Baron of *Ricot*; wife to the right Noble & worthy, *Edward Wray*, Esqu.

Sir *Christopher Wray*, for his great deserts, & the noble family, from whence hee was deriued, was by Qu. *Elizabeth* Knighted; and for his rare wisedome, being expert in the Law, was aduanced (to his great Praise, and immortall fame) to diuers Honourable dignities in this Kingdome: First, he was made Lord Chiefe Iustice of *England*, and then Lord Keeper of the Priuy Seale. He was one of her Maiesties most prudent Counsellours, and Father to this Religious Counteesse, Dowager of Warwick: Also Grandfather to these Noble Brothers, Sir *Iohn Wray*, Knight; *Edward Wray*, and *Nathanaell Wray*, Esquires. *Anno* 1572. Sir *Henry Norrice*, was for his Noble worth, created by Queene *Elizabeth*, Baron *Norrice* of *Ricot*. He was this Noble Ladie ELIZABETH WRAY her Grandfather.

DVDLEY, Lord North, Baron of Kirtling, AND *To the vertuous Lady, his only Sister*, the Lady Mary Conningsby.

Anno 1594. *Roger* Lord *North*, Baron of the ancient Baronry of *Kirtling*; for his Vertues and Prudency, was in gracious fauour neare Q. *Elizabeth*, who respecting him much, made vse of his faithfull seruices, in diuers honourable affaires of importance. *Anno* 1574. he was, by her Maiestie, sent Ambassadour Extraordinary into *France*, to giue King *Henry* the third good Counsell, and to condole with his Maiestie, after the death of K. *Charles* the ninth. And although this Noble man, was not created Baron by Q. *Elizabeth*, yet I haue erected these lines to his noble and immortall memory, for his Vertues sake, and for the duty and humble seruice which I must euer owe to his illustrious Grand-Children; The Lord *North*, Sir *Iohn North*, Captaine *Roger North*, *Gilbert North*, and the noble Lady *Conningsby*.

This worthy Knight was the last which her Maiesty Knighted.

Also, this noble Esquires Father, Sir *Thomas Sadleir*, son to Sir *Ralph Sadleir*, was the last knight banneret, of *England*, Chancellour of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, and Priuy Counsellor to King *Henry* the eight, *Edward* the sixt, Queen *Mary*, and Queene *Elizabeth*.

To the Honour of the right Worshipfull Sir Arthur Capell, & his noble Sons. AND The Nobly descéded *Ralph Sadleir*, Esquire; of Standen in *Hertfordshire*.

Illustrious, and Gracious:



LEARNED *CICERO*, that King of ORATORIE, vvho telleth vs, that the course of this mutable life is inconstant, and the worldly fortunes of mortals truely vaine and variable, doth very eloquently commend History, calling it The witnesse of times; intimating, that wee could not attaine to the knowledge of seuerall actions, done at sundry seasons, but by her helpe, and how much the science of Histories profits, is proued, in regard they are the handmaids to Prudence and VVisdome, the which may be easily and truely purchased out of the deeds and examples of others, there written. How much it conduceth

As there is nothing in this world in euery respect blessed, & in each particular happy; so there is no constancy in humane things especially, and according to Saint *Jerome*, of the felicity of this world, whilest we seeme to possesse it, we part from it. We see, and dayly experience proues vnto vs, what the condition and state of this life, with the goods of it is, the motion of it being (as Saint *Gregory* saith) so swift, the possession so vncertaine, as now we bee fatted in the fragrant pasture of prosperity, now pined and languishing, & on the bare commons of misery, so that neither in weale or woe, there is any constancy, but all things are sud-

denly changed, and vary in a moment, ſo that we may repoſe more truſt in letters written in the wind or water, then in the happineſſe of this humane life.

According to *Herodotus*, it is as a circle of humane things, which by her turning ſuffers not a man to be alwaies fortunate and proſperous.

Virgil exclaimes, Time alters all things: and *Cicero* tels vs, The courſe of this mutable life is vnconſtant, and all the fortunes of men are vaine, voluble and variable: a meere *Euripus* for ebbing and flowing of worldly goods: in a moment our mirth being turned to mourning, & our ſorrow into ſolace.

The Royall Houſe of the

duceth to the good gouernement of Common-wealths to haue the examples of Councels before our eyes, it appeareth, in regard of the general reſpect the wiſeſt men haue had to them. Neither are true Hiſtories a little commodious for ſhunning of horrible alterations and calamities: for they recite the examples of all times, for the puniſhments of Seditions, Treaſons, and ſuch other abominable Crimes, the which eſcape not vnpuniſht, no not in this life: Out of which examples we may collect moſt wholſome inſtructions, for the good vſing of our both priuate & publike Offices, that ſuch Euils may be ſhunned in vs, which were puniſhed in others; the which is true wiſedome, according to that in the Prouerbe:

Other mens harmes
are wiſe-mens armes.

Plato

Plato saith, that a certaine *Æyptian* Priest reprehended the *Greekes*, calling them Children, because they had no knowledge in Antiquity, they had no skill in the passages of former times, they were indued with no ancient and graue Science: For euen as children, through the imbecillity of their capacity, and slendernes of their intellect, cannot discerne Vice from Vertue, good from bad: so they, whose mindes doe comprehend no knowledge of former times, deserued not to be called men, in regard they exceeded not children in vnderstanding.

For which cause, learned men in all Ages, haue not onely read diligently, but also written Histories carefully, by which kind of writing, they haue purchased vnto themselues a liuing name.

The *ANNALS* of this Heroicke Empresse, Queene ELIZABETH,

STVARTS, and the Illustrious Family of the SACKVILES, not long since, had wofull experience. Of the Royal one, there being pulled from the boughes of it, two beautifull Roses, to wit, the two Noble Dukes of *Lenox*, LODOVVICKE, and ESME, two rare Brothers, of most vertuous and laudable conuersation. Of the other, a Noble branch was cut from that Tree of Honour; RICHARD, the most good and most Noble Earle of *Dorset*, and Baron of *Buckhurst*, of happy and blessed memory: All which, in this yeere, within the space of fiue moneths, piously and peaceably slept with Christ.

BETH, I confesse, I haue rashly vndertaken to translate: for the Subiect deserued a farre better and more skilfull Pen-man, in regard I am a Stranger: Yet, to shew the desire I haue to doe this Noble Nation seruice, (as bound in duety) I haue faithfully the best I was able, finished my Enterprize, which I hope will be very beneficiall to all Honourable and impartiall Readers, as most vseful, & fit for these present times.

And as therefore in my former Bookes, I haue chosen Patrons Honourable and beneficiall, by whose authority, fauour, and countenance they might more happily be published, so I could finde none more worthy the dedication of this Royall and true History, then your Honours, whom I know, aboue all persons, to tender most the blessed memory of this matchlesse Queene, who in her life time so much

honoured

honoured and affected you, or your Noble Ancestors and illustrious Predecessours, that they (for their deserts and vertues) were by her Maiestie graced with the most honourable Dignities, and highest places of Honour in this Kingdome: And also, because your Honours bee addicted to History, fauourable to humane arts, religiously deuoted, & piously affected. VVherefore I, in most submissiue manner, request your Honours to accept this worthy Oblation, with a mild aspect, cheerfull countenance, and vsuall Clemency, from him who vnfainedly wishes to all your Honors in generall, and to each of them in particular, perfection of ioy and happines, as,

The true Admirer, and
humble obseruer
of your Graces,
of your Honours,
and of your Vertues:
Abraham Darcie.

TO THE NOBLE AND VVEL-DISPOSED

READER, indued with either of these rare Vertues, *Iustice, Valour, Honour, Temperance, Magnanimity, Clemency, Truth, Liberality, Ciuility,* and *Courtesie*; Health and happinesse in IESVS CHRIST.

Of Iustice.

IVSTICE is a constant and perpetuall will, to giue impartially euery one their iust due: the one is generall, diuided in politicke and œconomicke: the other speciall, diuided in distributiue and commutatiue; her subiectiue parts are to doe good acts, and fly from bad ones. It stands therefore much in need of Religion, Piety, Obseruance, Obedience, Thanksgiuing, of expulsions of iniuries, also of Truth, Affability, Amity, and Liberality.

ALl-Vertuous and impartiall Reader, here is presented to thy iudicious view, the Translation of a Master-piece of History, in its owne originall Language truely most rare; which I (for the worthinesse of the Subiect) wish with my soule, I could haue Englished accordingly: But though my

my poore ſtraine & weake capacity would not permit mee to equalize the eloquence and elegancie thereof, yet I can aſſure you, I haue had a ſpeciall care, to doe it faithfully: And truely I muſt confeſſe ingenuouſly, doubting of my weakneſſe in ſo important and laborious a Worke, (becauſe I am a Stranger borne) I haue ſought the beſt helpe I could, from thoſe that are holden good Schollers, for the perfecting of the Engliſh phraſe and ſtile, but it hath beene amended ſo contrary to my expectation, that I haue beene forced to peruſe it againe, beſt I was able, and as the time & Preſſe would giue me leaue. I beſeech you therefore to beare with it, not doubting, but (as I haue obſerued the inuention and meaning of my Author) it will affoord you ſufficient content: and if I may bee ſo happy, as to drawe gently the gracious aſpect of your eyes vpon theſe my worthleſſe Lines, I will euer be bound to your Noble fauour, for a milde and courteous Cenſure, in reſpecting the affection and deſire I haue, to imploy my time about that which may tend to immortalize the Honour and Glory of *Englands* dreaded, and vndaunted Nation; in ſtriuing to make vulgar the heroicke Acts

Of Valour.

VALOVR, which moderates feare, and Hardineſſe, is a Vertue which encourages one to blame or defend things iuſtly: her mediocrity is betwixt cowardneſſe and temerity. To her belong Magnanimity, Magnificency, Patience, and Perſeuerance.

Of True Honour.

TRue HONOVR, which belongeth to Liberality and Iuſtice, is a Diuine Vertue, ſubiect neither to fortune nor force: it is that which all good and vertuous men aime at, & leuell their actions.

Of Temperance.

TEMPERANCE is a morall Vertue, which moderates ſenſuall voluptuouſneſſe, and the couetouſneſſe thereof, and the dolour or griefe which is ſtill, as it were, linked with couetouſnes: ſhee mediates, or is a meane betweene Intemperancy and Stupidity: ſhee is perfected & made whole by Baſhfulneſſe & Honeſty: ſhee keepes vnder her, Abſtinency, Continency, Sobriety, and Chaſtity; To her do belong, Gentleneſſe, Clemency, Humility, Meekneſſe, and Moderation.

Of Magnanimity.

MAGNANIMITY belonges to Force

Force and Courage: it is a carefull vertue, and as it were a spur to purchase supreme honours; her mediocrity or mean is betweene *Superba* and Sufillanimity.

Of Clemency.

CLEMENCY is a morall vertue, which moderating anger, quencheth in vs ire or choler, to produce pious actions: she mediates, or is a meane betweene Crueltie, and too great Indulgency.

Of Truth.

TRVTH, by which, in all our actions & humane society, we should make things as they be: her meane or moderation is betweene Simulation and dissimulation.

Of Liberality.

LIBERALITY is a Vertue truely Noble, and most Diuine, appertayning to Iustice: This excellent Vertue moderating the desire to abound in riches, rules the purchasing of goods, and orders expences, to produce in vs, and bring forth to the world rare actions: it is a meane betweene Auarice and Prodigality.

Acts, and Diuine Vertues of *Albions* best Queen, and the most Religious, learned and prudent Empresse that euer liued on earth: and Soueraigne Head, or supreme Ruler, next God, ouer this flourishing Kingdome, ayming thereby more at the conseruation of her glorious memory, then at any thing else. I therefore doubt not but this worke will soone purchase your kind fauour, and louing commendation: and so I commit you to the Almighty, wishing you his blessings, and the perfection of Happines, I rest,

A true deuoted to
your Vertues,
ABRAHAM DARCIE.

Of Ciuility.

CIVILITY is also a morall vertue, which consisteth in vttering gracefully a speech or discourse in Company: by this Vertue, both praise and a good opinion is acquired: it is a meane betweene Mirth and Melancholy.

Of Courtesie.

COVRTESIE is a Vertue truely morall, by which we purchase loue, in shewing our selues gracious and officious to those who stand in need of vs: it is a meane betweene submission and rudenesse or harsh disposition.

A PREPARATION AND INTRODVCTION TO THE HISTORY.

THE All-glorious, All-vertuous, incomparable, inuict, and matchlesse Patterne of Princes, the Glory, Honour, and mirror of Woman kind, the Admiration of our Age, ELIZABETH, Queene of *England*, was by the Fathers side truely Royall, being Daughter to HENRY the Eighth, Grand-child to HENRY the Seuenth, and great Grand-child to EDVVARD the Fourth: of the Mothers side indeed vnequall, yet

Qu. Elizabeths extraction by the Fathers side.

yet nobly deſcended, and had many great Alliances ſpred through *England* and *Ireland*. Her great-Grandfather was *Iefferay* of *Bolene*, deſcended from the famous Houſe of *Norfolke*, who, in the yeere 1457. was Maior of *London*, and was then graced with the Dignitie of Knighthood: a man of much integrity, and of ſuch reputation, that *Thomas*, Baron of *Hoo* and *Haſtings*, Knight of the Order of S. *George*, gaue him his daughter and heire to wife: he was of ſo great meanes, that he married his Daughters into the famous houſes of the *Chenies*, *Heidons*, and *Forteſcues*: he left a great Patrimonie to his ſonnes; and by Will gaue a thouſand pounds ſterling to the poore of *London*, and two hundred to the poore of *Norfolke*: Hee had to Sonne, *William Bolene*, who was made one of the eighteene ſelected Knights of the *Bath*, at the inauguration of *Richard* the Third. To whom, *Tho.* Earle of *Ormond* (who was had in ſo great eſtimation with the Kings of *England*, that hee only of all the Peeres of *Ireland*, had place and voice in the Parliament, and before the Barons of *England*) gaue him his Daughter and Coheire to wife; he had by her (beſides the Daughters which he married to *Shelton*, *Caltrop*, *Chaire*, and *Sackuil*, beeing very rich, and of renowned Race) *Tho. Bolene*, who beeing but a Youth, *Thomas Howard*, then Earle of *Surrey*, and afterwards Duke of *Norfolke*, a famous Warrier,

Warrier, choſe him to bee his Sonne in Lawe, and gaue him his Daughter *Elizabeth* to wife. HENRY the Eighth employed him in two honourable Embaſſies, after hauing made him Treaſurour of his Houſe, Knight of the Order of Saint *George*, and Vicount *Rochford*, afterwards Earle of *Wilton* and *Ormond*, and Lord Priuie Seale. He, amongſt other Children, had *Anne Bolene*, who beeing ſent in her tender yeeres into *France*, was ſeruant to *Mary* of *England*, Wife to *Lewis* the 12. afterwards to *Claudia* of *Brittaine*, wife to *Francis* the Firſt; and after her death, to *Mary* of *Alanſon*, who from her cradle, was a ſpeciall fauourour of the Proteſtants Religion in *France*. Afterwards, ſhe being returned into *England*, and entertained to be one of the Queenes Maids of Honour, in the twentieth yeere of her age, King HENRIE being eight and thirtie, fell vehemently in loue with her, for the modeſt behauiour which accompanyed her beauty, and the *French* iollity which ſeaſoned her modeſty: but not being able to ouercome her chaſtity, he ſought to haue her to wife, in hope to haue a Linage by her.

The birth of the Lady Anne Bolene.

Now before, (to take this matter a little more deepely) after he had liued ſeuenteene yeeres with *Katherine* his wife, who was of a pious conuerſation, and of the *Spaniſh* grauitie, but ſubiect to aborſements, that of all her Children, ſhee brought

The King fals in loue with Anne of Bolene.

The reason why he puts away his wife.

foorth none liuing, but MARIE, he begunne to distaste her, by the cunning practice of Cardinall *Wolsey*, who was then raised to the highest degree of power and authority about the King, but in some sort ouer-swayed by his owne affections: For being displeased with *Charles*, the fifth Emperour, Nephew to *Katherine*, because he had denyed him the Arch-bishopricke of *Toledo*, and then aspiring to the Papasie, his hatred to him, and his loue so affectionately carried toward the *French* King; he so wrought, that he proposed a wife for *Henry* out of *France*. The King beeing prone to his pleasures, prepared this scruple of conscience, That the marriage which he had contracted with *Katherine*, who before had beene wife to his brother *Arthur*, was forbidden by the Diuine Lawe, although Pope *Iulius* the second had giuen a Dispensation for it. Afterwards he did inculcate into the Kings eares, how greatly he had offended God in marrying *Katherine*, and how grieuous a sin he should wallow in if hee kept her: that hee had incurred the Sentence of Excommunication; that God had powred his wrath vpon so vnlawfull a Marriage, not suffering a Male to liue, that was begotten of her, and that if there were not a lawfull Heire assigned to the Kingdome, no other thing was to be expected, but that those mortall and cruell wars which had beene but lately lul'd asleepe, should be awakened

ned with new ſlaughters of his people; and therefore that he ought, for the taking away of all ſcruple from his conſcience, to repudiate her, and that by aſſuring himſelfe of a Succeſſor in a lawfull line, he ſhould prouide for the ſafety of his ſoule (which for ſo many yeeres had been polluted with inceſt) and likewiſe of his Kingdome.

Theſe reaſons cauſed the King to entreate Pope *Clement* the Seuenth, to depute ſome to take knowledge of this cauſe, and either to confirme the Diſpenſation by authority of holy Scriptures, or abſolue him of the Sentence of Excommunication, and to declare this marriage to be of no force, and that it might be lawfull for him to marry any other woman whom he ſhould thinke fit, notwithſtanding any Canon to the contrary. Hereupon the Pope delegates Cardinall *Wolſey*, and the Cardinall of *Campege*, to whom he ſecretly gaue a Bull to this effect, that he approued of the Kings vowes, and granted his requeſts ſo farre as God would giue him leaue, if the marriage which he had contracted with *Katherine* ſhould be found vnlawfull, and ſo declared to be. But this Bull was to bee conceal'd or publiſht according to the ſucceſſe of the Emperours Affaires in *Italy*. Then theſe queſtions begun to be moued euery where, whether it were lawfull for a man to take his brothers wife? or, it beeing prohibited by the Diuine Law, whether the Popes Diſ-

Dispensation could make it lawfull, or no? And when many Academies of Christendome, and the most learned men had giuen their opinions, and resolued that such a Marriage was repugnant to the Laws both of the Old and New Testament, howsoeuer the Popes Dispensation might legitimate it. The King became more passionatly amorous of the Lady *Anne* of *Bolene* then euer, and the Cardinall (repenting himselfe too late of what hee had begun) grew discontented, and wrought so vnder hand, that the Pope by his pontificall authority refused to confirme the opinions of the Academies, and by delayes after delayes, the busines was drawn into length, both at *Rome* & in *England*. The Cardinall feared *Bolene*, who for the loue that shee bore to the Euangelicall Doctrine, hated his proud and insolent carriage; and the Pope feared the Emperour, who at that time was powerfull in *Italy*, who maintained, to his vtmost power, the cause of *Katherine* his Aunt: neither would the Pope prouoke HENRY, because hee had lately employed both his paines and pence, to redeeme him from the Emperours men, who kept him prisoner. HENRIE boyling in choler for this refusall (yet dissembling it) both by Ambassadours and Letters, continually solicited, and humbly prayed the Pope, (and after him the Prelates and Peeres of *England*, by request signed with their owne hands, which they

The King entreats the Pope for expedition.

The Prelates and Peeres doe the like.

they cauſed to be carried and preſented at his feete) to confirme by his Apoſtolicall Authority, what the two Academies of *England*, of *Paris*, and many others, and very learned and moſt entire men, both within and without the Realme, had ſet down for a truth, and were ready to maintaine it, both by word and writing: repreſenting vnto him, that it would be a remarkeable vnhappines, if He ſhould not obtaine this fauour from the Apoſtolicall Sea, He beeing the onely man that had employed his Sword, his Pen, his word and power, to defend the authority of the Pope, and reſiſting many that ſtroue againſt it, ſhould bee the onely man to bee denyed the benefit of it; and therefore they coniured him to grant it, for feare that inteſtine warres ſhould riſe for the right of Succeſſion.

Notwithſtanding, the Clergie fearing leſt the Pope ſhould proſcribe the Kingdome, and excommunicate the King, by ſeuerall Letters put him in mind of the ſad diſcord which had been betweene Pope *Alexander* the Third, and *Henry* the ſecond, King of *England*, and repreſenting vnto him many reaſons of importance, infinitely beſought him, almoſt in the very ſame words that *Gilbert*, Biſhop of London did at the ſame time, (*viz.*)

WEe moſt humbly beſeech you, to ſhut vp for a time your burning zeale within the bounds

bounds of modeſtie, leſt by interdicting the Kingdome, or cuting off the King from the communion of the Catholike Church, you cauſe the ruine of many particular Churches, and irreuokeably turne from your obedience both the King and infinite numbers with him. Cutting off brings deſpaire, whereas dreſsing the wound often cureth. And therfore, if there be a wound, it is more expedient, if it may bee your pleaſure, to labour preſently to cure it, leſt by cutting off a moſt noble member of the Church of God, you trouble beyond expreſsion, as matters now ſtand. The Blood-Royall cannot be ouercome till it hath ouercome, and is not aſhamed to yeeld after it hath conquered. Hee muſt be wonne with meekenes, and ouer-ruled with admonitions and patience. What is it to haue loſt ſome temporall things by patience, or by a continuall patience to loſe more, as the times now are? Whether is Seuerity to bee withdrawne, when ruine and ſlaughter threaten a People? To caſt many goods into the ſea, when the prouoked waues with the confuſion of hideous ſurges threaten a Ship-wrack?

But the Pope and Cardinals could not endure that the Papall authority ſhould be queſtioned in matter of Diſpenſation, and all maner of contempt for the ſpace of fiue yeeres little more or leſſe, neg-

lected

lected to lend an eare thereto, but were of opinion that the King ought to be cited to *Rome* : Insomuch, that this Prince, who was full of courage, being stirred vp to wrath by the arrogancy which some Ecclesiasticall persons had lately shewed, thought that for the iustnesse of his cause, hee was vniustly dealt with, most vnworthily for his Royall dignitie, and most ingratefully considering how much good he had done for the Church of *Rome*; that almost all at one time hee diuorced *Katharine*, depriued *Wolsey* of his goods, and drew a great summe of mony from those Bishops who had acknowledged the authority of his Delegation, to the preiudice of his Royall preeminence; accepted the title of *Soueraigne head, next vnder Christ, of the Church of England*, which was offered vnto him by a Synod, and by both the Vniuersities of *England*; with the consent of the Peeres of his Kingdome, made *Anne Bolene* Marchioness of *Pembrooke*, for the nobleness of her extraction, and the merit of her vertues, (so are the words;) hauing apparelled her in Royall Robes, he married her, and commanded her to be sacred, Queene. *Clement* the Seuenth was much displeased, (but to little purpose) iudged the former marriage to be of force and Canonicall, and pronounced that the King had incurred the penaltie of the great excommunication.

The King seeing himselfe contemned, renounceth the Pope.

Marrieth Anne.

Of this Marriage was ELIZABETH borne at

(*) *Greenwitch*

Greenwich, vpon *Thames*, the ſeuenth day of *September* 1533. Shortly after, the marriage contracted with *Katherine*, was iudged by authority of Parliament, inceſtuous and void, and that with *Anne*, lawfull by the Diuine Law, and ELIZABETH Heire of the Kingdome, if Iſſue-Male of the Royall Line ſhould fayle. All ſweare fidelity to the King, and to the Heires which he had or ſhould haue by *Anne*. And as it was conſidered vpon, that *Paulus* the Third would againe at *Rome* proclaime againſt this Marriage, and that within the Realme certaine Religious Women of *Kent*, ſuborned by ſome religious men, caſt out at randome ſome indiſcreete words againſt *Anne*, ELIZABETH, and the King, as if they had been ſtrucken with ſome diuine fury. The Title of the *Soueraigne head of the Church of England* is giuen to the King, with all manner of authority for the reforming of errours, hereſies, and abuſes, and the oath of fidelity to the Heires which hee ſhould haue by *Anne* is confirmed. Neuertheleſſe three yeeres ſcarce paſſed, but giuing himſelfe to new Loues, to diſtruſts, to wrath, to murther, and to bloud; to make way to his new Loue *Iane Seymor*, he accuſed *Anne* (who had miſcarried of a Male-Childe) to haue defiled his Bed, and for a light ſuſpition put her into the hands of iuſtice, where being examined, ſhee ſo reſolued the obiections which were made vnto her, that the whole multi-

A Nunne of Kent ſuborned.

Authoritie of Eccleſiaſticall giuen to the King.

multitude which were there preſent, iudged her innocent, and that ſhe was circumuented. She notwithſtanding is condemned by her Peeres, and being told of it, ſent to the King, and pleaſantly thankes him for many benefits which ſhee had receiued from him, *viz.* that ſhee not being very noble by extraction, hee had vouchſafed to adde to her condition, the dignity of Marchioneſſe, to make her his companion of honour, and to raiſe her vnto Royall Maieſtie: And which is more than all this, that not being able to aduãce her to an higher on earth, he pleaſed to lift her vp to heauen, where ſhee ſhould enioy eternall glory with innocent ſoules. Shee tooke her puniſhment quietly and Chriſtianly, wiſhing all happines to the King, and pardoning all her enemies. *Anne beheaded.*

The day following, hee married *Iane*, and by authority of the Parliament, declares the marriage with *Anne* to be no leſſe vnlawfull and voyd, than the marriage with *Katherine*, and that MARIE and ELIZABETH, their Daughters, were illegitimate, and to be excluded from the Succeſſion of the Kingdome. *Iane*, being in labour of EDWARD, (who ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdome) dyed before hee was borne, and hee cut out of her wombe.

The King being but little grieued for the death of his Wife, forthwith applyes himſelfe to new

Loues both in *Italy* and *France*, to procure friends: Neuertheleſſe, as he was of an ambiguous minde, and fearefull of euery thing, leſt the Papiſts ſhould riſe in Rebellion, and the Nobles moue ſedition, or ioyne with his forreine enemies, hee cauſed ſome to be beheaded for light and trifling matters, & ſome before euer they were heard: and euery houre hee puniſhed the Papiſts, as Traytors which did perſeuere in defending the Popes authoritie; and beeing tranſported with couetouſneſſe, hee tooke occaſion (and ſubiect by the vices of humane frailtie, as of idle and free liuing) to demoliſh the great Monaſteries, as he had done the ſmaller, that were full of venerable antiquity and Maieſty, tooke all the riches which had beene gathered of many yeeres, and at the ſame time burned Proteſtants aliue for Heretiques, by vertue of a Law called the Law of the *Six Articles*, made againſt thoſe which did impugne the doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, touching *Tranſubſtantiation*, *the celebration of the Euchariſt vnder one kinde*, *the ſingle life of Prieſts*, *Vowes*, *priuate Maſſes*, *and auricular confeſſion*. In ſo much, that at one time, and in the ſame place, hee exerciſed his crueltie againſt the Papiſts, cauſing them to be hanged and quartered: and againſt the Proteſtants, cauſing them to be burned aliue. By which acts, he made himſelfe terrible in his owne Kingdome, and to be holden a Tyrant abroad: and firſt, being

The King exerciſeth his cruelty vpon Papiſts and Lutherans, and his auarice vpon the Monaſteries.

The Law of Six Articles.

being reiected by *Marie* of *Lorraine*, daughter to the Duke of *Guise*, whom hee desired as riuall to *Iames* King of *Scotland* his Nephew: afterwards, of *Christian* of *Denmarke*, Dutchesse of *Milan*, Grandchild to *Charles* the Fifth. In the end, seeking the friendship of the Protestants of *Germanie*, with much adoe he obtained *Anne of Cleue* for his wife. But beeing as readie to distaste Women as to loue them, turning his heart away from her as soone as he had marryed her, put her away, as not beautifull enough for a Prince, grounding himselfe vpon this, that shee had beene betrothed before to the Duke of *Lorraine's* Sonne, and that shee had some womanish weakenesse that made her vnfit for marriage. But it was to take in her stead *Katharine Howard*, daughter to *Edmond Howard*, and Neece to *Thomas* of *Norfolke*, whom he beheaded the yeere following, accusing her to haue violated her chastity before shee was married, and opens the Royall-Bed to *Katharine Parre*, a Knights daughter, and the second time Widdow.

He marries and diuorces Anne of Cleue.

Katharine Parre.

Now when through intemperancy of his youth, he perceiued the vigor of his body to decay; being angry with the French King for hauing ayded the *Scots* against the *English*, hee reconciles himselfe, and makes alliance with the Emperour *Charles*, against the *French*, who hauing quite forgot the diuorce of *Katharine* his Aunt, secretly giues him hope

Reconciles himselfe with the Emperour Charles.

to reconcile him to the *Church of Rome*. After, hauing resolued to set vpon *France*, thereby so much the more to worke himselfe into the Emperours friendship, and quickly to cure the vlcers of his conscience, propounded to the Parliament, which was then assembled, that when hee should happen to dye, and his Sonne EDVVARD without issue, MARIE should first succeed to the Crowne, and afterwards, shee leauing none, ELIZABETH. That if neither left any, the Crowne of *England* should deuolue vpon such as he would designe eyther by Letters Patents or by Will. Which passed for a Law, with the good liking and consent of all, and that the penaltie of *Læsæ Maiestatis* should be inflicted vpon any that should goe against it.

Assures the succession to his Children.

Take Bologne.

Being returned from *France*, after he had taken *Bologne*, and consumed much treasure, and beeing sad and heauy to see *England* deuided by new opinions which daily sprang vp, and *England* groaned for sorrow to see her selfe so exhausted of her riches, her Money corrupted with Brasse, her Monasteries, with the Monuments of great antiquity, ruined, the bloud of Nobles, Prelates, Papists, and Protestants promiscuously spilt, and entangled in a *Scottish* warre, hee died with a perpetuall fluxe of Grease flowing from him, caused by a poysonous inflammation in the thigh: *An.* 1547. he breathed his last. A magnanimous Prince, but I know not

Dyed.

what

what confuſed temper of ſpirit he had : great vertues he had ; and no leſſe vices.

EDVVARD his ſonne hauing ſcarce attained to the age of tenne yeeres, ſucceeded him, and had for his Protector, *Edw. Seymor* Duke of *Sommerſet*, his Vnkle, vnder whom the *Engliſh* hauing taken vp armes, for to reuenge the violated faith of the match agreed vpon betweene *Edward* and *Marie* Queene of *Scotland* ; the *Engliſh* obtained a notable victory ouer the *Scots* neere *Muſſelborough*; this pernicious Law of *Six Articles*, and others which had beene eſtabliſhed by King HENRY the Eighth, againſt the Proteſtants, are ſuppreſſed, and thoſe which tended to the aboliſhing of the Popes authoritie confirmed ; the Maſſe abrogated ; the Images taken out of the Temples ; the Bookes of the Old and New Teſtament imprinted ; the Diuine Seruice celebrated in the vulgar Tongue ; the Euchariſt diſtributed vnder both kindes : But neuertheleſſe the auaritious ſacriledge fell rauenouſly vpon pillaging the goods of the Church, Colledges, Quiers, Hoſpitals, as things iudged to bee for ſuperſtitious vſes : ambition and enuy among the great ones, audacitie and diſobedience among the Commons, ſo inſolently exulted, that *England* ſeemed to be raging madde with rebellious tumults, taking ſides, deprauation of money, and withall, the euils that are accuſtomed to be during the minority

King Edward the Sixth ſucceedeth his Father.

The doctrine of the Goſpel is brought in.

A miſerable reigne vnder a King that is a Childe.

nority of a King ; these wasted and consumed within the Land : Also, dammage was receiued abroad ; as the losse of Forts which the *English* had made in *Scotland* and in *France*, and the Towne of *Bologne*, which had cost so much, which, to the shame of the name of *English*, was deliuered vp into the French Kings hands for money, with all the Fortresses of the Countrey of *Bologne* which the *English* had built, the Cannons and Munitions of warre; when *England* was so disioynted by diuision, that it was not able to keepe them; and *Charles* the Emperour hauing no will to ayde it, although he was intreated, in consideration of the alliance with him, excusing himselfe for that it had beene conquered since; no, not to accept of it, being offered vnto him *gratis*. And to adde an ouer-plus of infelicity, the Protector not being wary enough of the subtilty and deceits of *Dudley*, Duke of *Northumberland*, is by vertue of a new law condemned of Felony : for, entring into counsell how to take away the liues of some of the Kings Councellors, *to wit*, of *Dudley*, and some others, hee lost his head, and his Sonne by a priuate Law bereaued of the greatest part of his patrimony, and of his Fathers honours. The King being vnprouided of his faithfull Guard, is snatched away (vncertaine whether by sickness or poyson) before hee was ripe, leauing an incredible griefe with his people for

The Protector is sacrificed to death.

for the great and excellent vertues which hee had, farre surpassing his age.

At the same dolefull and heauy time, *Dudley* hauing broken the fraternall amity that was between the Protector and *Tho. Seimor* his brother, vpon occasion of an emulation of Women, which was betweene the Queene Dowager, wife to *Thomas*, and the Dutches of *Somerset*, the Protectors wife, amongst other things, to conuict *Thomas*, of *Crimen læsæ Maiestatis*, that he intended to reduce the King into his owne power, and to marry ELIZABETH the Kings Sister; shee indeed ignorant of the matter, grew vp in yeeres, and was in singular fauour with EDWARD her brother (who neuer saluted her, but called her his *sweet Sister*;) as also with the Peeres, and the Common-people. For she was full of grace and beauty, and worthy of Soueraigne Authority, of modest grauity, cleere and quick-witted, of a happy memory, and indefatigable in the studies of best letters, insomuch that before she attained to the Age of 17. yeeres, she very well vnderstood the Latine tongue, the French, the Italian, and the Greeke indifferently. Neither wanted shee skill in Musicke that was beseeming a Prince, and she sung and plaid cunningly and sweetly. With *Roger Ascham*, who was to guide her in her Studies, she read the Common places of *Melanchon*, all *Cicero*, a great part of the History of *Titus Liuius*, the

Elizabeth in fauour with her brother.

Her studies.

choice Orations of *Isocrates* (wherof she translated two into Latine) *Sophocles* Tragedies, and she read the New-Testament in *Greeke*. By which meanes she adorned her tongue with pure words, and instructed her mind with the best documents, and good learning, not for pompe or ostentation, but to recreate her life, and frame her selfe to vertue, that among the learned Princes of her time, shee was held Miraculous.

But the death of EDVVARD interrupted the studies of the Liberall Arts: For scarce was he expired, but *Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland* (who earnestly coueted the Kingdome for *Iane Gray*, to whom he had affianced his Sonne) vsed some persons to perswade her to quit the right which shee had to the Kingdome, for a certaine summe of money, and great possessions in Land. She modestly answered, that they ought first doe well to agree with *Mary* her elder Sister, because that during her life, she could pretend no right to it. Anon after, by the publike voice of a Cryer, *Iane Gray*, HENRY the Eighth's Neece by his second Sisters Daughter, was proclaimed Queene of *England*: the cause thereof being sought out, was found to bee, that in regard of a Lawe by Act of Parliament, which had neuer been duely abrogated, MARIE and ELIZABETH had beene declared illegitimate, (although that by the same Lawe the King

their

their Father had declared, that after EDVVARD the Sixth, if Issue fayled, that they should succeede him in order) and that by the Ciuill-Law of *England*, such Sisters could not hereditarily succeede EDVVARD, because they were not Cousin Germanes, but (as our learned in the Law say) of the halfe Blood. They adde likewise, that HENRY the Eighth had by his last will nominated *Iane Gray*. Moreouer it was shewed, what danger there were, if MARIE and ELIZABETH should marrie stranger Princes, which would re-establish the Popes authority, which was reiected out of the Kingdome. And to that purpose they produce Letters Patents that EDVVARD the Sixth a little before his death had perfected, and many of the Peeres, Bishops, Iudges, and others, by their signes in writing had fortified; neuertheless, the good-will that the Lords and the Commons bore to the Daughters of HENRIE the Eighth, within twentie dayes had driuen away this storme, and MARY proclaimed Queene through all parts of *England*, who comming toward the Citie of *London* with an Armie, ELIZABETH (not to bee wanting, her Sisters cause and hers being yet disquieted) went accompanied with fiue hundred Horse to meet her vpon the way.

Mary is proclaimed. Elizabeth ioynes with her.

In the first Assembly of the Parliament that MARY caused to bee holden, what things soeuer had

beene decreed againſt the marriage betweene Qu. *Katharine*, and HENRY the Eighth, were abrogated, and it was iudged lawfull by the Diuine Law, and at all times, and at all places auaileable for theſe reaſons, Becauſe it had bin contracted by the conſent of both their Parents, of moſt Illuſtrious Princes, of moſt graue Perſonages as well of *England* as *Spaine*, and with a graue and conſtant deliberation of the learnedeſt men of Chriſtendome, and conſummated by the procreation of Children. The ſame religious Seruice, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments which were in vſe at the deceaſe of HENRY the Eighth, are re-eſtabliſhed, notwithſtanding without any mention of acknowledging the Popes authority, which thing put the Queene and Cardinall *Pole* into great trouble and vnquietneſſe, who thinke that for matter of the marriage, conſent of Parents, and the iudgement of the wiſe, did but onely depend vpon the Diſpenſation of Pope *Iulius* the ſecond: and were very angry that the vſe of the Sacraments were permitted to thoſe who were not as yet well and duely receiued into the Church, without the authoritie of the Pope. But the States of the Kingdome (and MARY bethought her ſelfe of it) feared to receiue and acknowledge the Popes authority which they had already ſhaken off, neither could they ſuffer that the Queene ſhould quit the Title of *Soueraigne head of*

the

the Church of England, to which the moſt part of them, Prelates, Peeres, and Common-people, had ſworne to HENRY the Eighth, his heires and ſucceſſors, and there were many of them that had got their riches from thoſe of the Church. But tooke it greatly to heart to forſake him, perſwading herſelfe that all the right that ſhe had to the Kingdome of *England*, was vpholden by no other meanes, then by the power of the Pope, who gaue ſentence of her ſide, after her Father had declared her illegitimate. Verily, many at that time had the Popes power in ſuch hatred, and a ſtrangers yoke, that within tenne dayes after that MARY was married to *Phillip* King of *Spaine*, *Tho. Wyat*, and many others of *Kent*, brake out into rebellion; perſwading themſelues, that this marriage was made to no other end, but the more rigorouſly to preſſe them downe vnder the *Romane* yoke, by the ſtrength of *Spaine*, and diſpatch ELIZABETH out of the way, who was next heire to the Kingdome of *England*. *Charles* the fifth Emperour knowing what ſpirits were in *England*, and that Cardinall *Pole* was going with power of Legate from the Pope, caſt a blocke in the way (not without the Queenes counſell) leſt he ſhould trouble buſineſſe not as yet eſtabliſhed, that he ſhould not come into *England* till fifteene moneths were expired, when the third Parliament was ended, and the marri-

The Engliſh with much adoe ſubiect themſelues to the power of the Pope.

age of MARY and *Philip* should be celebrated by the Dispensation of Pope *Iulius* the third, because they were allied in the third degree, and that the Emperour *Charles* himselfe had heretofore contracted to marry her, being then vnder age, for time to come. At last, being dismissed from the Emperour, he came into *England*, by demands and obtestations propounded orders, that the lawes against Heretikes might be re-established, all Lawes published against the Sea of *Rome*, since the twentieth yeere of *Henrie* the eighth abolished, and the whole body of the Kingdome reconciled to the Church of *Rome*. The which with great difficulty he obtained, yet not before the goods taken from the *Monasteries, Colledges, Bishops, &c.* by *Henry* the eighth, and *Edward* the sixth, were confirmed vpon like Couenant, to the Queene and the possessors, lest the Kingdome should be disquieted. Foorthwith hereupon, he absolued both the Clergie and people, of the crime of Schisme, and Pope *Iulius* the third, himselfe with great ioy, celebrated a solemne Masse at *Rome*, ordained Prayers, published a Iubile, and granted a plenarie Indulgence to all who had giuen God thankes for the reunion of the Kingdome of *England*. Then is sent vnto him *Anthony* Viscount *Montaigue*, *Thomas Thurlbe*, Bishop of *Ely*, and *Edward Carne*, to giue thankes for the pardon which he had granted for the Schismes, and

Vpon what conditions they were reconciled to the Church of Rome.

Reioycing for it at Rome.

in

in the name of the King, the Queene, and the Kingdome, and that due ſubmiſſion and obedience ſhould be performed to the Pope and See of Rome. *Iulius* then being deceaſed, *Paulus* 4. gaue them audience and publike conference in the Apoſtolike Palace, and in the Hall of Kings, receiued their obedience, approued the pardon and abſolution granted by Cardinall *Pole*: And for the well deſeruing of *Mary* and *Philip*, he, out of the fulneſſe of his power, erected for euer *Ireland* to be a Kingdome, and adorned and marked it with dignities and Royall preheminences. The which the States of *Ireland* had liberally offered to *Henry* the eighth, and the Queene a little before vſed and enioyed the ſame. But theſe things are not for this place.

Ireland erected a Kingdome by the Pope.

The *Romane* Religion ſeemed then to be well eſtabliſhed in *England*: howbeit the Eccleſiaſticall company ſeeing that *Mary* was now fortie yeeres old, growne dry and ſickly, ſcarce hoping for any offſpring, began forthwith to be afraid of ELIZABETH: For they knew ſhe was brought vp in the Proteſtant Religion, and obſerued that all men caſt (as vpon a riſing Sunne) both heart and eye vpon her. Therefore they ſeriouſly conſult from the very beginning of *Maries* Raigne, how to preuent that the Religion now called backe, ſhould receiue any detriment by her. The wiſer and more conſciencious ſort iudged it to be an exceeding foule crime to

The Papiſts feare Elizabeth.

to destroy Royall Linage, and *Mary* herselfe, who was a godly Princesse (though displeased with her Sister, for the discord of their Mothers) yet certaine sicke-braind fellowes (who neither durst vndertake any thing, nor performe any thing by right or wrong to establish the Catholike Religion) did thinke it fit. And it happened very commodiously, for them, that *Tho. Wyat*, *Peter Carew*, *Iames Crofts*, and others for the Protestants, seditiously endeuoured to doe rash and turbulent things, labouring with all haste to mary ELIZABETH to *Edward Courtney*, Earle of *Deuon-shire*. She, as being guilty hereof, is thrust into prison: first of all vncertaine rumors are dispersed, that she was a partaker of sedition, thereupon many are brought in question for their heads, and others brought to the Racke. *Croft*, with a religious asseueration openly affirmed, that she was no way guilty, and out of all offence for sedition. *Wyat* also, it was thought, (who was ready to vnder-goe his last punishment) would haue accused her, and hee openly professed the same: Neuertheless she is put into the hands of Keepers, who hurry her this way and that way, at length her Seruants and Maides are laide in fetters; harder dealing then her dignity deserued.

They persecute her.

In the meane time, the *French* King, *Henry* the second, by priuate Letters, full of loue, comforts her, and by many and great promises seekes to

The Kings of France & Spaine comfort her.

draw

draw her into *France*; whether for loue, or by deceit to beget her a greater danger, I will not say, to make way to the Queene of *Scots* his Neece to the Crowne of *England*, after Queene MARY. In like manner, *Christian* the Third, King of *Denmarke*, who long before made profession of the Protestants Religion, endeuours all he can, and treates vnder-hand to marry her to *Frederick* his Sonne.

Which when the Papists of *England* perceyued, they againe threaten perill and mischiefe, and fearing her, cry out, that all of the Romane Religion, Queene and Kingdome, are in ieopardy while shee subsists, therefore necessarily to condemne her, eyther *Læsæ Maiestatis*, or as a depraued Heretique: and during that storme, whilest cruelty was rigorously exercised vpon the meaner sort of Protestants, *I. Storie*, Doctor of the Law, and others, cunningly giue it out in all places, in seuerall assemblies, that they vnderstood it was practising to extirpate and ridde out Heresie (ayming at her) without sparing the smallest branches. Notwithstanding, moderating her selfe (imitating the Mariner when a storme violently increaseth) heard diuine Seruice, according to the rule of the Romish Church, came often to Confession, and verily beeing oft rudely and churlishly disturbed by Cardinall *Pole*, the terrour of death made her confesse her selfe to bee a Romane Catholique. Howbeit

Shee is for feare of death constrained to follow the Romish Religion.

MARY hardly beleeued it, not forgetting that herſelfe, being forced by the ſame apprehenſion, had by Letters written to her Father with her owne hand (which I haue ſeene) renounced for euer the authority that the *Pope* pretended to haue in *England*, and acknowledged her Father to be [*Soueraigne Head of the Church of England*] and that the marriage betwixt him and her Mother was inceſtuous and vnlawfull. Neyther could the *Cardinall*, and other Prelates, perſwade themſelues to it, who to aſſure the Romane Church, wiſhed her to be taken out of the way. But *Philip*, MARY's Husband, and other *Spaniards*, being more iuſt on ELIZABETHS behalfe, would not heare of that; Not that the fortune of an afflicted Princeſſe mooued them ſo much to mercy, as their owne reaſon circumſpectly aduiſed them. Becauſe (fore-ſeeing) if ELIZABETH were cut off, that by *Marie*, Queene of *Scots*, (next Heire to the Kingdome of *England*, now married to the *Dolphin* of *France*,) *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, might be ioyned to the Scepter of *France*; then which, nothing could be more fearefull to the greatnes of *Spaine*, with whom they haue continuall warres.

They goe about to ſend her out of the Kingdome, and exclude her from the ſucceſſion thereof.

When therefore without impietie they could not put ELIZABETH to death, many thought it would be moſt aduiſedly done, to remooue her farre from *England*, and marry her to *Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of

of *Sauoy*. Neyther did this pleaſe *Spaine*, who before had purpoſed her for *Charles* his ſonne. And *Thomas Cornwallis*, who was of the Queenes Councell, likewiſe diſſwaded it, telling Her, that the people of *Englād* would hardly beare it, yea in no wiſe ſuffer it, that the next Heire of the Kingdome ſhould be carryed away into a forreine Countrey: At which time, MARY, for her inueterate hatred to ELIZABETH, and becauſe ſhee refuſed to marry with *Sauoy*, grew to that heat of anger, that ſhee ouer-charged her with reproaches, and often-times would not ſtick to ſay, that *Marie*, Queene of *Scotland* was the certaine and vndoubted Heire of the Kingdome of *England*, next to her ſelfe. Theſe conſultations holden againſt ELIZABETH, were taken away by a warre which MARY denounced in the behalfe of her Husband againſt *France*, which although that was the prime and principall cauſe, ſhee neuertheleſſe alledged others, and thoſe moſt true, *viz.* That *France*, againſt the Lawes of couenant, had nouriſhed and ſuſtained by his Agents and miniſters, the Rebellions of the Duke of *Northumberland*, and *Tho. Wyat*, the machinations and workings of *Dudley* and *Aſhton* againſt her perſon, ſent out Pyrats againſt the *Engliſh* Merchants, furniſhed *Stafford* with Ships and Armes to poſſeſſe the Caſtle of *Scarborough*, had attempted by wicked practices to ſurprize *Callais*, permitted *Engliſh* mony

to be counterfeited and adulterated in *France*, and inuaded the Low-Countries, which the *Engliſh* by couenant are bound to defend. In this flaming warre, and the *Scots* ſtirred vp by the *French* inuading the Frontiers of *England*, *Calais* is loſt, the Caſtles of *Lisbanck*, *Newnambrig*, *Mere*, *Oyes*, *Hammes*, *Sandgate*, the Caſtle and Towne of *Guines*, and amongſt the frequent Funerals of Prelates, which ſad preſage ſeemed to fore-ſhew the diſpleaſure of the diuine power, MARY, neglected of her Huſband, and with concocted griefe for the loſſe of *Callais*, (which had beene *Englands* rightfully two hundred yeeres) with a Feuer and the Dropſie, the ſeuenteenth day of Nouember 1558. departed, hauing reigned fiue yeeres & foure moneths: A Princeſſe of a holy behauior to al, her piety to the poore, liberalitie to the Nobles, and Clergie, can neuer enough be prayſed. But, the time was infamous, by the incredible crueltie of Prelates, who polluted *England* through all parts, with a moſt ſad & dreadfull ſpectacle, in burning the Proteſtants aliue. For (as ſome haue obſerued) there were more conſumed of all rankes, Biſhops, Miniſters, and common people, by this vengible and direfull way of death theſe fiue yeeres, than *England* ſaw in all the ſeuen and thirtie yeeres of HENRY the Eighth.

Calais loſt.

Qu. Mary *dyes:*

In the reigne of *Iohn*, Chriſtians againſt Chriſtians with vs, began to tyrannize with flames. The

ſame

same day that MARY dyed, within a few houres after, Cardinall *Pole*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, tormented with a quartane Feuer, expired. A man whom pietie, learning, and integritie, had made much more famous than the splendor of his Royall Race, though hee was Nephew to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* the Fourth, King of *England*.

And Cardinall Pole.

(***)



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1558.

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FINIS.

THE HISTORIE OF THE MOST High, Mighty, and Inuincible Princesse, Queene ELIZABETH, of most happy and neuer-dying memory:

OR ANNALLS

Of all the most remarkable things that happened during her blessed Raigne ouer the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, &c.

The first yeere of her Raigne, Anno 1558.

AFter that for certaine houres, the decease of Queene MARY had beene concealed, the Peeres, Prelates and Commons of *England*, being at that time assembled together in Parliament: First, notice was giuen to them of the vpper house, which were in a manner strucke silent with griefe and astonishment for a while. But they presently after rowzed vp their

Queene Maries death is knowne.

Booke 1. 1558.

ſpirits and amazed ſenſes, moderating their mournings with ioy, either not to ſeeme altogether ſad, or ſorrowfull, that Queene ELIZABETH ſucceeded the Crowne; or elſe ioyfull, that by the death of Queene MARY, the ſucceſſion thereof fell to her Maieſty: ſo they bent their cares to publike affaires, and with a common accord and firme reſolution, concluded and agreed, that by the law of ſucceſſion in the 35. yeere of King HENRY the eighth, ELIZABETH was, & ought to be declared true and legitimate Heire of the Kingdome. Therefore at that inſtant *Nicholas Heath*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, and Lord Chancellour of *England*, carried the firſt newes to thoſe of the Lower-houſe, giuing them to vnderſtand, with much ſorrow and ſighs, that death preuenting the courſe of nature, had depriued them of a Queene, no leſſe fauourable to the Roman Religion, then kinde and louing to the Common wealth, and that each member of the Vpper-houſe had receiued ſuch extreme griefe thereby, that they ſeemed to be comfortleſſe, without hope of conſolation, if God (through his ſpeciall grace & fauour towards the Engliſh Nation) had not reſerued for them ELIZABETH, another Daughter to King HENRY the 8. to ſucceed her Siſter, and that her right to the Crowne was ſo euident and true, that no man could, nor ought to make any doubt or queſtion thereof, and that the Peeres and Prelates of this Realme had all, with one accord and voice determined, that ſhe ſhould be forthwith publiſht Queene, and proclaimed Soueraigne, if they were ſo pleaſed to condeſcend thereunto. Which words being ſcarce vttered, the whole Aſſembly immediatly, with a common acclamation cryed aloud, GOD SAVE QVEENE ELIZABETH, *that her Raigne may be long and happy*. And immediatly, the whole Parliament riſing, ſhe was openly proclaimed Queen by ſound of Trumpets (firſt in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and then ſoone after, thorow the whole City of *London*) by the title of Queene of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and Defendreſſe of

Queene Elizabeth is proclaimed Queene by the Kings & Heraulds of Armes.

of the faith, with the happy applauſe and ioyfull ſhouting of all the people (vndoubted preſages, truly moſt happy) for indeed no Prince was euer cheriſht of his people and Subiects with more ardent and conſtant loue, and zealous affection, then this Queene was, nor none receiued and welcommed with more reſpect and ioy, then ſhe hath beene, nor bleſſed and prayed for with more vowes and prayers, ſo often iterated, as this happy Princeſſe hath beene all her life time: chiefly, when ſhee ſhewed her ſelfe in publike, or openly abroad.

Queene ELIZABETH was about fiue and twenty yeeres of age when her Siſter died. But ſhe was ſo rarely qualified by aduerſity, and ſo well accompliſht and accommodated by experience (which are moſt effectuall Tutors) that ſhe had purchaſed Prudence and Iudgement, farre aboue the capacity of her age, and of her pregnant wit and admirable wiſdome: ſhe gaue ſufficient proofe and worthy teſtimony in the election and choice that ſhee made of her Priuie Councellors; for ſhe tooke into her Priuie Councell, the aforeſaid *Nicholas Heath*, Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, a Prelate no leſſe prudent, then modeſt and diſcreet, *William Poulet*, Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter*, Lord high Treaſurer of England, *Henry Fitz-Allen*, Earle of *Arundel*, *Francis Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, *Edward Stanley*, Earle of *Darby*, *William Herbert*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Edward*, Baron of *Clynton*, Lord high Admirall, The Lord *Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Lord Chamberlaine, Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Sir *William Peter*, Sir *Iohn Maſon*, Sir *Richard Sackuile*, Knights, and *Nicholas Wotton*, Deane of *Canterbury*. All which had beene Priuie Councellors to Queene MARY, and profeſſing her owne Religion. Shee adioyned to them by temporizing (according to the time) theſe vndernamed (who were all Proteſtants, and had had no office at all) nor charge of gouernment in Queene MARIES Raigne) *William Parr*, Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, *Francis*, Lord *Ruſſell*, Earle of *Bedford*, *Thomas Parr*, *Edward Rogers*, *Ambroſe*

Her Maieſtie makes choice and election of a priuie Councell.

Booke 1. 1558.

Ambroſe Caue, *Francis Knollys*, and *William Cicill*, who before had beene Secretary to King EDVVARD the ſixth, a noble Gentleman, moſt wiſe, vnderſtanding and iudicious, whoſe learning and worth exceeded many others: and a little after ſhe brought in Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, whom ſhe made Lord Keeper of the great Seale of *England*. She ſo ordered and tempered them in place with all thoſe which ſucceeded ſince in ſuch ſort, that they were true, faithfull, and affectionate to her Maieſty, and ſhe alwaies free, and not ſubiect to any.

Her Maieſtie hath a ſpeciall care aboue all things to re-eſtabliſh the true Religion.

At theſe happy beginnings, her firſt and chiefeſt care was, to re-eſtabliſh the Proteſtant Religion: the which, as much by the inſtruction and knowledge that ſhee had receiued thereof from her infancy, as alſo by her owne particular iudgement, ſhe firmely held and maintained to be very true, and moſt conformable to the holy Scripture, and to the ſincerity of the primitiue Church, & ſo effectually reſoluing in her heart to ſettle and re-eſtabliſh the ſame, that ſhe imployed to that purpoſe ſome of her Councellors, being the moſt intimate: & with the reſt of the other Lords of her moſt honorable Priuy-Councel, ſhe tooke order that the Ports & Hauen-Townes ſhould be faſt ſhut, ſecured, and fortified. The Tower of London, ſhe committed to the care of one, whoſe fidelity and loyalty had been fully approued; a new Commiſſion ſhe ſent to *Thomas* Earle of *Suſſex*, Lord Deputie of *Ireland* who with a Garriſon of three hundred and twenty Horſe, and one thouſand, three hundred and ſixty foot, yeelded in ſubmiſſion the whole Countrey, which otherwiſe had not bin quiet nor peaceable. Alſo, the like Commiſſion ſhee ſent, with a clauſe or reſtraint, not to conferre any office to Iudges and Magiſtrates, for to hinder the Conuocation of the Aſſembly of the iuriſdiction by the authority there appointed. New Iuſtices and Sheriffes ſhee likewiſe eſtabliſhed in each County, and tooke order, that no money nor coine ſhould be tranſported by exchange out of the Realme to forraine Nations beyond Sea; and that the Preachers ſhould deſiſt and abſtaine from

She ordaines and ſettles ſtates and domeſticall affaires.

Booke 1.

1558.

Her Maiestie takes a great care for forraine affaires.

from treating of questions, or disputing about Controuersies in Religion, and withall, concerning State-affaires out of the Kingdom, she gaue order that Ambassadors should be sent to all Christian Princes, to let them vnderstand Queen MARY's decease. She therefore appointed and sent with all speed to the Emperour *Ferdinando*, Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, with letters of her owne hand-writing, by which shee gaue him notice of her Sisters death; and that first, by Gods speciall grace, next, by her hereditary right, and through the generall loue and consent of all her Subiects, she succeeded these her Crownes and dignities. And that now she desired nothing more than to maintaine the loue, and to encrease the ancient amitie, which of long time had beene betweene the Houses of *England* and *Austria*. To the King of *Spaine*, who at that time was in the Low-Countries, she also sent Ambassador the Lord *Brook*, Baron of Cobham, with the like Embassage and Commission, by which shee of new imployed and delegated the Earle of *Arundell*; *Turlbey*, Bishop of *Ely*, and L. *Wotton*, who before had beene delegated, and appointed by Queene MARY for the treatie of peace in the Citie of *Cambray*: and adioyned to them *W. Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*. She also secretly sent Sir *Henry Killigrew* Ambassadour to the Princes of *Germany*, to inflame them in the zeale of Gods pure Religion. To the King of *Denmarke*, *D. B.* was sent Ambassador: and to the Duke of *Holsatia*, also *Armigild Waade*.

Queene Elizabeth is earnestly solicited to marriage with Philip King of Spaine her Sisters Widdower.

Philip King of *Spaine*, hearing of the death of Queen MARY, fearing one way to lose the title of King of *England*, and the force of that Realme, which were vnto him most vsefull and profitable, and likewise that the kingdomes of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, should be vnited to the Crowne of *France*, by the meanes of the high and mighty Princesse, the Queene of *Scotland*, hee therefore treats seriously of a match with Queene ELIZABETH, with promise to obtaine a speciall dispensation from the *Pope*. And to that effect imployed the Earle of *Ferie*, who had visited her MAIESTIE, by the

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like meanes as he had done Queene MARY in her ſickneſſe. This Sutor puts Queene ELIZABETH into great anxiety and perplexity, conſidering how inconſiderate and ingratefull her Maieſtie might ſeeme to be in refuſing a Chriſtian Prince, who had already obliged her in other things much, but yet more in this, as to ſeeke her to his wife, through his owne free deſire and motion.

The French King likewiſe was in an extaſie, conſidering how important and dangerous it was to *France*, if *Spaine* her enemy ſhould vnite & adioyne to his kingdoms, the Realmes of *England* and *Ireland*: therefore hee vſeth his beſt endeuours at *Rome*, by the intermiſſion of the Biſhop of *Angouleſme*, to hinder the grant of ſuch diſpenſation, ſhewing to that end, that Queene ELIZABETH was held for Supportreſſe of the Proteſtant Religion, and (rather than faile) went about to declare her illegitimate: But all this moſt ſecretly and cloſely, for feare to irritate *England*, before that his affaires were throughly well ſettled. The Earle of *Ferie* contrariwiſe, on the other ſide, labours as hard to bring this marriage to paſſe, and to that end giues the Engliſh Papiſts to vnderſtand, (who were diſperſed throughout all parts of the Realme) that it was the ſole and onely way left for them to preſerue their Religion, and defend their ancient dignities and honours: and that if they ſhould contemne it, hee could not but deplore the miſery and calamity of *England*, as being out of money, vnprouided of men trained vp, and vnskild in the military diſcipline, void of fortification, and lacking munition and garriſons for Warre, and her Councellors of State depriued likewiſe of good aduice. And indeed to ſpeake truely, *Englands* affaires were at that time in a moſt miſerable caſe, and lamentable ſtate: for *England* had warre on the one ſide with *Scotland*, and on the other ſide with *France*; and was in a manner vndone by thoſe debts that King HENRY the Eighth, and King EDWARD the Sixt had run into, and her treaſury was exhauſt and empty, and the Town of *Callais* had

had beene but newly loſt, and the whole Countrey of *Oyes*, with all the munition and furniture of warre. The people here were diuided into contrarieties, through differency of religion, and the Queene left without any powerfull friend to aſſiſt her; hauing no alliance at all abroad with forrain Princes.

Her Maieſtie refuſed to marry with the King of Spaine.

But when as her Maieſtie had more ſeriouſly agitated her ſpirit, and carefully conſidered in her minde the propoſition of this match, ſhee findes the holy Scripture expreſſely inioyning, that no woman ought to ioyne with him who had beene her ſiſters Husband, no more than it is lawfull for a man to marry his brothers widdow; and therefore that ſuch marriages were directly illegitimate, and wholly forbidden by Gods Law; although the *Pope* ſhould neuer ſo much grant a Diſpenſation. And moreouer, that if ſhe ſhould contract it by vertue thereof, ſhee ſhould acknowledge and proue her ſelfe illegitimate, ſith ſhee was iſſued from the match that King HENRY her father had contracted, after his diuorcing and putting away *Katherine* of *Spaine*, for hauing beene his brothers wife, which neuertheleſſe had beene approued iuſt and lawfull, according to the Diuine Law by all the Academies of Chriſtendome, and likewiſe the Synod of *London*, as well as that of *Katherine*, vniuſt and vnlawfull. Her Maieſtie therefore endeuours to ſtop, preuent, and hinder by little and little the courſe of King *Philips* ſuite, by an honeſt anſwer, truely modeſt, and well-beſeeming the chaſte integrity of her conſtant virginity, and chiefly grounded vpon ſcruple of her conſcience. But he, notwithſtanding all this, ſurceaſed not his ſuite, but perſiſted therein, vrging her with feruent and frequent Letters: By which ſhee obſerued the manners and behauiours of ſo great a King, compounded with grace and graue modeſty, and truely worthy his Maieſtie, the ſaid Letters being much by her admired, in the often publiſhing of them; yea, her Maieſtie taking pleaſure to imitate them, vntill ſome Nobles of her Court began to

The reaſon why.

defame

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defame and ſpeake againſt the matchleſſe pride and practices of the Spaniards. Alſo, ſome of the intimate Lords and fauorites of her Maieſties Priuy-Councell, fearing leſt the tender and young ſpirit of a Maide, often moued, might eaſily condeſcend to their deſires, told to her MAIESTIE ſecretly, that both her Maieſtie, and friends, with the whole Realme of *England*, were vndone, if in ſuch Diſpenſations, or in any thing elſe whatſoeuer, ſhe ſhould giue any credit, or make the leaſt eſtimation of the *Popes* authoritie and power, ſince that two of them had declared and publiſhed her Mother illegitimate, and vnlawfully ioyned in wedlocke with King HENRY the Eighth. Alſo, that by vertue of ſuch Declaration, the moſt high and moſt mighty Princeſſe the Queene of *Scotland* ſhould pretend right to the Crownes of *England*, &c. and that the *Pope* would neuer retract nor goe from that iudgement, and that her Maieſtie ſhould not expect nor looke for any thing good or iuſt from the *Popes* hand, who had beene enemies, and ſhewed themſelues vniuſt both towards her Maieſtie, and her Mother: And that the French King laboured hard, vſing his vtmoſt power and beſt endeuours at the *Popes* Court in *Rome* for to cauſe the high and mighty Princeſſe *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, to be acknowledged and declared Queene of *England*; yet Queene ELIZABETH neuer intended nor meant in her heart to match with the King of *Spaine*, being quite contrary to her vertuous diſpoſition; hauing a feruent deſire and ſettled reſolution to ground and aduance the true Proteſtant Religion, to which ſhee was moſt zealous. Therefore deeming that ſhee could not vndertake or vphold a worthier thing, more agreeable to God, nor more efficacious for to quench the flames of the pretended loue of ſo importunate a Sutor, then to labour to procure an alteration of Religion with all poſſible meanes and ſpeede which could be, not doubting in ſo doing to alter likewiſe the will and intent of King *Philip*: Whereupon and forthwith her Maieſty conſulted and tooke aduice with her moſt intimate and

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Her Maiesty deliberates and labours for the re-establishment of the Protestants Religion.

and sincere Priuy Councellors, how in abolishing the Roman Religion, she could conueniently settle, in stead of it, the true Catholike and Christian Faith, and examining what dangers might succeed and happen thereby, and how they could be preuented and auoyded: who fore-see and iudge what dangers could be procured either out of the Kingdome, or within the Realme: without, either by the Pope, who surely would not misse (raging with his excommunications) to expose the Realme as a prey to whosoeuer could inuade it: Or by the French *King*, who taking such opportunity at the occasion, by that would slake and delay the Treatise of Peace, which was already begun in the City of *Cambray*: or else, and rather in the behalfe of the Royall Queene of *Scotland*, would declare open war with *England*, vnder colour of Enemies, and Heretiques, and would possesse thereunto *Scotland* to condiscend to it, which at that time was at his command and disposing: Or by the *Irish*, who were most addicted to Papistry, and much apt and giuen to rebellion; or by the King of *Spaine*, who was then most mighty and powerfull in the *Netherlands*, *Englands* neighbouring Countries.

She considers what dangers might happen therby.

Vpon this, throughly and well considered, they first resolue: that for the Popes excommunication, her Maiestie should not feare, accounting it but as a brutish rage and fury, and that if a Peace was offered by the French *King*, it was behoofefull and requisit to entertaine it; if not, to seek it by all meanes, because in it, it would cõprehend the loue of *Scotland*, yet neuertheless not to forsake or disparage any kinde of waies, the Protestants of *France* and *Scotland*. Also, that it was requisite to fortifie and strengthen the Towne and Garrison of *Berwicke*, with the rest of the Frontires of *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and by all meanes possible to increase and maintaine such formal loue, and the ancient alliance with those of *Burgundie*.

Without the Realme.

Within the Realme: first, by such Nobles who had bin

Within the Kingdome.

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deiected from the Queenes Priuy Councell; next, by such Bishops and Church-men, who should be degraded and put out of their benefices and places; and after, by those Iustices of the peace, that were for each County: as also, by the common people, who vnder Queen MARIES raigne were most affectionate to the Roman Church. Therefore they deemed and thought good, first, to depriue such of their offices, and reprehend them by the seuerity of Laws, as Queene MARY had formerly vsed the Protestants: and therefore, to admit and institute, in each place and office of command, the Protestants onely, and to settle them in euery Colledge of both Vniuersities, and by the like meanes to discharge and turne out all Papists-Professors, and Rectors there, and also such Schoole-masters and Tutors of *Winchester*, *Æton*, and other free Schooles: and for those, who being possest onely of a desire of Change, (though Protestants) had begun to inuent a new Ecclesiasticall Policie, that it was likewise requisit to reprehend them in time; and to suffer and tolerate but one and the selfe-same Religion through the whole Realme, for feare that diuersities of Religion should kindle seditions betwixt & among the people of *England*, being a warlike Nation, both courragious and generous. Therefore speciall charge and care was giuen to Sir *Thomas Smith*, a worthy Knight, truely iudicious and wise, also to the noble Gentlemen, *M. Parker*, Master *Bill*, Master *Coxe*, Master *Grindall*, Master *Whitehead*, and Master *Pilkinton*, (who all were most learned and temperate) for the correcting of the *Liturgie*, which had been before penned and published in English in King EDWARD the Sixt's raigne, without making any more priuy thereunto, but the Lord Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earle of *Bedford*, *I. Gray* of *Pyrg*, and *Cecil*.

The Queene rebukes, and reprehends.

But certaine Ministers, impatient of delay, by the length of time which ranne and past away in these things, desiring rather to runne before good Lawes, than to expect them,

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them, in their feruent zeale began to preach the Gospell of Christs true Doctrine, first, priuately in houses, and then, openly in Churches: at which, the Commons, curious of nouelties, ranne thither, and whole flockes of people resorted to their hearing, from all parts and places, in great multitudes, contesting so earnestly one with another (the Protestants against the Papists) vpon questions of controuersies in Religion, that, for to preuent tumults and seditions, and also the occasions of further quarrels and strifes, the Queenes most excellent Maiestie was, as it were, compelled of necessity to defend expressely by strict Proclamation to all in generall, not to dispute any more, nor enter into any such questions: yet notwithstanding, giuing full leaue and authoritie to reade to her people the holy Gospell, and the Epistles and Commandements, (but not as yet to make any explication thereof) and to haue the Lords Prayer, the Apostolicall Creede, and the Letanie in the vulgar tongue. And for the rest, shee ordained the Romane stile to be obserued, vntill that, by the authoritie of a Parliament, the whole forme of Gods Diuine Seruice should be settled, and of new instituted: and in the meane while, her Maiestie solemnized Qu. MARIES Funerall; which glorious preparation made then a most magnificent shew, in *Westminster*: and shortly after, shee payed to *Charles* the Fifth his honours, who two yeares afore (rare example of all *Cæsars*, and more glorious than all his victories) in conquering himselfe, had renounced his Empire, withdrawing himselfe from this mortall life, to liue for euer wholly with God.

the impatience of certaine zealous Ministers of the Word of God.

Queene Elizabeth allowes diuine Seruice to be read in the English Tongue.

Her Maiestie celebrates her Sisters Funerall, and that of the Emperour Charles the Fifth.

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THE SECOND YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1559.

Queene Elibeth re-eſtabliſheth and creates diuers Noblemen.

AT the beginning of this yeere, Queene ELIZABETH re-eſtabliſhed, and reſtored of new, *W. Parr* to the dignity of Marquis of *Northampton*, who vnder Queene MARIES raigne had beene degraded of that honour.

Her Maieſty alſo reconferred the Barony of *Beauchamp*, and Earledome of *Hartford*, vnto *Edward Seymor*, a noble Gentleman, who by the force of a priuat Law, the malice and enuy of his aduerſaries, had beene depriued of the greateſt part of his Patrimony, and Anceſtors honours. Her Maieſtie likewiſe honoured with the Title of Viſcount *Bindon*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, ſecond ſonne to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, (who was father to the gracious Princeſſe *Frances* Dutcheſſe of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, now

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now liuing.) Moreouer, her Maiestie created Sir *Henry Carie*, Baron of *Hunsdon*, who was allyed to her Maiesty by the Lady *M. Bullen*; and that Noble Gentleman, *Oliuer Saint Iohn*, shee made Baron of *Bletso*, who all were free from the Popish Religion. After this, her Maiesty is conuayed in pompe and Royall Magnificency, from the Tower of London to Westminster, thorow the Citie of *London*, with incredible applause, and generall acclamations, (which, as her Maiestie was equally venerable, in sight and hearing, increased meruailously) and the next morning, her Maiestie was there inaugurated with the right of her Ancestors, and anoynted by *Owen Oglethorpe*, Bishop of *Carlile*, when as the Arch-Bishop of *Yorke*, and diuers other Prelates, had refused the performance of that duty, through a suspicious feare of the Roman Religion; conceiued partly, because her Maiesty had beene brought vp from the Cradle, in the Protestant Religion: and partly also, that she had a little before, forbidden a Bishop (at the Diuine Seruice) from lifting vp and adoring the Hoste: and likewise permitted to haue the Letany, Epistles & the Gospell in English, which they held as execrable: Yet Queen ELIZABETH was truely godly, pious, and zealously deuoted: for her Maiestie was not so soone out of her bed, but fell vpon her knees in her priuate Closet, praying to God deuoutly: Certaine houres were by her Maiestie reserued and vowed to the Lord. Moreouer, her Maiestie neuer failed any Lords day and holy day to frequent the Chappell; neither was euer any Prince conuersant in Diuine Seruice, with more deuotion, then her sacred Maiestie was. Shee zealously heard all the Sermons in Lent, beeing attyred in blacke, and very diligently gaue attention thereunto, according to the ancient vse and custome, although shee said & repeated oftentimes, that which she had read of HENRY the third, her Predecessor, that her Maiestie had rather in her Prayers speake to God deuoutly, then heare others

On Wednesday, the 23. day of Nouemb. Queene Elizabeth remoued from Hatfield vnto the Charterhouse, to the Noble Lord NORTHS *House, where her Maiesty lay fiue dayes, and rode in open Charet, from the Lord* NORTHS *House, along Barbican, entring into the City at Cripple-Gate. and so came to the Tower, from thence to Westminster, where she was inaugurated.*

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Q. Elizabeths opiniõ concerning ſacred things.

She cals a Parliament, which is held the ſecond yeere of her raigne.

ſpeake of Him eloquently. And concerning the Croſſe, our bleſſed Lady, and the Saints, ſhe neuer conceiued irreuerently of them, neither ſpake her ſelfe, nor ſuffered any others to ſpeake of them, without a certaine kinde of Reuerence.

Within few dayes after, there was a Parliament held, in which was enacted by a generall conſent: Firſt, that Queen ELIZABETH was and ought to bee, both by the Diuine and Ciuill Law, and the Statutes of this Realme, (and as I may vſe their proper termes and forme) the lawfull, vndoubted, and direct Queene of *England*, rightly and lawfully deſcending from the Royall Blood, according to the order of ſucceſſion; which was likewiſe formerly enacted by Parliament, in the fiue and thirtieth yeere of King HENRIE the Eighth; yet neuertheleſſe, that Law was not aboliſhed, by which her Father excluded both her and her Siſter MARY, from ſucceeding him in the Crowne: And therefore it was thought by ſome, that the Lord *Bacon*, vpon whom her Maieſty relyed, as an Oracle of the Law, had forgotten himſelfe, and was deſtitute in that particular of his wonted Prudencie, in not foreſeeing the euent: and eſpecially, becauſe the Duke of *Northumberland* had obiected the ſame both againſt her Siſter MARY, and her ſelfe; and to that end Queen MARY had aboliſhed it, in as much as concerned her ſelfe. At which time, there were ſome that drew againſt her Maieſtie moſt dangerous inuectiues and concluſions, in ſuch manner as if ſhe had not bin lawfull Queene, although the Lawes of *England* many yeeres agoe determined, *Que la Couronne vnefois prinſe oſte toute ſorte de defaults*. That the Crowne once poſſeſſed, cleareth and purifies all manner of defaults or imperfections. But many, on the other ſide, commended the wiſdome of the Lord *Bacon* therein, as vnwilling, in regard of ſuch confuſion of the Lawes and Acts, to open a wound already clozed vp with the Time: For, that which made for Queene

ELIZABETH,

ELIZABETH, seemed to tend to the shame and disgrace of Queene MARY. And therefore shee held her selfe to the Law made in the fiue and thirtieth yeere of King HENRY the Eighth, who restored and vpheld, in a certaine manner, each of their Honours.

Propositions to reforme Religion.

Afterwards, there was in the Parliament likewise propounded, that forasmuch as concerned the Crown of *England*, and the ancient iurisdiction in Ecclesiasticall matters, should be re-established, with the Lawes of King HENRY the Eighth, against the Sea of *Rome*; and of EDVVARD the Sixth, in the behalfe of the Protestants, which Queene MARY had vtterly abolished; ordaining, That all Iurisdictions, Priuiledges, and Spirituall Preheminences, which heretofore were in vse, and appointed by Authority, for to correct Errours, Heresies, Schismes, Abuses, and other Enormities in Ecclesiasticall Affaires, should for euer remaine as vnited to the Crowne of *England*; and that the Queenes Maiestie with her successors, should likewise haue full power to appoint Officers by their Letters Patents, to execute this Authority: neuertheless, vpon this charge, that they should not define any thing to be hæreticall, but that which had beene declared such long agoe, by the holy and Canonicall Scriptures, or by the foure first Oecuminike Councels, or others, according to the true and naturall sense of the holy Scripture; or which should afterward in some Synod, by the authority of the Parliament, and approbation of the Clergie of *England*, be declared, That euery Ecclesiasticall Magistrate, and such as receiue pension out of the publike Treasure, to aduance and promote themselues in the Vniuersities, to emancipate Pupils, to inuest Domaines, or receiue seruants of the Royall House, were oblig'd by Oath, to acknowledge her Royall Maiestie, the sole and soueraigne Gouernour of the Realme (for as much as concerneth the Title of Soueraigne Head of the Church of *England*, it pleased her not) in all things, or causes as well

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well ſpirituall as temporall, all forraigne Princes and Potentates excepted, entirely excluded, to informe of any cauſes within the Lands of her obeyſance.

The 18. of March.

But there were nine Biſhops that ſate the ſame day in the vpper Houſe of Parliament, and oppoſed themſelues, and were wilfully refractary againſt theſe Lawes (beeing then but foureteene aliue) namely, the Arch-Biſhop of *Yorke*, the Biſhops of *London*, of *Wincheſter*, of *Worceſter*, of *Landaff*, of *Couentrie*, of *Exceter*, of *Cheſter*, and of *Carlil*, with the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*. And amongſt the Nobility, there were none that gaue aduice that *England* ſhould bee reduced againe to the vnity of the *Romane* Church, and obedience of the Apoſtolike Sea, except the Earle of *Shropſhire*, and *Anthony Browne*, Vicount Montaigue; who, as I ſaid here before, was in Queene MARIES Raigne, ſent in Ambaſſage to *Rome*, by the States of the Kingdome, with *Thurbey*, Biſhop of *Ely*; who by a feruent zeale of Religion, inſiſted ſharpely, that it were a great ſhame for *England*, if ſhe ſhould retire ſo ſuddenly from the Apoſtolike Sea, vnto which it was but lately reconciled; and more danger, if by reaſon of ſuch reuolt, it ſhould be expoſed (by the thunder of an Excommunication) to the rage of her enemies: That by order and authority of the States, hee had, in the name of the whole Kingdome of *England*, offered obedience vnto the Pope, and hee could not but acquite himſelfe of this promiſe. And therefore he tryed and endeuoured to preuaile ſo much by Prayers, that they would not retyre or draw backe from the Sea of Rome, of which they held the Chriſtian Faith, which they had alwaies kept. But when theſe things were brought to the Lower Houſe, there were many more than in the vpper Houſe, that conſented ioyntly to theſe Lawes. Whereupon the Papiſt, murmuring much, ſaid, that of a deliberate purpoſe, they had elected the moſt part of the Deputies amongſt the Proteſtants, aſwell of the Shires, as of the Cities & Corporations;

tions, and that the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earle of *Arundell*, the moſt powerfull and mightyeſt amongſt the Peeres, had induſtriouſly bribed the ſuffrages for the profit which they drew, or hoped to draw thereby.

Spirits then diſagreeing for matters of Religion, by one and the ſame Edict, all perſons were forbidden to ſpeake irreuerently of the Sacrament of the Altar; and permitted to communicate vnder both ſpecies: And a Conference appointed againſt the laſt of *March*, betwixt the Proteſtants and the Papiſts, in which the States of the Land ſhould bee preſent; and for the ſame, to keepe and hold elect, for the Proteſtants, *Richard Coxe*, *Whitehead*, *Edmund Grindall*, *Robert Horne*, *Edward Sandes*, *Edward Gueſts*, *Iohn Elmar*, and *Iohn Iewell*: For the Papiſts, *Iohn White*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Rad. Bain*, of *Couentrie* and *Lichfield*, and *Thomas Watſon* of *Lincolne*; Doctor *Cole*, Deane of Saint *Paul*; Doctor *Landgal*, Arch-Deacon of *Lewis*, Doctor *Harpeſfield* of *Canterbury*, and Doctor *Chatſie* of *Middleſexe*. The Queſtions propounded, were theſe following: Of the celebration of the Diuine Seruice in the Vulgar Tongue: of the authority of the Church, for to eſtabliſh or aboliſh Ceremonies, according as it is expedient, and of the Sacrifice of the Maſſe. But all this Diſputation came to nothing; for after ſome conference, and writings deliuered from the one to the other ſide, and not agreeing vpon the forme of the diſputing, the Proteſtants began to triumph, as obtayning the Victory, and the Papiſts to complaine of their hard vſage, for not beeing aduertiſed but a day or two before: and that Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, the Lord Keeper (being a man little read in Theologie) and their great Enemie, ſate as Iudge, although he was but meerely appointed for Moderator. But the truth is, that hauing thought more ſeriouſly vpon this matter; they durſt not, without expreſſe order frō the Pope, call in queſtion ſuch high points which are not argued in the Church of Rome. And they

They eſtabliſh a Diſpute betwixt Proteſtant and Papiſt.

The ſucceſſe thereof.

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cryed of all sides, *When is it, that one shall knowe, what hee ought truely to beleeue, if it be alwaies permitted to dispute of Faith? Disputers of Religion alwaies returne to the Scepters, and such like things.* And the Bishops of *Lincolne* and *Winchester* were so offended with it, that they were of opinion, that the Queen, and those that had caused her to forsake the Church of Rome, should be excommunicated, and punished with imprisonment for it: But the wiser sort, that it must be left to the Iudgement of the Pope, for feare that those which were her Subiects, should not seeme, in doing this, to shake off their obedience due to their Princesse, and to display the Ensigne of Sedition. And that was not hidden to the Pope, who beeing also presently moued with Choller, commands Sir *Edward Carne* of Wales, a Ciuill-Lawier, who had beene Ambassad our at *Rome* for HENRY the Eighth, and MARY, and was then for Queene ELIZABETH, to quite this charge, and (to vse the same termes) *by the vigor or force of the commandement that was made vnto him, by the Oracle of the liuely voice of our most holy Lord the Pope, in vertue of the most holy obedience, and vpon paine of the greatest Excommunication, and losse of all his goods*, not to goe out of the Citie, but to take vpon him the administration of the Hospitall of the English: And did it, to hinder, that hee should not giue notice of the secret traines of the French, against Queene ELIZABETH, as he had done before, with a great care, for the loue he bore to his Countrey. Neuertheless, some thought that this old man, voluntarily chose this exile, for the zeale he bore to the Roman Religion.

Sir Edward Carne is detayned at Rome.

In the meane time, (I omit for a while the affaires of the Church and Parliament, to obserue the order of time) the Embassadours of *England* & *Spaine*, which treated of Peace in the Citie of *Cambray*, were in debate with the *French* about the restitution of *Calais*, but they could not in any manner obtaine it, although they should haue propounded

Disputes and strifes for the Towne of Calais.

to

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to quit thē of three Millions of Gold, which *France* ought by lawfull obligation. The *Spaniard*, who otherwiſe altogether different from Peace, held the *Engliſh* ſide, and ſurely with as much trueth as honour, becauſe the Queene had loſt this Town by his occaſion; & fore ſaw that it was expedient for *Flanders*, that it ſhould be in their obedience. The *French* interrupted him, ſaying, that ſhee alone could not recompence the damages which the *Engliſh* had done them, their Townes beeing taken by the *Spaniards* by reaſon of their ayde; and many Borroughs in baſe *Brittaine* were ſackt and burned; many Ships taken, and their Commerce or Traffique, which is the ſinewes of War, broken: That they had diſburſed infinite ſummes of money, to hinder their firings; that *Calais* was the ancient patrimony of *France*, and that if it had beene loſt by Warre long agoe, it had alſo then beene recouered by Armes; therefore, that it ought not to be reſtored, and that the States of *France* had ſo reſolued. That ſurrendring it, were, to put weapons into their Enemies hands, and withdraw for euer the Kings Subiects from his obedience: and therefore that it was an vniuſt thing for the *Engliſh* to demand it. The *Engliſh*, on the contrary, maintained, that they demanded it with reaſon and Iuſtice; becauſe, ſay they, during one, yea, two ages, he had tooke *Englands* part, and that they had not onely conquer'd it by Warre, but that it was alſo falne vnto them by hereditary ſucceſſion, and by ceſſion made by vertue of the pactions and agreements, in exchanges of other places, which the Kings of *England* had likewiſe granted to them of *France*. That theſe damages ought not to be imputed to them, but to the Spaniards, who, againſt their will, had drawne and aſſociated them in this Warre; in which, through the loſſe of well-fortified places, & the taking of many of their Captaines, they had receiued much more damage than the *French*, and had had no profit therby. That all that the States of *France* order or decree, is

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not reasonable, because it is only profitable; and that *Calais* could not be lawfully or iustly detayned, seeing that by the Conditions already agreed vpon, all the places that were taken in the late Warres, were restored vnto other Princes.

To which, the *French* replyed, that it was done in consideration of the marriages which ought to be contracted with the other Princes, and hereupon propounded to marry the first Daughter who should issue by the mighty Princesse *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, and the *Dolphin* of *France*; with the first Sonne that might be procreated by Queene ELIZABETH, to whom she should bring in dowry the Towne of *Calais*; and that for this cause, the Queene of *Scotland* should quit her right which shee had vnto the Kingdome of *England*; or otherwise, to marry the first Daughter which should be borne of Queene ELIZABETH, with the eldest Sonne that should descend from the Queene of *Scotland*: and hereupon the *English* should renounce the right which they pretend vnto the Realme of *France*, and the *French* should be discharged of all the debts they ought to *England*, and that *Calais* should in the meane time remaine in their hands. But these propositions being vncertaine for another time, they sought to win time, and increase the delayes, but were contemned by the *English*, who made as if they seemed not to haue heard them. As they stood vpon these termes, the *Spaniard* hauing aduice that Queene ELIZABETH did not onely breake the marriage which hee had offered her, but likewise changed many things in Religion, began to giue ouer the desire which he seemed to haue before the restitution of *Calais*; and his Ambassadours almost losing their patience, were somewhat of accord with the *French*: for the rest made account to continue the warres no longer for *Calais*, vnlesse the *English* would contribute more men and money as before, and would aduance it for sixe yeere.

This

This raiſed the heart of the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, who aſſured the *Spaniards* that the Queen of *Scotland* his Niece was truely and vndoubtedly Queen of *England*, and therefore that the King of *Spaine* ought to imploy all his forces, if he made any account of iuſtice, to cauſe *Calais* to be deliuered into the hands of his Niece, the direct Queene of *England*. But the *Spaniards*, which ſuſpected the power of *France*, not hearing that willingly, tryed ſecretly to draw out of *England* the Lady *Katherine Gray*, the yonger Niece of King HENRY the Eighth, for his Siſters ſake, to oppoſe her to the Queene of *Scotland*, and the *French*, if Queene ELIZABETH ſhould happen to deceaſe, and to hinder thereby that *France* might not be augmented by the ſurcreaſe of *England* and *Ireland*; And ſtrongly inſiſted, that there ſhould be a Truce betwixt *England*, and *France*, vntill ſuch time they ſhould agree together, and that in the meane time *Calais* ſhould be ſequeſtred in the hands of the King of *Spaine*, as an Arbitrator of honour. But that was refuſed as much by the *French* as the *Engliſh*.

Queene ELIZABETH had well preſaged that: for ſhee could not hope for any good from the *Spaniards* ſide, ſeeing that ſhe had contemned and deſpiſed to marry with their King, and changed Religion. She alſo had knowledge, that the treatie of *Cambray* was not made for any other purpoſe, but to exterminate & roote out the Religion of the Proteſtants. And truely the conſideration of her Sex, and the ſcarſitie of treaſure, made her Maieſty finde, that peace was more to be wiſht for than warre, though moſt iuſt. Alſo, it was her ordinary ſaying, that there was more glory in ſettling a peace by wiſdome, than in taking vp armes to make warre; neither did ſhee thinke that it was beſeeming either to her dignity, or to the dignity of the name of the *Engliſh*, to relye vpon the defence of the *Spaniard*. And ſhe thought therefore, that it was better for her to make a peace aſide and ſeparably, and to go thorow

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and conclude for *Calais* with the King of *France*, being ſollicited thereunto by continuall Letters from the Duke of *Mont-morancy*, Conſtable of *France*, and the Duke of *Vandoſme*, as alſo by meſſage of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who ſent the Lord *Gray* (who had beene taken priſoner at *Guienne*, and releaſed to that end. And for to conclude this agreement, *B. Caualcance*, a Lord of *Florence*, was employed, who from his infancy had been brought vp in *England*, with whom the *French* King hauing conferred in ſecret, did hold that it ſhould be ſafer to treat thereof by new Commiſſioners in ſuch priuat Country-houſes of the Kingdomes of *England* or *France*, that were of no great note. But Queene ELIZABETH being mooued, ſhewed her ſelfe to be of a manly courage, in declaring that ſhee was a Princeſſe abſolutely free, for to vndergoe her affaires either by her owne ſelfe, or by her Miniſters: and although that during the reigne of her Siſter, nothing was concluded, but according to the *Spaniards* aduice, and that ſhee would neuertheleſſe, without giuing him the leaſt notice, or taking his counſell, diſpatch theſe affaires betweene the Deputies of both ſides, not in an obſcure and priuate place, but openly in the Caſtle of *Cambreſis*, neere *Cambrai*. This offended no leſſe the *Spaniard*, than the refuſall and contempt of his marriage with her Maieſtie, with the alteration of Religion, had done heretofore. Neuertheleſſe, the *French*, who was crafty and cunning enough, to diſcouer how ſhe was affected to match with *Spaine*, prayed her Maieſtie firſt of all to take away two ſcruples from them, before the yeelding of *Calais*; to wit, that they forſaking that Towne, before they were aſſured whom ſhee ſhould marry, it might eaſily fall into the hands of the *Spaniard*, becauſe that he would haue her Maieſtie, if poſſible, vpon any condition, and that there is nothing ſo deare, but women will part with it to their beloued husbands: the other, whether, as the *Spaniards* boaſt, that the *Engliſh* haue

The Caſtell in Cambreſis.

ſuch

ſuch neere alliance with them, that they ought to ioyne in armes with them againſt all Nations whatſoeuer, to theſe it was anſwered, that her Maieſtie bore ſuch motherly affection toward the Kingdome of *England*, that ſhe would neuer part with *Calais*, for to fauour a husband, and that although her Matie ſhold grant it, yet *England* would neuer ſuffer it. Moreouer, that betwixt her Maieſty, and *Spaine*, there was not any ſuch alliance, but a meere forced amitie, and that her Maieſty was moſt free for any contract with any Prince which might be commodious and beneficiall to *England*. Vpon this, it was thought good and expedient, that the Commiſſioners of each part ſhould equally vſe their vtmoſt endeuours in the Caſtle of *Cambray*, to agree all differences, and to conclude a peace. Therefore Queene ELIZABETH ſent for *England*, as Commiſſioners, *Thurlbie* Biſhop of *Elie*, the Lord *Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Lord high Chamberlaine to her Maieſty, and Doctor *Wotton* Deane of the two Metropolitan Sees of *Canterburie* and *Yorke*. For the *French King*, *Charles* Cardinall of *Lorraine*, Archbiſhop and Duke of *Rheims*, the chiefeſt Peere of *France*, *Anne* Duke of *Mont-morancy*, Peere, Conſtable, and great maſter of *France*, Lord *Iames Aulbon*, Lord of Saint *Andrewes*, Marquis of *Fronſac*, and Lord Marſhall of *France*, *Iohn* of *Moruillier*, Biſhop of *Orliens*, and *Claude Aubeſpine*, Secretary of the Priuy-Councell of *France*. Theſe ioyntly agreed and concluded ſuch Articles as are heere ſet downe almoſt in the ſame words.

Articles of Peace, made and agreed vpon 'twixt the Queenes Maieſtie and the French King, Henry the ſecond.

That none of theſe Soueraignes ſhall goe about to inuade each others Countries, nor giue aſsiſtance to any that ſhould intend any ſuch deſigne: if any of their Subiects ſhould attempt any thing tending to that effect, they ſhould be puniſhed, and the peace thereby not infringed nor violated. The commerce ſhould be free; and that the Subiects of each Prince, who haue ſhips of Warre, before they goe to Sea, ſhall giue ſufficient caution not to robbe each others ſubiects. The fortifications

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tions of Aymouth *in Scotland shall be rayſed; that the French King ſhall enioy peaceably for the ſpace of eight yeeres,* Calais, *and the appurtenances thereunto; as alſo, ſixteene of the greateſt peeces of Ordnance; and that time being expired, hee ſhall deliuer it vp into the hands of Queene* ELIZABETH; *and that eight ſufficient Merchants, ſuch as are not ſubiects to the French King, ſhould enter into bond for the payment of fiue hundred thouſand crownes to be payed, if* Calais *were not reſtored, notwithſtanding the right of Queene* ELIZABETH *ſtill to remaine firme and whole; and that fiue Hoſtages ſhould bee giuen to her Maieſty, vntill ſuch time as theſe Cautions ſhould be put in, if, during that time, ſomething might be attempted or altered by Queene* ELIZABETH, *or her Maieſties Subiects, of her owne authority, command and approbation, by Armes directly or indirectly, againſt the moſt Chriſtian* French *King, or the moſt mightie Queene of* Scotland, *they ſhall be quitted, and diſcharged of all promiſe and faith plighted to that purpoſe; the Hoſtages and the Marchants ſhould be freeed: if either by the ſaid Chriſtian King, the Queene of* Scots, *or the* Dolphin, *any thing ſhould be attempted againſt the Queen of* England, *they ſhall bee bound to yeeld her the Poſſeſſion of* Calais, *without any further delay.*

A Peace is concluded & agreed vpon betweene the Queenes Maieſty and the Queene of Scotland.

At the very ſame time and place, and by the ſame Deputies, there was alſo a peace concluded betweene the Queen of *England*, and *Francis* and *Mary*, King and Queene of the *Scots*: whereupon they brought vnto the *Engliſh* & *Scots*, certaine Articles, concerning the grant of ſafe conduct for thoſe who had ſpoiled and rob'd the Frontiers, and for the Fugitiues of the Countrey: About which, there being a meeting at *Vpſaltington*, betweene the Earle of *Northumberland*, *Cuthbert Tunſtall*, Biſhop of *Dunelme*, *Gu.* Lord *Dacre* of *Grilleſland*, and *Iac. Croft*, Captaine of the Town and Caſtle of *Barwicke*, all *Engliſh-men*, on the one part: the Earle of *Morton*, the Lord of *Home*, and S. *Cler.* Deane of *Glaſco*, all *Scottiſh-men*, on the other part: They proclaimed

med thorowout all *England*, the Peace concluded between the Queene of *England*, the King of *France*, the *Dolphin*, and the Queene of *Scots*, which seemed very harsh vnto the people, and conceiued to be much dishonourable, in regard that *Calais* which they had lost, was not restored, the Protestants laying the fault vpon the Papists, and they vpon the *Baron Wentworth*, a Protestant, who hauing beene vnder the gouernement of Queene MARY, accused in that behalfe, and not brought to publique hearing, was againe taxed, and brought to iudgement, but vpon hearing, was freed by the sentence of the Peeres. But *Rad. Chamberlaine*, who had beene sometime Gouernour of the Castle of *Calais*, and *Iohn Hurleston* of the Fort of *Risbanc*, were adiudged to dye, as guilty *de læsa Maiestate*, for abandoning their places; howsoeuer their censure was remitted. The Parliament being ready to breake vp, those which were there, thought good to aduise the Queene, forthwith to marry, the great ones being vnwilling to yeeld to that, for feare lest some of them might be thought to make this proposition out of some hope which they might haue for themselues. Hauing then appoynted *Th. Gargraue*, Deputie of the Lower-house, to deliuer this message, he addresses himselfe to the Queene, with a few choyce men: Hauing first by way of preamble intreated admittance, and excusing himselfe with the graciousnesse of her Maiesty, and the importance of the affaires he had to deliuer, by this meanes procured audience, and in this manner spake vnto her

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The Lord Baron Wentworth, and others, are called in question, and brought in compasse of the Law, concerning the losse of Calais.

The whole Parliament doe exhort Queene Elizabeth to marry.

Thomas Gargraue's Speech made to her Maiesty to that purpose.

MADAME:

There is nothing which wee continually begge at the hands of God with more ardent Prayers, than the perpetuity of that happinesse, which

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your iuſt and vigilant gouernement hath hitherto procured vnto the Engliſh Nation. But wee cannot conceiue how this ſhould alwayes continue, vnleſſe that (which wee cannot hope for) you ſhould continually reigne, or by diſpoſing your ſelfe to marriage, might leaue Children, which might inherite both your vertues and Kingdome together; the Almightie and good God ſo grant. This (MADAME) *is the ſimple and vnanime deſire of all the* Engliſh, *which is the conceit of all others: Euery one ought to haue a care of that place and eſtate hee hath, and Princes eſpecially, that ſithence they are but mortall, the Common-wealth might bee perpetuis'd in immortalitie. Now, this eternitie you may giue vnto the* Engliſh, *if (as nature, age, and your beauty requires) you would eſpouſe your ſelfe vnto a Husband, who might aſsiſt and comfort you, and, as a Companion, participate both in your proſperities and aduerſities. For queſtionleſſe, the onely aſsiſtance of an Husband, is more auayleable in the ordering of affaires, than the helpe of a great many ioyned together, and nothing can be more repugnant to the common good, than to ſee a Princeſſe, who by marriage may preſerue the Common-wealth in peace, to leade a ſingle life, like a Veſtal Nunne. Kings muſt leaue their Children their Kingdomes, which were left them by their Anceſtors, that by them they may be embelliſht, and be ſettled; and the* Engliſh *haue neuer had greater care, than to preſerue the Royall Houſe from default of Iſſue. Which is freſh in memory, when* HENRY *the Seuenth, your Grand-father, prouided marriage for* ARTHVR, *and* HENRY *his Children, being yet of tender yeeres; and how your Father procured in marriage for* EDWARD *his ſonne, hauing ſcarce attayned to eight yeeres of age,* Mary *the Queene of* Scots; *and ſithence, how* MARY *your Siſter, notwith-*

withstanding shee was deepely stricken in yeeres, married Philip *the King of* Spaine. *So, as if the want of Issue be ordinarily giuen by* GOD *as a curse vnto priuate Families, how great an offence is it then in a Princesse, to be a voluntary author of it to her selfe, sithence so many miseries ensue thereby, that they must needes pester the Common-wealth with a multitude of calamities; which is fearefull to imagine? But,* MADAME, *wee, this small number of your Subiects, who heere humble our selues at your Maiesties feete, and in our persons, all* England *in generall, and euery English-man in particular, doe most humbly beseech, and with continuall sighs coniure your Maiestie, to take such order, that that may not be.*

This is the whole summe of what he spake vnto her, with a great deale of eloquence, and more words.

To whom, in few words, shee answered thus;

Her Maiesties answer to them all.

IN a thing which is not much pleasing vnto mee, the infallible testimonie of your good will, and all the rest of my people, is most acceptable. As concerning your instant perswasion of mee to marriage, I must tell you, I haue beene euer perswaded, that I was borne by God to consider, and, aboue all things, doe those which appertaine vnto his glory. And therefore it is, that I haue made choyce of this kinde of life, which is most free, and agreeable for such humane affaires as may tend to his seruice onely; from which, if eyther the marriages which haue beene offered mee by diuers puissant Princes, or the danger of attempts made against my life, could no whit diuert mee, it is long since I had any ioy in the honour

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of a Husband; and this is that I thought, then that I was a priuate person. But when the publique charge of gouerning the Kingdome came vpon mee, it seemed vnto mee an inconsiderate folly, to draw vpon my selfe the cares which might proceede of marriage. To conclude, I am already bound vnto an Husband, which is the Kingdome of England, *and that may suffice you: and this* (quoth shee) *makes mee wonder, that you forget your selues, the pledge of this alliance which I haue made with my Kingdome.* (And therwithall, stretching out her hand, shee shewed them the Ring with which shee was giuen in marriage, and inaugurated to her Kingdome, in expresse and solemne termes.) *And reproch mee so no more,* (quoth shee) *that I haue no children: for euery one of you, and as many as are* Englishmen, *are my Children, and Kinsfolkes, of whom, so long as I am not depriued,* (*and God shall preserue mee*) *you cannot charge mee, without offence, to be destitute. But in this I must commend you, that you haue not appoynted mee an Husband: for that were vnworthy the Maiestie of an absolute Princesse, and the discretion of you that are borne my Subiects. Neuertheless, if GOD haue ordayned mee to another course of life, I will promise you to doe nothing to the preiudice of the Common-wealth, but, as farre as possible I may, will marry such an Husband as shall bee no lesse carefull for the common good, than my selfe. And if I persist in this which I haue proposed vnto my selfe, I assure my selfe, that GOD will so direct my counsels and yours, that you shall haue no cause to doubt of a Successour: which may be more profitable for the Common-wealth, than him which may proceede from mee, sithence the posterity of good Princes doth oftentimes degenerate. Lastly, this may be sufficient, both for my memorie, and honour*

of

of my Name, if when I haue expired my last breath, this may be inscribed vpon my Tombe:

Here lyes interr'd ELIZABETH,
A Virgin pure vntill her Death.

And moreouer then this, they instituted in this Assembly of State, certaine Orders, to preuent any forcible attempt vpon the person of the Queene; to restore tenths, and first fruites to the Crowne, and to establish in euery Church an vniformity of publike Prayer, termed the *Letany*, and the forme of administring the Sacraments vsed vnder EDVVARD the Sixth, with very little alteration; with a penaltie vpon such as should depraue them, or vsurpe any other then that forme: to attend Diuine Seruice, Sundayes and other holy dayes, vpon twelue-pence damage, to be imployed for the poore, for euery such default cõmitted. As also cõcerning seditious broyles against the Queen, the sale of Deaneries, all maritime Causes, the traffique for Cloth and Iron, mutinous and vnlawfull Assemblies: And (to omit the rest, sithence there is no order imprinted) things concerning the possessions of the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops; intending, that they could neither giue, or farme out the Church-Liuings, but onely for the space of one and twentie yeeres, or for tearme of three liues, as they say, to any other person but the Queen and her successors, the reuenews of former Arrerages still reserued. So as this reseruation of the Queene, which onely tended to the benefit of her Court, who abused her bounty; and the Bishops, who were carefull enough for their own profit, continued still in force, vntill King *Iames* came to the Crown, who vtterly cut it off for the good of the Church. But there was no Act for it; howbeit in the former Parliaments of Kings there was often. Those who were restored to their

Other Lawes and ordinances established by that Parliament.

The Nobles of the Land reestablished.

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goods and honour, were, *Greg. Finch, Baron Dacre*, and *Tho.* his Brother, whose Father was put to death vnder HENRY the Eighth; *H. Howard*, who was afterward Earle of *Northampton*, and his three Sisters, the children of *H. Howard*, Earle of *Surrey*, who, about the death of King HENRIE the Eighth, had his head cut off for very small offences: *Ioh. Gray* of *Pirg.* brother to the Marquesse of *Dorset*: *Iames Croft*, and *H. Gates*, who were conuicted of Treason, *de læsa Maiestate*, vnder Queene MARIS Raigne, and diuers others.

The Lyturgie appointed in English.

The Parliament being dismist, the Lyturgie conceiued in the Vulgar tongue, was forthwith sent vnto all Churches; the Images, without any adoe, taken from the Temples, the Oath of Supremacy proposed vnto the Bishops, to the Papists, and other Ecclesiasticall professors, who for the most part had formerly lent vnder King HENRY the 8. and all that refused to lend, depriued of their Benefices, Dignities, and Bishopricks. But, certes, as themselues haue certified, in the whole Kingdome, wherein are numbred 9400. Eccleſiasticall Dignities, they could find but 80. Pastors of the Church, 50. Prebends, 15. Rectors of the Colledge, 12. Arch-Deacons, and so many Deanes, 6. Abbots, and Abbesses, and all the Bishops that were then in Seance, and were 14. in number, besides *Anthony*, Bishop of *Landaff* (who was the calamity of his Sea.) Also *N. Heath*, Archbishop of *Yorke*, who, for nothing, had voluntarily left the Chancellorship, & liued many yeeres after in a little house of his owne at *Cobham* in *Surrey*, seruing God, and studying good workes, and so acceptable to the Queene, that she refused not to visite him in that obscure place, with admirable courtesie. *Edward Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, who was sent Ambassador to the Emperour, the Pope, and the King of *France*; but such a one, as mixt his Authority with such a sharpnes of nature, that he was noted of diuers for cruelty, and kept prisoner the most part of his life. *Cuthbert Tunstal*

Papist Bishops deposed and discharged from their Benifices.

of

of *Durham*, a man moſt expert in Learning, poſſeſt of many honours within the Kingdome, beſides, employ'd as Ambaſſadour abroad, in diuers waighty Affaires; conteſted rudely (being yet very young) againſt the primacy of the Pope, by a Letter written to Cardinall *Pole*: and being a little elder, dyed at *Lambeth*; where dyed alſo, *Th. Thurlbey*, Biſhop of *Ely*, who had the honour to bee accounted moſt diſcreet in an Ambaſſage, ſent to *Rome* to offer obedience to the Pope, and about the Treaty at *Cambray*. *Gilbert Bourn* of *Bath* and *Wels*, who had worthily deſerued in his place. *Iohn Chriſtopherſon* of *Cheſter*, ſo vnderſtanding in the Greeke Tongue, that hee tranſlated diuers workes of *Euſebius* and *Philon*, to the great benefit of the Chriſtian Common-wealth. *Ioh. White, de Winton*, generally learned, and reaſonably qualified in Poetry, according to the faſhion of the time. *Tho. Watſon* of *Lincolne*, very pregnant in the acuteſt Diuinity, but ſomewhat in an auſtere graue manner. *Rad. Bain* of *Couentrie* and *Lichfeild*, who was one of the reſtorers of the Hebrew tongue, and chiefe profeſſour of the ſame in *Paris*, vnder the Gouernment of *Francis* the firſt, vnder whom Learning beganne to flouriſh. *Owen Oglethorp* of *Carlile*: *Ia. Turberuile* of *Exceter*: and *D. Pole* of *Peterborough*: *Fequenham* the Abbot of *Benedictins*, a ſage and good man, who liued long, and by his publique almes, wonne the heart of his Aduerſaries, but was put by his place. All theſe were firſt impriſoned; but forthwith, for the moſt part, left to the guard, either of their friends, or the Biſhops: except theſe two, more turbulent then the reſt; the Biſhop of *Lincolne*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who threatned to excommunicate the Queene. But theſe three, *Cuthbert*, a *Scottiſh-man*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*: *Richard Pat* of *Wigorne*: and *Tho. Goldwell* of *Aſaph*, voluntarily forſooke the Countrey: in like maner, ſome religious, and afterward ſome Nobles, amongſt whō, the moſt remarkable, were, *H.* Baron of *Morle*, *Ingleſeild*, and

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Other Proteſtants learned and zealous Diuines, are inſtituted Biſhops in their places.

and *Pecckam*, both whom were of the Priuie-Councell to Queene MARY, *Tho. Shelle*, and *Ioh. Gagd.*

The learned'ſt Proteſtants that could bee found, were preferd to the places of Biſhops deceaſed, and of Fugitiues; and *Mat. Parker*, a godly, wiſe, and right modeſt man, who was one of the Priuie-Councell to King HENRY the 8. and Deane of the Colledge Church of *Stocclair*, beeing ſolemnly choſen Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, after preaching of the Word, calling of the holy Ghoſt, and celebration of the Euchariſt, was conſecrated by the impoſition of hands of three ancient Biſhops; *Gu. Barlo*, Biſhop of *Bath*, *Ioh. Scor.* of *Cheſter*, *Miles Couerdall* of *Exceter*; *Ioh. Suffragant de Bedford*, *de Lambeth*: and afterward the ſame Biſhops conſecrated *Ed. Grindall*, a rare Diuine, Biſhop of *London*: *Richard Coxe*, who was Tutor to EDVVARD the Sixth when he was a Child, of *Ely*: *Edward Sands*, an eloquent Preacher, of *Wincheſter*: *Rob. Merick*, of *Bangor*: *Tho. Yong*, a deepe profeſſor in the Ciuill and Canonicall Law, of Saint *Dauids*: *N. Bolingham*, Conuocellour of the Law, of *Lincolne*: *Iohn Iewell*, abſolutely iudicious in all liberall Science, of *Salisburie*: *Richard Dauis*, of *Aſaph*: *Edward Gueſts*, of *Rocheſter*: *Gilbert Barde*, of *Bath*: *Thomas Bentham*, of *Couentrie* and *Lichfeild*: *Gu. Alle*, a pithy expounder of the holy Scripture, of *Exceter*: *Iohn Parkhurſt*, a famous humaniſt, of *Norwich*: *Robert Horne*, of a hardie and copious ſpirit, of *Wincheſter*: *Richard Cheſne*, of *Gloceſter*: and *Edw. Scamber*, of *Peterborough*: but they placed *Gu. Barlo*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, who, during the reigne of HENRY the Eighth, was Biſhop of Saint *Dauids*, and afterward of *Wells*: & for B. of *Hereford* was appointed *Ioh. Scori*, a skilfull and iudiciall man, who was formerly Biſhop of *Chicheſter*: in like maner in the Prouince of *Yorke*, *Yong* being transferred from his place of Saint *Dauids* to *Yorke*, conſecrated *Ia. Pilkinton*, a moſt godly and learned man, Biſhop of *Dunelme*: *Io. Beſt*, of *Carlile*, and *Gu. Downham*,

of

of *Chester*. I leaue Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorians to relate what theſe men were, and what miſeries they ſuffered vnder the Gouernment of Queene MARY, being either fugitiues in the *Low-Countries*, or hidden cloſe in *England*.

And foraſmuch as Learned men were rare to be found, diuers Mechanicke Shop-keepers, as ſimple as the Papiſts Prieſts, attained vnto Eccleſiaſticall Dignities, Prebends, and Benefices of good reuenue; which diuers Prieſts perceiuing, and hoping aboue all things, to expulſe the Proteſtants out of their Churches, and by this meanes, to get ſomething to relieue the neceſſities of ſuch amongſt them as were depoſed, thought it moſt expedient, both for the aduancement of themſelues and their Religion, to ſweare obedience to their Princeſſe, in renouncing the Authority of the Pope, deeming this wiſedome meritorious, and were in ſome hope, to procure from his Holineſſe, according to his Iuriſdiction, a Diſpenſation for his Oath.

By what degrees Religion was altered here.

Thus was Religion chang'd in *England*, all Chriſtendome beeing amazed, that it could ſo eaſily bee effected without Sedition: But the truth is, that this change was not ſo ſuddenly made: neither can it (ſince it is ſo) be eaſily tolerated, but by little and little by degrees: For, ſummarily to repeat what I haue herevpon ſpoken: The *Romane* Religion continued in the ſame ſtate it was firſt, a full Moneth and more, after the death of Queene MARY: The 27. of September, it was tolerated to haue the Epiſtles and Goſpels, the ten Commandements, the Symbole, the Lettany, and the Lords Prayer, in the Vulgar Tongue: The 22. of March, the Parliament being aſſembled, the Order of EDVVARD the Sixth was re-eſtabliſhed, and by Act of the ſame, the whole vſe of the Lords Supper granted vnder both kinds: The 24. of Iune, by the authoritie of that which concern'd the vniformity of publike Prayers, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, the Sacrifice of the Maſſe was aboliſhed, and the Lyturgie in the

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English Tongue, more & more establisht. In the Moneth of July, the Oath of Allegiance was proposed to the Bishops, and other persons; and in August, Images were thrown out of the Temples and Churches, and broken and burned. And because some malignant spirits, detracting from the Queene, as if shee had assumed vnto her selfe the Title of Chiefe Soueraigne of the Church of *England*, and authority to celebrate sacred Rites in the Church, she declared by Proclamation,

That she attributed no more vnto her selfe, then what did of long time belong to the Crowne of England; *which was, that next vnder God, she had supreme Soueraignetie and power ouer all States of* England, *whether Ecclesiasticall or Laye, and that no other Forraigne Power, had, or could haue any Iurisdiction or authority ouer them.*

The profit which proceeds from change of Religion.

By this alteration of Religion, (as Politicians haue obserued) *England* became the freest Kingdome in all Christendome; because by this meanes, it had freed the Scepter from forraigne slauery of the Pope of Rome: and most rich, because it preuented the great summes of mony, which were dayly transported to Rome, for First-fruites, Indulgences, Appellations, Dispensations, and such other like things; and thereby the Common-wealth was voide and depriued, beyond all imagination.

Her Maiesties diligent care to defend both the the true Religion and Common-Wealth.

The Protestants Religion being thus establisht by th'authority of of the Parliament, the first and principall care of Queene ELIZABETH was, to defend and maintaine it still sound and impregnable against all sort of machynation whatsoeuer, in the very middest of her Enemies, which, through this occasion, she had incurred against her; And shee would neuer endure to heare the least Newes at all. Her second care was, to maintaine equity all her life time,

and

and in all her Actions: in token whereof, shee tooke this deuice vnto her selfe:

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Qu. Elizabeths Motto or Posey.

SEMPER EADEM.

ALWAYES ONE:

For her other designes, she concluded them to prouide for the safety of her Subiects: For, as she often said, that to the end the Common-wealth should bee in safety, her selfe neuer could bee: And that, to make her Subiects loue her, her Enemies feare her, and all to praise her; knowing, that what was begunne with wisedome, and kept by care, was firme and lasting. Now, how by her Masculine care and counsell, she surmounted her Sexe, and what shee did most wisely, in preuenting, diuerting, and powerfully resisting the attempts of her Enemies, those that now liue, and shall hereafter, will bee able to iudge of what I shall drawe out and set forth of things, if I may call them so, in the Kingdomes owne memory.

Her answer to forraigne Princes, interceding for the Papists.

At that time, the Emperour, and the Christian Princes interceding by continuall Letters, that she would vse the Bishops which were retyred out of her Realme, gently, and suffer the Papists to haue Churches in Townes by the Protestants: She answered, that although the Bishops had, in the sight of all the world, against the Lawes and Peace of the Kingdome, and obstinately reiected the same Doctrine which the most of them had, vnder the Raigne of HENRY the Eighth, and EDVVARD the Sixth, propounded to others, voluntarily and by publike writings, that she would vse them meekely, for those great Princes sakes; notwithstanding, shee could not doe it without offending her Subiects: But to let them haue Churches by the others, shee could not, with the safety of the Common-wealth, and without wounding of her Honour & Conscience: neither had shee reason to doe it, seeing that *England* imbraced no new Religion, nor any other, then that which

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Ieſus Chriſt hath commanded, that the Primitiue and Catholike Church hath exerciſed, and the ancient Fathers haue alwayes, with one voice and one mind, approued. And, to allow them to haue diuers Churches, and diuers manners of ſeruice, beſides that it is directly oppugnant to the Lawes eſtabliſhed by the authority of the Parliament, it were to breede one Religion out of another; and drawe the ſpirits of honeſt people into varieties; to nouriſh the deſignes of the factious; to trouble Religion and Common-wealth, and to confound humane things with Diuine, which would be ill in effect, and worſe in example; pernicious to her Subiects, and not aſſured at all to thoſe to whō it ſhould be allowed; and aboue all, at their requeſt, ſhe was reſolued to cure the particular inſolency of ſome, by winking at ſomething; neuertheleſſe, without fauouring in any ſort, the obſtinacie of their ſpirits.

The Emperour ſeekes the Queene for his Son.

The *Spaniard* hauing loſt all hope to marry her, and beeing ready to marry the Daughter of *France*, notwithſtanding, thinkes ſeriouſly of *England*, nothing deſirous that it ſhould be ioyned to the Scepter of *France*, and to retaine the dignity of ſo great a Kingdome in his Houſe; obtained of the Emperour *Ferdinand*, his Vncle, that he would ſeeke her to wife for his ſecond Sonne: which he as ſoone did by very louing Letters, and followed it very carefully by *Iaſper Preimour*, a reſolute Baron of the Countrey of *Stibing*. The *Spaniard* himſelfe, to bring her to that, promiſed her ſpeciall affection; and ſhe of her ſide, made him offer, by *Thomas Chaloner*, of her Ships, and commodity of her Hauens, for his Voyage for *Spaine*, which he was about, with all remarkable duties of Friendſhip.

The King of France challengeth the Kingdome of England, for the Queene of Scotland.

The *French*, on the other ſide, caſting an eye vpon *England*, left the *French* Garriſon in *Scotland*, in fauour of the King, *Dolphin* his ſonne, and *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, which hee had promiſed to take from thence, vpon the agreement before mentioned, and ſent thither vnder-hand

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ſupplies, ſollicites the *Pope* of *Rome* more vehemently than euer, to declare Queene ELIZABETH an Heretique, and illegitimate, and Queene *Mary* of *Scotland* legitimate of *England*; and although the *Spaniard*, and the *Emperour*, hindered by their contrary and moſt ſtrong practices, (though ſecretly by the Agents which they had at *Rome*) neuertheleſſe, the *Guizes* carried their credulous ambition with ſuch a flattering hope, to ioyne *Englands* Scepter to *France*, by the meanes of the Queene of *Scots* their neece, that hee came ſo farre, as to challenge it for his Sonne, and for his Daughter in Law, and commanded them in all their Royall Letters, to take this Title, *Francis and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queene of Scotland, England, and Ireland*; and to let the Armes of *England* be ſeene in all places, cauſing them to be painted and grauen together with the *French* Armes, in their moueables and vtenſils, in the walls of their houſes, in their *Heralds* coates of Armes, notwithſtanding any complaint that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour could make, that it was a notorious wrong to Queene ELIZABETH, with whom hee had newly contracted a friendſhip, being manifeſt that hee had not done it during the reigne of Queene MARIE, though ſhe denounced warre againſt him. Hee alſo leuied horſe and foote in *France* and *Germanie*, to goe to the Territories of *Scotland*, neereſt adioyning to *England*, inſomuch that Queene ELIZABETH had good cauſe to apprehend it, ſeeing that he breathed nothing, but after the bloud & ſlaughter of the Proteſtants. But theſe enterprizes were broken by his vnlooked-for death, hapning at the Tilting, which was for the recreation and ſolemnizing of the marriages of his Daughter with the King of *Spaine*, and of his Siſter with the Duke of *Sauoy*: And much to the purpoſe it fell out for Queene ELIZABETHS buſineſſe, whom hee reſolued to ſet vpon with all his forces, as well for being an heretique, as alſo illegitimate; on the one ſide by *Scotland*,

Is killed as hee prepared for the war.

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and on the other side, by *France*. Neuertheleſſe, to giue him royall honours after his death, ſhee cauſed his funerall ſolemnities to be performed, as to a King a friend, with the greateſt pompe, in Saint *Pauls* Church in *London*; and forthwith ſent *Ch. Howard*, *Effinghams* ſonne, now great Admirall of *England* and *Ireland*, to condole with him for the death of his Father, and to congratulate his ſucceſſion to *Francis* his Sonne and Succeſſour, exhorting him to entertaine inuiolably the friendſhip which had lately beene begun.

Francis the Second, and the Queene of Scotland, tooke the title of the Kings of England.

But *Francis*, and the Queene of *Scotland* his wife, by the counſell of the *Guizes*, who then had ſome power in *France*, behaued himſelfe publiquely, as King of *England*, and *Ireland*, kept alwaies the *Engliſh* Armes, which hee had vſurped, and made ſhew of them more than euer; and *N. Throgmorton*, ordinary Ambaſſadour, a wiſe, but a hote man, complained to them of this. They firſt anſwere him, that the Queene of *Scotland* had right to carry thoſe Armes with a barre, to ſhew the proximity of bloud which ſhee had with the royall Race of *England*. After, when he had maintained, that by the Law, which they call the Law of Armes, it is not permitted to any to take the Armes, and Markes of any Houſe, vnleſſe hee be deſcended of ſome of the Heires of it, obſeruing to tell him, that ſhee carried them not, but to cauſe the Queene of *England* to leaue thoſe of *France*. But, hauing vpon that put them in minde how *D. Wotton* had afore-time treated at *Cambray*, how twelue *Kings* of *England* had carried the Armes of *France*; and, by a right ſo ſeldome called in queſtion, that by any of the treaties which were made betweene the *Engliſh* and the *French*, nothing had beene reſolued to the contrary; hee gained in the end, that they ſhould forbeare abſolutely to beare theſe Armes, by the interceſſion of M. *Memorency*, the *Guizes* Emulator, who thought it not to be any honour for the King of *France*, to take any other

Title,

Title, or to graue in his Seales any other armes, than the Armes of the Kings of *France*; and ſhewed, that this Title alone was of more importance than many others; and that the precedent Kings had no other, when they ſought their right in *Naples* and *Milan*. And truely, from theſe Titles, and theſe Armes, which the King of *France*, at the inſtigation of the *Guizes*, hath taken from the Queene of *Scotland*, then vnder age, all the diſaſters which afterwards happened vnto her, haue flowed from that: for from thence came the enmities openly declared by Queene ELIZABETH againſt the *Guizes*, and thoſe which ſhee practiſed againſt her priuatly, which by the ſubtil malice of men, who made vſe of the growing enuy, and of the occaſions which ſprung from day to day, haue beene ſo fomented on both ſides, that nothing could extinguiſh them but death; for,

The original of the hidden hatred which hath beene betweene the Queenes of England and Scotland.

Soueraigntie admits no Companion, and Enmitie againſt Maieſtie is grieuous.

A few daies after, in ſtead of giuing foure Hoſtages for the Towne of *Calais*, as they were bound by the treaty of *Cambray*; they gaue onely three: the *Engliſh* Merchants are iniuriouſly dealt with in *France*: one of the Ambaſſador *Throgmortons* ſeruants was ſent to the gallies, which *F.* great Prior of *France*, had taken & carried away by force from a publique place: Some Piſtols were ſhot at the Ambaſſadour himſelfe, and in his owne lodging; and to make him the more contemptible, hee was ſerued at the Table, with no other Veſſell, but ſuch as the Armes of *England* and *France* were ioyntly grauen on. Finally, *la Broſſe* was ſent into *Scotland* with a troupe of choyce men; Gallies were ſent for from *Marſeilles*, and from the Mediterranean Sea.

The French deale vniuſtly with the Engliſh.

Thoſe in *Scotland*, which profeſſed the Proteſtants Religion, and qualified themſelues with the title of the Aſſembly, perſwaded by certaine heady Miniſters, and eſpecially

Send men of warre into Scotland.

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The Scots refuse to obey the Queene Regent.

cially by *Knox*, a most hot controller of the Royall authority, that it behooued the Peeres of the Realme, to take away Idolatry from their authority, & by force to settle the Princes within the limits prescribed by the Lawes, had already refused to obey the Queene-Mother, and Regent, though shee was a modest and a prudent woman, changed Religion, tumultuously ransacking and burning the sacred places, & drawne to their partie *Hamilton* Duke of *Chastelraut*, the most powerfull of all the Kingdome, much prouoked by the wrongs done by the *French*, and many Nobles were bayted with hope to haue the Ecclesiasticall Reuenues: insomuch, as they seemed not to thinke of Religion, but to plot in good earnest a reuolt against the Queene Regent, and against the *French*, which made warre in *Scotland*: and accused *Iames*, Prior of Saint *Andrewes*, Bastard brother to the Queene, their *Coriphea*, who since was Count of *Mura*, to haue coueted the Kingdome from his Sister. But, by the holy protestations which hee made vnto them, hee tooke away all suspition of hauing any other ayme but the glory of God, and the Countries liberty; and that, seeing it oppresst by the Queene Regent, and the *French*, he could not chuse but lament most bitterly for it.

They seeke helpe of Qu. Elizabeth.

They sent *William Maitland* of *Lidington* Secretary, to Queene ELIZABETH; and hee, in a pittifull discourse complained to her, that since the marriage of the Queene of *Scotland* with the *Daulphin*, the administration of the Kingdome had beene changed, strange Souldiers spoyl'd and ruin'd all, the *French* were placed in the chiefest offices of the Kingdome, the Castles and strong places put into their hands, the pure money corrupted for their particular profit, and that by these deuices and the like, they fortifie themselues, fraudulently to take away the Kingdome, as soone as the Queene should be dead. *Cecill*, who was the principall minister that Queene ELIZABETH vsed in this businesse, and in all other, for his singular wisedome,

employ-

employeth *H. Percy*, who afterwards was Earle of *Northumberland*, to know what end the Lords of that Assembly propounded to themselues, what meanes they had to obtaine that which they desired; and, if one should send them succour, vpon what conditions might Amitie bee maintained betweene the two Kingdomes. They answered, that they propounded not to themselues any other end, but the aduancement of the glory of Iesus Christ, and the sincere preaching of Gods Word, to extirpate superstition and idolatry, and to keepe the liberty of their Ancestors: which they knew not by what meanes it might be done, but they hoped that God would giue successe to their designes, according to their desire, to the confusion of their aduersaries. And, as for the intertaining of amitie betweene the two Kingdomes; that that, was the abridgement of their wishes; and thereunto vowed their goods, their faith, and their constancy.

They deliberate of these things.

They deliberate slowly of these things in *England*, because the *Scots* were not well furnished with money and armes, nor very faithfull among themselues. But they considered that the Marquis *D'Elbeuf*, Vnkle to the Queene of *Scotland*, had leuied men in *Germanie*, by the meanes of the *Ringraue* for the *Scottish* warre; that they had brought downe into the Hauens, peeces for battery; that the preparations which were made, were greater than was necessary for the restraining, as was prerended, of a small number of vnarmed *Scots*; that the *French*, to draw to their league the King of *Denmarke*, promised him, that the Duke of *Lorraine* should quit the right which hee pretended to haue to his Kingdome, and that likewise the censure of the Pope against the Queene, was more importunately sollicited, than euer, and a sentence declaratory for the right of the Queene of *Scots* to *England*: there was sent vpon the frontiers of *Scotland*, one *Sadler*, a prudent man, and the Counsellor of the Duke of *Northumberland*, who guarded the South

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frontier, and *Iames Croft*, Gouernour of *Barwicke*. For the Councell of *England* could not ſee what theſe things tended vnto, except to inuade *England*, and to purſue by armes, that which they attributed to themſelues by their Coates and Titles.

They reſolue to driue the French out of Scotland.

Now doe they in *England* ſeriouſly conſult vpon the buſineſſe, and it ſeemed to them to be a very bad example, that one Prince ſhould lend ayde and ſuccour to the ſubiects of another Prince, who rayſe vp broyles and tumults: but it ſeemed alſo, that it were an impietie to abandon thoſe who profeſſe the ſame Religion, a ſlow wiſdome to permit the *French* (who were ſworne enemies to the name of *Engliſh*, challenged the Realme of *England*, and enioyed at that time, in all places, an aſſured peace) to remaine armed in *Scotland* ſo neere *England*, and ſo opportunely for the inuading of that ſide, where Nobles and Commons of *England* are moſt affectionate to the Romiſh Religion. That it were to deliuer cowardly into the Enemies hand, the ſafetie of particulars, and the peace of the generall. For that cauſe, it behooued not to ſtand vpon dreaming and ſlow Counſels, but to diſpatch and take armes. That the prudence of *England* had alwaies beene accuſtomed to goe meete their enemies, and not to waite for them; and that it had euer beene aſwell ſuffered to preuent dangers, as to expell them; to defend themſelues with the ſame weapons that they are aſſayled with. That *England* was neuer aſſured, but when it was powerfull and armed; that it was more powerfull when it had nothing to feare but the *Scottiſh* coaſt; and that to take away this feare, it were meete to aſſiſt thoſe which profeſſed the ſame Religion, and chace the *French* out of *Scotland*, againſt whom Armes are very auaileable, but not Counſels. That for hauing contemned them too much heretofore, they had loſt *Calais* with ſhame and hurt, and a little before, by ſurprize, *Ableville*, and the

the forts neere *Bullen*, whiles they fained to seeke a peace, which was the cause that *Bullen* afterwards was constrayned to render, and that they should looke for no lesse of *Barwicke*, and the frontier Townes, if they tooke not armes the sooner, without staying to see what the *French* will doe, who looke as if they meant to make peace in *Scotland*; Their designe being hidden, their ambition infinite, their reuennew exceeding great, insomuch that it is growne a Prouerbe long agoe in *England*, that *France* cannot be three yeeres both without warre, and without meanes. Queene ELIZABETH also often alledged this saying of the Emperour *Valentinian*, Haue *French* for a friend, but not for a neighbour. It was resolued then, that it was iust necessary, and profitable, to driue the *French* out of *Scotland*, as soone as could be possible.

The English are sent into Scotland, both by Land and Sea.

In the end, a Nauy was sent into *Borrough*, which is now called *Enden-borrough Frith*, cõducted by *W. Winter*, master of the Nauall Artillery, who, to the great terrour of the *French*, set vpon their ships, which were there in the Road, and vpon the Garrison that they kept in the Ile of *Inch-Keith*. Likewise, presently, the Duke of *Norfolke* was established Lieutenant generall in the Northerne parts towards *Scotland*; the frontiers of the East, and of the South, were cõmitted to the Lord Baron *Gray*, who, not long ago, had couragiously, but vnluckily, defended *Guien* against the *French*; and *Thomas* Earle of *Sussex*, who, in the reigne of Queene MARY, had beene Deputy of *Ireland*, is sent back thither, with title of Lieutenant, together with speciall command, to ouer-looke this *Irish* Nation, being so much the more superstitious, by how much lesse it was husbanded and tilled, should not be stirred to rebellion, by the practices of the *French*, vnder pretext of Religion: to furnish *Ophalie*, with some small Forts, to giue to the old Soldiers some lands, to be to them and their heires males begotten of their bodies; to receiue *Sulij-Boy Scotsh-Irish*, to

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hold the possessions which hee had claimed by hereditary right in the Countrey of *Vlster*, to hold in fee, and to doe homage and seruice for the same: to increase moderately the reuenues of the Prince, and reduce the treasury to the forme of that of *England*.

The death of Francis L. Talbot, Earle of Shrewsburie.

While these things passed thus, *F. Talbot*, the fifth Earle of the House of *Shrewsburie* dyed, who was one of the chiefe Councellors of the Kingdome, leauing for Heire, *George* his onely Sonne, by *Marie*, Daughter to *T. Dacre* of *Gilsland*.



THE

THE THIRD YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1560.

AS soone as the Duke of *Norfolke* was come to *Barwicke*, the Prior of Saint *Andrews*, the Baron of *Rethuen*, and others, came to meete him, and in the name of the Duke of *Chastelraut* and his Confederates, treated allyance with him for the Queene of *England*, in these termes:

A Treaty of peace in Barwicke.

Whereas, the French haue striuen, by right or wrong, to subdue Scotland, *and to vnite it to the Scepter of* France: *the Queene of* England *will take into her Protection, the Duke of* Chastelraut, *the Heire apparent*

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rent to the Kingdome of Scotland, *as long as the marriage of the King of* France, *and* Mary, *Queene of* Scots *shall last, and one yeere more: He shall set forth Armies by Land and Sea, with all sort of warlike Munition, to chase and driue the* French *out of* Scotland: *He shall not make peace with them, but with condition that* Scotland *shal enioy its former libertie: The Forts which shall be taken from them by the ayde of the* Englisſh, *shall be also presently demolished, or put into the hands of the Duke of* Norfolke, *according as hee shall thinke good. The* Englisſh *shall not fortifie any place in* Scotland, *but by the counsel of the Duke of* Chastelraut, *and the Peeres of the Kingdome: The* Scots *shall assist the* Englisſh *to their vttermost endeuours, they shall hold their Enemies theirs, and shall not suffer that the Kingdome of* Scotland *shall bee ioyned to* France, *otherwise then by marriage, as now it is. If* England *be set vpon by the* French, *on this side* Tine, *the* Scots *shall send, at the Queenes charge, two thousand Horse, and a thousand Foot-men: If on the other side, they shall ioyne themselues to succour the* Englisſh, *with all the strength they are able to make, and at their owne charge for thirtie dayes, as they haue beene accustomed to doe for the defence of* Scotland. *The Earle of* Argaehel, *Iudge of* Scotland, *shall labour to reduce vnto due obedience the Northerne parts of* Ireland, *vnder certaine Conditions which shall bee agreed vpon betweene the Vice-roy of* Ireland *and himselfe. Finally, it is determined, what the one and the other shall doe, if* Iames Maconel, *or others, raise any commotion in the Countrey of* Hebride, *in* Scotland, *or in* Ireland. *For establishing these things, Hostages shall bee sent into* England, *before the* Englisſh *Armie enter into* Scotland; *which shall be changed at the discretion of the* Scots, *from sixe moneths to sixe moneths; or from foure*

to

to foure Moneths, so long as the Marriage betweene the King of France *and the Queene of Scotland shall last, and a yeere ouer and aboue. That the Duke of* Chastelraut, *the Earles and Barons Conferrates, shall ratifie these Conuentions vnder their Signes and Seales within twenty dayes and shall declare, that in all things, which shal not tend to the oppressing of their ancient Liberty, they shal yeeld obedience to the Queene of* Scotland, *and to the King of* France *her Husband, forasmuch as the Queene of* England *vndertakes not these things, but by way of friendship and neigh bourhood, and to free the* Scots *from Bondage.*

It was already discouered by Messages from stranger Princes, and intercepted Letters, that the *French* were resolued to set vpon *England*: *Seb. Martigues*, a young Gentleman of the House of *Luxembourg*, with a thousand old Souldiers, and two wings of Horse, was come into *Scotland*; and *Doisel* a Frenchman, assuring himselfe too much to be of the Councell of the Queene Regent of *Scotland*, had propounded to the chiefe of the Kingdome, at *Aymouth*, neere *Barwicke*, that ioyning their forces, they, at the very instant, would put the King and Queene of *Scotland* in possession of *England*: but hauing considered the difficultie of the thing, and not willing to violate the Peace newly agreed vpon, they refused it: Neuertheless, *Martigues*, being yong and liuely, did so burne in desire to attempt *England*, that with much adoe was he hindred by the wholsome councell of the Queene Regent: but this heat was quickly quenched, when it was knowne that a storme had so beaten the Marquis *D'elbeuf* vpon the coasts of *Holland*, who sayled towards *Scotland* with greater Forces, that he was constrain'd to returne to *Diepe*, frō whence he departed, with losse of some Ships & of many Souldiers.

Martigues *comes and brings French-men into Scotland.*

D'Elbeuf *driuen by a Tempest.*

At that time, *Ph. Stauel* of *Glaion*, Knight of the *Golden Fleece*,

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The Spaniard counsels to Peace.

The Spaniards detaine from the English their munition.

The French doe endeuour to call the English backe from Scotland.

Fleece, and Master of the Artillerie, was sent into *England*, employed from *Spaine*, to expose the complaints that the *French* made against the Queene, touching the Affaires of *Scotland*; and to counsell, in the name of the King, to Peace and concord: yet neuertheless, hee secretly counselled the Queene to pursue with courage, what she he had begun in *Scotland*, though contrariwise the *Spaniard* had openly forbidden to transport into *England*, those munitions of War, which she had couenanted for at *Antwerp*, insomuch as she was constrained to make a new prouision thereof in *Germany*. And the Proposition that *Stauel* made, was not without suspition, that some Companies of *Spaniards* should be sent into *Scotland*, together with the *French*, to suppresse the *Scottish* Rebels, and by the same meanes, the *French* themselues, if they should attempt any thing vpon *England*. At the same time, *M. Seuerin*, ordinary Embassadour of the King of *France*, instantly sollicited the Queene, to call backe her Armies both by Sea and Land from *Scotland*; which she willingly accorded vnto, prouided, that the *French* should be recalled: but by delayes sought out of the one side and the other, the businesse is drawne into length, till the comming of *I. de Mouluc*, Bishop of *Valence*, who differed not much from the Protestants Religion; who, vpon his arriuall from *France*, being carried vnto the place, said, that he was not furnished with any power for this busines: and notwithstanding he was very eloquent, strained himselfe to his vttermost, that those Armies should be recall'd from *Scotland*; and maintain'd, that it was not to defraud the Queene of *England*, that the King and Queene of *Scots* carried the Armes of *England*; but by that, rather to honour the Royall House. But not beeing able to perswade the one, as being absurd; nor the other, as dangerous; *Seuerin* desired *Stauel*, and the Bishop of *Aquilé*, Embassadour ordinary of *Spaine* in *England*, to bee present and witnesses, when he should protest against the Queene

Queene of *England*, that shee had violated the Treatie of Peace; to which they refused him, because they had it not in Commission: Neuertheleſſe he made, by a discource prolixe enough, his protestation; to which the Queene made an Answere, which was published, and set foorth, by which shee testified to all the world, That the violating of the Treaties proceeded only from the *French*, and that nothing could happen to her more vexing and odious, then this Warre, and such like things, which might easily be drawne from what had beene spoken heretofore, and by a declaration in writing, which she had formerly caused to be published.

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The French protest against the English, that they are meerely cause that the peace is broken.

Notwithstanding that although she had receiued many wrongs and iniuries, in that they had vsurped the Title and Armes of her Kingdome, she could not for all that beleeue, that it had beene done with the consent of the King or Queene of France, *or the Princes of the Blood, but by the wicked deuices of the* Guizes; *who, abusing the King and riches of the* French, *were ready to wound* England *through the sides of* Scotland: *That shee could not abandon her safety, nor her Subiects.*

An Answer to them.

And surely, it is not to be doubted, that the *Guizes*, for the loue which they bore to the Queene of *Scotland*, the hatred to Queene ELIZABETH, in regard of Religion; and the ambition to oblige *France*, by adding new Kingdomes vnto it, being assured of an *English* party, of contrarie Religion to the Protestants, linckt themselues together obstinately, to ruine Queene ELIZABETH. But they were diuerted by meanes of discontentments, and hidden hatreds, which grew vpon the Subiect of the administration of the affaires which were put into their hands, after they had taken them from the Princes of the Bloud. And the QVEENE went so prudently to worke, and

The Guizes are sworne and professed enemies to Queene Elizabeth.

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The French offer to render vp Calis.

Her Maiesties Answer to them.

She sends the Lord Vicount Montaigue into Spaine.

vpon the nicke to meete the designes of her Enemies; that she hath beene alwayes had in admiration of her friends, and in terrour to her Enemies.

The same day that *Gray* entered into *Scotland* with an Armie, *Seuerin* and *Mouluc* earnestly sollicited Queene ELIZABETH to call it backe, giuing her hope that *Calais* should bee rendred, if shee did it. But shee answered very plainely, *That she made no account of* Calais, *a small Fisher-Towne, in comparison of the safety of all* Great Brittaine. And the same day, sent into *Spaine*, *Anthony Browne*, Vicount of *Montaigue*, a man very remarkable for his wisedome, but very zealous in the Romish Religion, thinking, that for that consideration, he would bee more pleasing to the King of *Spaine*; together with *Tho. Chamberlaine*, Embassadour Ordinary; to iustifie, vpon how many iust causes she had sent an Armie into *Scotland*, to wit, those that I haue heretofore declared; and to shew, the Queen of *Scotland* had beene married very young to a sickly King, vvho was without hope to leaue Issue; that *Hamilton*, Duke of *Chastelraut*, hauing beene by the authority of the Parliament, designed of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, the *Guizes* had prepared *Ambuscadoes* for his Sonne, as he should passe through *France*: their designes were bent, to ioyne the Crowne of *Scotland* to the Crowne of *France*, and to conserue it for the Queene. This matter the King of *Spaine* examined seriously, how dangerous it was to the Prouinces of the Low-Countreys, and of *Spaine*: that it behoued not blast with Rebellion, the assembly of the great ones in *Scotland*, which was made for no other end, but to keepe (as by duty they are bound) the Kingdome for the Queen and her lawfull successors; not induring to permit, that by the wiles of the *Guizes*, it should be ruined, or transferred to the *French*, without wronging them or theirs.

Who makes known to the Spaniard the cause of the Wars of Scotland.

Vpon the beginning of *Aprill*, the *English* Armie, composed of an hundred Horse, and sixe thousand Foote, marcheth

cheth toward *Lieth*, which is a place ſituated neere *Bodir*, where all the Seas of *Great Brittaine* doe beate, and the Riuer of *Lieth* ſpreading broader, diſchargeth it ſelfe, and makes a commodious Rode for Ships, ſcarce two miles diſtant from *Edenborrough*, the Capitall Towne of *Scotland*. The *French* knowing this commodity, had fortified it, to retire thither, and there receiue the ſuccour which might be ſent vnto them: & the *Engliſh* ſhewing themſelues there, *Martigues* goes as ſpeedily out vpon them with ſome companies of Foote, to hinder their approach to a Hill, vpon which he ſuppoſed they intended to Campe: but, after a Skirmiſh of foure houres, where ſome were ſlaine, they driue them backe into the Towne: next after, they make Trenches, and raiſe Mounts, from which they battered no leſſe the Towne then the Ships. The *French* make many Sallies out, with more courage than ſtrength, and ſhewe many prooſes of Magnanimity. Amongſt others, vpon the fifteenth day of *Aprill*, they tooke the Trenches, nayled three of the greateſt Cannons, tooke and led away priſoner, *M. Berclé*: But *I. Croft*, and *C. Vaghan* driue them backe as faſt into the Towne; and it was not done without loſſe of men. *Arthur Gray*, ſonne to the Lord Baron *Gray*, who had the principall command in the Campe, was ſhot into the ſhoulder.

he alſo excuſed the Scots Confederates

Arthur Gray, ſon & heire to the Lord Gray, is wounded.

After that, they bring the Campe neerer to the Towne, becauſe the Battery was ſo farre off, that the Bullets, for the moſt part, fell without effect; and a ſhort time after, part of the Towne, and a great quantity of Corne, was burned by caſuall fire, which was much encreaſed by the *Engliſh*, who placed on that ſide their biggeſt Cānons, and being in the meane time entred into the Ditch, tooke the height of the Wall; and the ſixth of *May* (while the *Engliſh* and the *Scots* were together of accord) hauing placed the Ladders on all ſides, gaue three powerfull aſſaults to gaine the Wall, but becauſe they were too ſhort, and the

Lieth is beſieged.

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The Engliſh repulſed.

Croft *is accuſed.*

waters higher then ordinary, the Sluces beeing ſhut, they were repulſed with a ſhowre of Bullets, that ouerwhelmed them from aboue, and there were many ſlaine, yet more wounded. This check was imputed to *Croft's* fault, becauſe he had ſtayed in his Quarter with his Armes foulded, as if he had reproued this expedition, ſeeing others doe, without putting himſelfe in action to aſſiſt thoſe who had neede thereof: and I cannot tell whether hee did it out of iudgement, or for affection which he bore to the *French*, or for hatred to *Gray*. But ſo it is, that *Norfolke* and *Gray*, accuſed by Letters which they writ to the Queene, to haue had ſecret conſultations with the Queene of the *Scots*, and to haue oppoſ'd this deſigne; and in hauing ſequitiuely bin brought in iuſtice, the gouernment of *Barwicke* was taken from him, and giuen to the Lord Baron *Gray*. But the Queene ſhewing him fauour, conſeru'd it for him; and for his merit, eſtabliſhed him afterward Controwler of her Maieſties Houſe.

This firſt Mis-hap hauing abated the courage of the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, the Duke of *Norfolke* raiſ'd them as quickly vp againe, by new Troops which hee brought to ſtrengthen; and ſince that time, there were ſome light combates, vntill that the King of *France* hauing aduice that his men were ſo blockt vp at *Lieth*, that all the Paſſages by Sea and Land were ſhut, alſo conſidering, that they could not ſend him ſuccour in time requiſite, for the great diſtance of places, and the ſeditions, which augmented from day to day in his Kingdome, gaue power to the Biſhop of *Valence*, and *De la Roche Faucaud*, to accord the Affaires with Qu. ELIZABETHS Commiſſioners: eſteeming, and the Queene of *Scotland* with them, that it were a thing vnworthy their Maieſty, to enter into equall diſpute with their Subiects. And Queen ELIZABETH deputed as ſpeedily into *Scotland*, *W. Cecill*, and *N. Wotton*, Deane of *Canterburie* and *Yorke*. At the ſame time, the C. of *Murray* made

ſome

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some propositions. But *Cecill* thought that they ought not to be made by Subiects, nor agreed on by Princes.

During these debatings, the decease of Queene *Marie* of *Lorraine*, mother to the Queen, and Regent of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, hapned: a pious & most prudēt Princesse, who was neuertheless ignominiously and vnworthily handled by hot-headed Preachers (as it may appeare euen by the Ecclesiasticall History of *Scotland*, which Queene ELIZABETH caused to be suppressed vnder the Presse) and by the Lords of the Assembly, who, as being borne Councellors of State, had, vnder the name of Queene of *Scotland*, and her Husband, suspended her from all administration, as contrary to the glory of God, and the libertie of *Scotland*.

The Queene Regent of Scotland dyes.

The Articles of which, the Commissioners, after the siege begun, agreed vpon, are these:

The treaty of Edenborrough.

THe treaty of peace, made in the Castle of Cambray, *betwixt Queene* ELIZABETH *and* Henry *the Second the* French *King, shall be renewed and confirmed. They shall cease, both the one side, and the other, to make preparation of warre. The Fortresse of* Aymouth *in* Scotland *shall be demolisht. The said* King *and* Queene Mary, *shall quit the title and armes of* England *and* Ireland.

The strifes touching the recompence of the iniuries done to Queene ELIZABETH, *and the assurance of the first Article, are remitted to another Assembly, which shall be holden at* London: *and if they cannot then be agreed of, it shall be referred to the Catholique* King. *The* King *and the* Queene *shall reconcile themselues, with the Nobles, amongst their Subiects of* Scotland: *the Confederates shall be therein compriſed, and aboue all, the Catholique* King.

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This Treatie ſhall be confirmed within ſixtie dayes: the intertayning of it ſworne on both ſides.

A peace is publiſhed.

This Peace is publiſhed as well in the Campe as in the City, with a common reioycing of all: The *Engliſh* growing weary of the warre, ſeeing their neighbouring Countrey vtterly ſpoyled: The *French*, becauſe they were depriued of all traffique & commerce: and the *Scots*, for not hauing beene payed their wages. And indeed it was holden for the weale, good, and well-fare of Great *Brittaine*, ſince *Scotland* retained his ancient liberty, and *England* kept the dignity and ſurety which it had gotten. And ſince that time, ſhe hath beene really exempt and freed from all ſubiects of feare from *Scotland* ſide. The *Engliſh* haue merrily acknowledged, that Queene ELIZABETH was the founder of the ſurety, and the Proteſtants of *Scotland*, Reſtoreſſe of the liberty.

Queene Elizabeth is ſought in marriage, by

Charles, *Arch-Duke of Auſtria.*

by

Iames *Earle of* Arran:

and, by

Henry, *King of* Sueden:

During all that time, Queene ELIZABETH, for the ſingular loue which ſhee bore to the parties, was ſo attentiue to the publique good, that ſhee razed from her heart the loue of powerfull Princes who ſought her in marriage; *to wit*, CHARLES, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, ſecond Sonne of *Ferdinando* the Emperour, who made this ſuit by the Count of *Elphelton*: Of *Iames* Earle of *Arran*, who was recommended by the Proteſtants, the which propounded to themſelues to vnite, by his meanes, the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, which were diuided; which was alſo quickly reiected, and neuertheleſſe to her Maieſty, praiſe: Of *Henry* King of *Sueden*, who, to the ſame purpoſe, imployed *John* his Brother, Duke of *Finland*, to this end ſent into *England* by *Guſtaue* his Father, a little before his death, and grounding his hopes vpon this, that hee was of the ſame Religion as Queene ELIZABETH was, made himſelfe ſo credulouſly importunate, that hee thought of nothing but *England*, notwithſtanding that the King of

Denmarke his ſworne enemy, had reſolued to take him in the way, thinking that it concerned him greatly, if *England* and *Sueden*, betweene which *Denmarke* lyes, ſhould be ioyned by the meanes of a marriage. Queene ELIZABETH acknowledged and praiſed his ſingular and Soueraigne loue, and made him anſwer, that his comming ſhould be very agreeable and pleaſing to her: but ſhe could not yet finde in her heart to marry, in changing her preſent condition, which was vnto her much more delightfull, & pray'd him to proue her good wil in any other thing, aſſuring him, that although hee could not enioy his deſires, neuertheleſſe hee ſhould perceiue that his loue had not beene ill placed; and admoniſhed him not to deferre the time any longer, to make choyce of a Wife which might be worthy of him. With this anſwer, *I. C.* of *Finland* returnes into his Countrey. After, hauing imployed all kinde of meanes to make this marriage, in courting her Maieſtie importunately, by bold demands, vſing of great liberality towards her Courtiers, captiuating the good will of the inferior ſort, amongſt which he often ſtrowed pieces of Siluer; telling them, that when his Brother ſhould come, he would diſtribute largely pieces of Gold to the common people in generall. Neuertheleſſe, his Brother, ſuſpecting that he had made this ſuit for himſelfe, receiued and intertained him ill at his returne, and obſtinating himſelfe in his deſigne, ceaſed not to continue this ſuit two yeeres after, and made the condition of it to be propounded by *Nicholas Guildenſtain*: but as hee was imprudent and light at the ſame time, hee demanded the daughter of *Philip*, *Landgraue of Heſſen*, hauing beene refuſed, at laſt married with a Lady of meane condition.

But as for *Charles* Duke of *Auſtria*, he conceiued ſuch hope, that his Houſe already allied by marriages with great Princes, would be much more augmented by the addition of the alliance with *England*, and that the ancient Religion

ſhould

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should be tolerated, if not altogether established: which he so expected, as a thing which he could not faile of, and Qu. ELIZABETH tooke not at an instant this hope from him. For, her Ma^tie shewed openly to euery one, protested in the presence of *C. Elphinstain*, and writ to the Emperour, that of all the illustrious marriages which were propounded to her, there was not any more or greater, than that of the Arch-Duke: that neuertheless, neither the storme of dangers had not power heretofore, nor the fauourable winde of honour could yet, for the present, diuert her from that manner of life, in which shee had settled her selfe. Notwithstanding, without being come so farre, as to renounce altogether the state of marriage, and that shee hoped that God, vpon whose goodnesse shee wholly supported her selfe, would addresse his ends in that, and in euery other thing, to the safety both of her and her Subiects.

Adolphe, *Duke of Holsatia.*

Adolphe likewise, Duke of *Holsatia*, was stirred vp by *Frederic* the Second, King of *Denmarke*, his Nephew, to hinder her from marrying with the King of *Sueden*, and carried with hopes to be able to effect it, by the desire which her selfe had by her Letters witnessed vnto him, that he was possest with the same affection towards the *English*, as he had beene long agoe towards the *Spaniards*, and by the promise that shee had most louingly made him, hee came into *England*, where she intertained him royally, honoured him with the Order of the *Garter*, gratified him with an annuall pension, and (through her extraordinary courtesie) profest vnto him, her Maiestie obliged for euer, a most illustrious Prince, who had purchased the renowne to be a most famous warriour, in a conquest lately by him wonne against those of *DITHMARS*.

Sir W. Pickering.

There were also in her Kingdome certaine Lords, who, according to the custome of Louers, vainly prated concerning the marriage, (*viz.*) Sir *William Pickering*, Knight of the Order, who had an indifferent good estate, but honourably

nourably descended, hee, through his rare study and affability, had gotten much honor, and no lesse applause, by his Ambassage in *France* and *Germanie*.

The Earle of Arundel.

The Earle of *Arundel*, a man of a most ancient House, no lesse great in meanes than illustrious by birth, but growing into yeeres: and *Robert Dudley*, the yongest Sonne of the Duke of *Northumberland*, whom Queene MARY restored to his right and honours, a noble young Lord, of most comely lineaments of body; who was as farre in fauour with the Queene, as his Father and Grand-father were generally hated of the people, out of a rare and royall clemency which she professed towards him, in conferring & heaping honours vpon him, whose Father would haue attempted her death. Whether this might proceed from some secret instinct of those vertues apparant in him, or out of common respect, they both being prisoners vnder Queene MARIE, or from their first procreation, by a secret coniunction of the Planets at the houre of their birth, combining their hearts in one, no man can easily conceiue. Howsoeuer it were, it is most certaine, that onely Destinie causeth Princes to affect some, and reiect others. In token of honour, and for the testimony of her well-wishing towards him, the first yeere of her reigne, (after she had made him her Champion) shee made him Knight of the Garter, which amongst the *English*, is the most honourable dignitie of all, with the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, and the Earle of *Rutland*, at which euery one wondered. In the meane time, Vicount *Montaigu*, Ambassadour for *Spaine*, moued him of the necessitie of the warres of *Scotland*, and laboured (what in him lay) to preuent the imputation of the *Scots* to be Rebels, shewed him, by the instructions wherein he was commanded, but coldly, in regard hee was a zealous professour of the Roman Religion, that that which was established in *England*, was conformable and grounded vpon the holy Scripture, and

Robert Dudley.

Whom shee fauoured.

Vicount Montaigu, *Ambassador to the King of Spaine.*

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the Æconomicke Councels, and intreated him to renew the alliance of the *Burgundians*, formerly contracted betweene the Kings of *England* and their predeceſſours. The *Spaniard*, howſoeuer it was agreeable and vſuall amongſt Princes, to confirme ſuch a renouation, in reſpect it giueth as it were life to their Alliances, and teſtifieth to the world their mutuall good will; and howſoeuer himſelfe and *Charles* his Father, in the treaty of marriage with MARY Queene of *England*, in the yeere 1533. were bound to confirme this alliance, anſwered (notwithſtanding) that it was needleſſe, lamented the alteration of Religion happened in *England*, ſeemed to diſtaſte the raiſing of an army, and rooting out the Rebels in *Scotland*, and fained to be too late aduertized thereof. But for all this, hee ſtill oppoſed the deſignes of the *French*, who laboured to excommunicate ELIZABETH, and brought it ſo to paſſe, that ſhe could be no way ſubiect to excommunication without his conſent, and to aduertiſe her, though it were too late, that they ought for her aduantage, to inſert in the Articles concluded with the King of *France*, that if the *French* ſhould returne into *Scotland*, it might be lawfull for the *Engliſh* to expulſe them, and, in expreſſe termes, to condition for the certaine aſſurance of the reſtitution of *Calais*. The Earle (notwithſtanding) perceiued well, and ſo did the Queene, that he was diſpleaſed, as well by the circumſtances I haue related, as principally for that hee re-deliuered into the ſaid Vicounts hands, the tokens and enſignes of the order of Saint *George*. For, hee ſeemed hereby vtterly to breake off all amity and friendſhip with *England*: but ſhewed it much more by the refuſall which was made him afterwards, how he practiſed by his Ambaſſadour, (as hee did intercede by Count of *Feria*, who had married the Daughter of *W. Dormer*, which hee had by the Lady *Marie Sidney*) for that the Queene permitted certaine men, women, and Children, to ſtay in *Flanders*, who for Religion were

He fauoured notwithſtanding Elizabeth againſt the French.

He re-deliuered the order of the Garter.

were retired without leaue, (*viz.*) to the Lady *Iane Dormer*, Daughter of *Thomas Newdigate*, and Widdow to Sir *Robert Dormer*, Knight, and to the Lady *Clarence*, Grand-mother to the Count of *Feria*, being very olde, who had beene Fauourite to Queene MARIE, and Almoner for the particular reliefe of poore women; to *Richard Shelley*, Prior of the order of Saint *Iohn* in *England*, of which wee will speake hereafter, and to *Thomas Harnie*: all which were zealous professors of the Romish Religion, and well beloued of the *Spaniard*.

He disdained to be refused in things of small importance.

This refusall was grounded vpon a restraint (by the ancient custome & Lawes of *England*) prohibiting any person (the Nobles and Peeres of the Kingdome excepted) vpon paine of confiscation of their goods, to depart out of their Countrey, without speciall licence from the King, and to reside in forraine parts beyond a certaine time prefixed, and that, either for the recouery of their health, vnder a more warme climate, or for the aduancement of their studies in the Academies, or for their practice in militarie Discipline.

Whereof there was no president extant of any toleration granted to women, to be continually absent from their Countrey: and that moreouer, the thing in it selfe seemed to be of no great importance. Neuertheless, in respect that those who desired it, reaped not so much benefit thereby, applying it to their owne particular ends, as others were animated by their example, to the detriment of the common good, it was vnreasonable to condiscend vnto: as the Queene signified to the King of *Spaine*.

The Count Ferie *whets his indignation.*

The Earle, stomaking this as a particular iniury, to reuenge himselfe, caused to be apprehended (as an Heretique) one of the seruants of *Chamberlaine*, being there

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He incenſes the Pope *againſt the* Queene.

The Pope *writes to* Elizabeth.

then Ambaſſadour ordinary for *England*, and caſt him into the Inquiſition, and rather (as it were) enuying the Queene, and the *Engliſh*, than the King himſelfe, added more fuell to his fire, notwithſtanding all the meanes his Wife vſed to diſſwade him. It was alſo knowne, that he was imployed to Pope *Pius* the Fourth, in the beginning of his Papacy, to preſſe the Excommunication of the Queene: yet neuertheleſſe, the *Pope*, (vpon what good hope I know not) ſent vnto her *Vincent Parpalia*, Abbot of Saint *Sauiours*, with diuers ſecret aduertiſements, with a kinde Letter, all which I will here at large inſert, howſoeuer I may ſeeme to ſinne againſt the Law of Hiſtorie.

TO

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1560.

TO
OVR MOST DEARE DAVGHTER,
IN CHRIST, ELIZABETH,
Queene of ENGLAND.

The Pope Pius *the fourth of that name, his Letter sent vnto Queene Elizabeth, by his Nuncio,* Vincent Parpalia.

MOST deare Daughter in Christ, Salutation, and Apostolicall Benediction. God, the searcher of all hearts, knoweth, and you may perceiue, by the aduice that wee haue giuen you, to behaue your selfe towards this our eldest Son, Vincent Parpalia, *whom you know well, how much we tender, and desire, according to the duty of our Office of Pastorship, to prouide for your saluation & honour, together with the establishment of your Raigne, thereby exhorting and admonishing your Greatnesse, (most deare Daughter) that in reiecting those lewd Councellors, who loue themselues better then you, and aime but at their priuate ends: You implore the feare of God to your Councell, and remembring the time of your visitation, you obserue our fatherly admonitions, & wholsome Counsels, and we will promise you of our part, all th' assistance you can desire, not onely for the comfort of your soule, but for th' establishment and confirmation*

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of your royall dignities, according to the authority, place, and charge committed to vs from God: And if (as wee most feruently desire and hope) you returne into the bosome of the Church, We will receiue you with the like affectionate loue, as the Father (of whom it is spoken in the Gospell) receiued his Sonne when he returned to him: and our ioy shall be farre greater then the ioy of a Father for his sonne onely. But you, in drawing after you the whole people of England, *shall heape with ioyes, not onely to your owne particular saluation, but to your whole Nation: Vs, and the Vniuersitie of our Brethren, whom you shall shortly (God willing) heare to be assembled in an Æcumenique and generall Councell, for th'extirpation of Heresies: and the whole Church together. You shall also cause the Heauens to reioyce, and by such a memorable act, purchase renowned glory to your name, and a far more glorious Crown then that wherewith you are already crowned: But of that, the said* Vincent *shall more amply certifie you, and fully demonstrate our fatherly affection toward you; whom we desire your Highnesse to receiue courteously and graciously, hearing him attentiuely, and giue such credit to what he shall declare vnto you, as you would vnto our selfe.*

Giuen at *Rome*, at Saint *Peter's Palace*, the fifth day of *May*, 1560. and of our Papacy the first.

I haue not found what Propositions were made by *Parpalia*, for I cannot thinke that he was put in writing, neither doth it please me to suppose, as ordinarily Historians doe. All the world knowes, Queene ELIZABETH liued like her selfe, and, ALWAYES THE SAME: and that the busines succeeded not to the Popes expectation.

tion. The common fame also went for truth, that the Pope promised to cut off, as a thing vniust, the sentence giuen against the marriage of Queene ELIZABETHS Mother, to confirme out of his owne authority, the *English* Liturgie, and to allow in *England* the vse of the Sacrament vnder both kinds; prouided, that her Maiesty should ranke her selfe with the Roman Church, and to giue some thousands of Crownes to such as laboured in these things.

The King and Queene of France refuse to confirme the Treatie for Edenborrough.

The time of confirming the Treatie of marriage at *Edenborrough* was then come; Queene ELIZABETH hauing by solemne Oath, confirm'd, and sent vnto the King and Queene of *France* also, to ratifie the same on their part, as it was meete; *Throgmorton*, Ordinary Ambassadour in *France*, and Sir *Peter Meuté*, Knight, dispatched after him for the same purpose, laboured to bring them to it: But they preuailed not, notwithstanding they had in expresse words, vpon the Faith, and royall word of a King, by Commission from the Bishop of *Valence*, deputed for passing this Treaty, promised to confirm it. The reasons they alledged to exempt themselues, were, That the *Scots* had past thorow *Barwicke* with the *English*, not by Royall Licence, but of themselues; which they ought not to doe: that they past like Rebels, and that vnder colour of being Subiects, they falsly profest themselues loyall, and had no way shewed the obedience promised by it.

The reasons.

Francis the second dyeth.

Whiles they were disputing hereupon, *Francis* the second, (king of *France*) not being yet eighteene yeeres of age, left the most high and mighty Princesse, *Mary*, Queene of *Scotland*, a Widdow: at which newes, I cannot well say whether the Papists more lamented, or the Protestants reioyced.

Queene ELIZABETH, now perceiuing her selfe more secure then euer before, to the end that the Church might subsist, and encrease in her partie, and that the Commonwealth might more & more flourish in honour and riches, proclai-

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The Edict of Qu. Elizabeth against the Anabaptists.

Her Maiesties Edict against sacreligious persons.

The Colledge of Westminster founded.

The Coine brought to full value.

proclaimed two most wholsome Edicts; by the first whereof, she commanded all Anabaptists, and such other like Heretiques, who, vnder pretence of shunning persecution, were come from Countries beyond the Seas, to certaine Port Townes vpon the Coast of *England*, to depart the Kingdome within twentie dayes, whether they were natiue or strangers, vpon paine of imprisonment, and forfeiture of their goods. And by the second Edict, her Maiesty suppreſt a Sect of sacrilegious men, who, vnder colour of extirpating superstitions, had begun to demolish ancient *Sepulchers*, *Epitaphs*, and *Ensignes* of Noble Families, and other Monuments of reuerend Antiquity; which had escaped the furie of the prophane, vnder King HENRIE the Eighth, and King EDVVARD the Sixth, and to pull off the Lead that couered the Churches.

And moreouer, cõuerted the Monastery of *Westminster*, a most famous place for the sacring of the Kings of *England*, and the place where the Armes and Royall Enfignes were alwaies kept, into a Colledgiall Church, or (as I may better terme it) into a Seminary of the Church: And there instituted one Deane, twelue Prebends, one Master, one Vsher, fortie Schollers, whom they call the Kings Nurseries, out of which there be sixe euery yeere, or more, chosen for the Academies of Ministers, and Singers; twelue poore, &c. to the glory of God, and the increase of true Religion, and good Learning: And certainly, there comes out from thence, happily for Church and Cõmon-wealth, a number of Learned men.

Tooke away by little and little (whereby shee gained great Honour, and no lesse Glory) the course of money mingled with Copper, and brought in vse that which was pure & fine siluer, to restore the honour of the Kingdome, to preuent the deceit of those, which both within and without this, had corrupted the kinds, and chang'd things much auaileable for the good of the Common-wealth, in-

to

to coynes of falſe money, and tranſported the good ſiluer into forraigne Nations: and to abate the prices of vendible commodities, which were extremely inhaunc't, to the great preiudice of the Common-wealth, and aboue all, for Stipendiars, Soldiers, Seruants, and all ſuch as are payde for their labours by hyer: and brought it moſt happily to paſſe in a few moneths, without making any ſtirre; firſt, in forbidding all perſons to melt, or tranſport out of the Kingdome; as well the good and pure money, as that which was mingled with Copper. Moreouer, in bringing that which is ſo mingled, to his value, that is to ſay, the Penny to a halfe-penny; the two-penny piece to three-halfe-pence; the ſixe-pence to a groat; and the reſt to two and a farthing, becauſe there was no more money: and finally, buying them for good ſiluer of all ſuch as had any of it, prouided that they brought it within the time prefixt in the Table of money; which could not be done without loſſe to her: inſomuch that wee ought to acknowledge it to proceede from Queene ELIZABETH, that the ſiluer was better and more pure in *England* during her Raigne, then in full two hundred yeeres before, and that it was not vſed in any other part of *Europe*.

She afterward cauſed good Coyne to bee ſtamped for *Ireland*, which we call ſterling; of which, the ſhilling is worth twelue-pence in *Ireland*, and in *England*, nine: A matter (indeed) waighty, great, and moſt memorable, which neither King EDVVARD the Sixth could, nor Queene MARY durſt enterprize, ſithence King HENRY the Eighth was the firſt King that euer cauſed Copper to be mingled with Siluer, to the great ſhame of the Kingdome, damage of his Succeſſors and people, and notable token of his exceſſiue expence, ſithence his Father had left him more wealth, then euer any other King left his Succeſſor, and likewiſe he had drawne abundance of money,

This was corrupted by King Henry the Eighth. His lauiſh expence.

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by the meanes of Tributes, and Impoſts, (without grounding our ſelues vpon that which Cardinall *Poole* had left in writing: That he had drawne more then all the other Kings which had raigned ſince the Victory of the *Normanes*) and heapt vp an infinite deale; when, by the power of a Parliament, hee tooke vnto himſelfe all the Lordſhips which the *Engliſh*, beeing abſent, had held in *Ireland*; all the firſt Fruites of Eccleſiaſticall Liuings, and the Tenths, which were in *England* and *Ireland*; all the reuennews, gifts, and goods belonging to Monaſteries.

The Earle of Huntington dyeth.

This yeere dyed *Francis*, Lord *Haſtings*, Earle of *Huntington*, the ſecond of that Race; who had by *Katharine*, the Daughter of *Henry*, Lord *Montaigue*, Brother to *Reinald* Cardinall *Poole*, Iſſue, *Henry*, who ſucceeded him, and diuers other Children, who agreed well in brotherly loue, but not in Religion.

Shan O-Neale *ſtirs vp ſedition in Ireland.*

In *Ireland*, *Shan*, otherwiſe called *O-Neale*, a great and potent man in the Countrey of *Vlſter*, and lawfull Heire to *Coni O-Neale*, who ſurnamed himſelfe *Baco* (which is as much to ſay, as *Claude*) and was created Earle of *Tyr-Oene* by HENRY the Eighth, after he had put to death *Mathew*, Baron of *Dungannon*, his baſtard Brother, who was taken for legitimate, ſpoyled his Father of his rule and domination, for which hee quickly dyed with ſorrow, tooke vpon himſelfe the Title of *O-Neale*, couering his head, after a barbarous manner, with that hee wore vpon his legges and feete, caſt himſelfe into Rebellion, for feare of beeing purſued by the Lawe: ſo as fiue-hundred Foote were ſent out of *England*, to ioyne with two Companies of Horſe, leuied in *Ireland*, againſt him. But after, hauing made ſome light Skirmiſhes, perceiuing himſelfe vnable to reſiſt the *Engliſh*, and to bee hated of his owne men, and that *Surly-Boy*, *Iacob Mac-Connell*, and *Odonnell* were

were risen against him, hee layde downe Armes at the perswasion of the Earle of *Kildare*, his Kinsman, and promised to come into *England* to aske pardon, as wee shall describe it in a more ample manner in its proper place. Booke 1. 1560.

Booke 1.
1561.

THE FOVRTH YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1561.

The Queene of Scotland puts off the confirmation of the Treatie.

AT the beginning of the yeere, *Fr.* Earle of *Bedford* (hauing beene sent into *France*, to end the mourning for the death of *Francis* the second) to congratulate with King *Charles* for succeeding him; summoned often the Queene of *Scotland*, sometimes himselfe alone, and sometimes accompanyed with *Throgmorton*, to confirme the Treaty of *Edenborrough*, but all in vaine: For he could drawe no other Answer of it, but, That it behoued and was requisite, not to resolue vpon so great a thing, without mature deliberations; and that shee neither would, nor could

Booke 1. 1561.

could confirme it without the Peeres of *Scotland*. *Throgmorton* neuertheleſſe ceaſed not to preſſe her inſtantly, by all the meanes hee could deuiſe. In like manner, the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, and all the other *Guizes*, her Vnkles, and *Iames* her baſtard-brother, who was newly arriued in *France*. But whiles they thus did nothing, but deferd it from day to day, by forged reaſons, Queen ELIZABETH, doubting leſt they intended the ruine of *England*, reſolued to ſuppreſſe them. Shee ſent thereupon *T. Randolph* into *Scotland*, to perſwade the Peeres to a mutuall amitie, grounded vpon the vnity of Religion, aduertiſing them, that the Princes of *Germanie* were vnited together againſt the *Pope*, and that ſhee deſired nothing more, than that the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* were combined in this accord; ſhewed them, that the Queene of *Scotland*, being a Widdow, now was the onely opportunitie for the appeaſing of all diſcords betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, who had ſo many Ages the one fought againſt the other, with ſo much bloud-ſhed on either part, whether in contracting a perpetuall League with the *Engliſh*, or in razing out of the ancient league with the *French*, thoſe Couenants which were wont to breed diſcord betweene *England* and *Scotland*. Laſtly, ſhee exhorted them to beware, that the Queene (who was now a Widdow) ſhould not diſpoſe her ſelfe in marriage to a ſtranger Prince, by whoſe power ſhee might reuenge her ſelfe vpon thoſe, who had lately reſiſted the *French*, and ſo expoſe their freedome to the hazard of ſeruitude.

In the meane time, the Queen of *Scotland*, who thought to retyre her ſelfe into her Kingdome, hauing ſent before *Doyſell*, a French-man, intreating ELIZABETH, by him, to giue her Highneſſe leaue to paſſe by Sea, and to *Doyſell* through *England*, vnder the common faith: ELIZABETH vtterly denyed her, in preſence of a whole multitude of her Aſſiſtants, alledging for excuſe, that ſhee had not yet ratified the Treaty of *Edenborrough*, as ſhee had promiſed

The Queene of England *denieth paſſage to the Queene of* Scotland.

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promised to doe, and assured her, that in case shee should performe all that shee might expect from a Queene, being her Cousin and Neighbour, shee might freely passe either by Sea or Land into *Scotland*. The Queene of *Scots* extremely stomaking this refusall, called for *Throgmorton*, and intertained a great deale of discourse with him about this occasion, which I will briefly here insert, according to the Contents of *Throgmortons* Letters collected by mee, howsoeuer I must repeat diuers things, of which I haue formerly spoken, to the end that the originall, and degrees of the secret grudges and hatred betweene two of the prudentest, and most puissant Princesses of our Age, might more euidently and clearely appeare. Shee being then withdrawne a little aside, and there being no more but her selfe, and *Throgmorton*, she spake in this manner vnto him:

She complained to Throgmorton *Ambassadour from* England.

ALthough I were so weake, that I did not sufficiently know it, nor whither the heat of my spirit might carry mee, yet am I not so weake, that I should desire so many witnesses of mine infirmitie, as your Mistresse not long sithence held discourses with my Ambassadour Doysell. *Nothing vexeth mee so much, as to haue intreated her for that I could well haue beene without, and as I am come hither against her will, and notwithstanding the hinderance by her Brother* EDWARD, *I shall also be as well able, God willing, to returne into my Countrey, without asking her leaue. And I want not friends, nor friends that are willing and powerfull to bring mee backe thither, as they were to bring mee hither. But I chose rather to try her friendship than any others. I haue often heard you say, that it was chiefly necessary to our two Kingdomes to intertaine amity, the one with the other: and*

neuer-

neuertheleſſe it ſeemes that ſhee hath another meaning, otherwiſe ſhee would not haue refuſed mee ſo ſmall a courteſie. But peraduenture ſhe loues thoſe Scots *better which are Rebels to me, who am* Queene *of* Scotland, *of equall Maieſtie to her, her neere Kinſwoman, and the moſt certaine Heire. Doe you thinke, that with ſo great a faith and loue which is betweene her and me, ſhe ſhould keepe correſpondency with the* Scots *which rebell againſt me? Does ſhee thinke that I ſhall be forſaken of my friends? Truely, ſhee hath brought mee to that paſſe, that I haue reclaymed the ayde of thoſe which otherwiſe I would not haue imployed, and I cannot maruell enough by what counſell ſhe hath heretofore aſſiſted my Subiects againſt mee, and now that I am a Widdow, am hindered from returning into my Countrey. I ſtirre not vp any buſineſſe, nor meddle with thoſe of* England, *although I be aſſured that many* Engliſh *are not content with ſuch as paſſe there at this preſent. She reproches mee for my ſmall experience. I confeſſe, age brings that: yet neuertheleſſe I haue ſo much as to know how to carry my ſelfe louingly and iuſtly with my friends, I doe not caſt at randome any word againſt her, which may be vnworthy of a* Queene, *and a Kinſwoman; and, by her permiſſion, I dare ſay, that I am a* Queene *as well as ſhee, and want no friends more than ſhee doth, and can carry my courage as high as ſhee knowes how to doe: inſomuch as it is fitting for vs to meaſure our ſelues with ſome equality. But I leaue compariſons, which cannot be, but with debate and hatred. As for the Treaty of* Edenborrough, *it was made in the life-time of the* King *my Husband, to whom I was bound by duety to obey in all things; and ſince hee deferred the confirmation of it, the fault ought to be his, and not mine. Since his death, the Councell of* France *hath left me to be guided by*

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by mine owne friends, and my Vnkles would not meddle with the affaires of Scotland, *for offending in any thing either Queene* Elizabeth, *or the* Scots. *The* Scots *that I haue neere about me, are priuate persons, and are not such as I would aske their counsell in things of so great importance. As soone as I haue consulted with the States of my Kingdome, I will giue you a reasonable answer, and to giue it so much the sooner, I goe forward to returne to my House. But shee makes account to stop my passage, insomuch that shee her selfe is the cause that I cannot satisfie her; and peraduenture she does it to the end, that there may not be any end of our discords. Shee often obiects vnto me, as to my shame, that I am young: and truely shee might rightly say it, both very young, and very ill-aduised, if I would treate of a businesse of that importance, without the consent of my States. A woman, as I haue learned, is not bound either by honour or conscience to her Husbands fact. But I will haue no dispute vpon that, and neuertheless I will truely say, that I haue done nothing to my most deare Sister, that I would should not haue beene done vnto my selfe. I haue rendred her all duties of friendship, but shee either beleeues them not, or despiseth them. I would to God that I were as deare to her, as I am neere to her, for that would be a precious kinde of proximitie. God pardon those which sow discords betweene vs, if there be any. But you, who are her Ambassadour, say, if you dare, wherefore shee is so much offended against mee, who vntill this present neuer offended her, neither in word, nor in effect.*

Throgmorton's *answer to the Qu.* Mary *of Scotland.*

To which, *Throgmorton* told her:

I *Haue no Commission to answer to that, but to heare that which you haue to answer, touching the confirmation*

mation of the Treaty of Edenborrough. *But if it pleaſe you to heare the cauſe of this offence, hauing quitted the qualitie of an Ambaſſadour, I will tell it you in few words. As ſoone as the Queene my Miſtris was ſacred and inaugurated, you vſurped the name and armes of* England, *although you had not done it before in the reigne of Queene* MARY. *You ſhall iudge in your owne wiſdome, if a greater offence can be done to a Prince. Surely priuate perſons themſelues doe not willingly digeſt theſe offences, much leſſe Princes.*

But (ſaid She) *my Husbands Father and my Husband would haue it ſo, commanded it. As ſoone as they were deceaſed, and that I was of my ſelfe, I preſently quitted both the Armes and the Title. And notwithſtanding I know not, if this be to defraud the* Queene, *that I, who likewiſe am one, and Grand-child to the eldeſt Siſter of* HENRY the Eighth, *carry theſe Armes, ſeeing that others haue borne them, which are further off of kinne than I am.*

Indeed *Courtney*, Marquis of *Exceter*, and the Dutches of *Suffolke*, Neece to HENRY the Eighth, by his yonger Siſter, by a ſpeciall fauour carryed the Armes of *England*, in adding to them the Limbes for a marke of difference.

Conteſtation betweene the Queene of Scotland, *and* Throgmorton, *Queene* Elizabeths *Ambaſſador into France.*

The Queene of *Scotland*, not being able by theſe words to giue Qu. ELIZABETH content, who ſtedfaſtly beleeued that ſhee ſought but delayes, to husband ſome new hope, ſeeing that at the holding of the States of *Scotland*, who had aſſembled twice ſince the death of Queene MARIE, ſhee had not made any propoſition which concerned the confirmation of this Treaty: as ſhee was already vpon the way to come for *Scotland*, ſhee cauſed *Throgmorton* a ſe-

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1561.

The Queene endeuours to content Qu. Elizabeth.

cond time to come to her to *Ableville*, and asked him curteously, How shee might either by word or deed, giue satisfaction to Queene ELIZABETH.

In ratifying (sayes he) *the Treaty of* Edenborrough, *as I haue often told you.*

Whereupon, she said vnto him:

HEarken then, *to iudge, if this which shee thinkes to be delayes, and vaine excuses, are not most iust reasons. The first Article of this Treaty, which concernes the ratification of that which passed in the Castle of* Cambray, *betweene* England *and* France, *toucheth mee nothing at all. The second, which concernes that of the Treatie passed in the same place betweene* England *and* Scotland, *hath beene ratified by my Husband and mee, and I cannot ratifie it more amply, if it be not concluded in my name alone, seeing my Husband is there expresly named. The third, fourth, and fifth Articles are already effected: for the preparatiues of Warre haue ceased, the* French *Garrisons are called backe out of* Scotland, *the Fort which was neere* Aymouth, *is razed. Since the death of my Husband, I haue refrained to carry the Armes and the Title of* England, *and it is not in my power to raze them out of the Vtensils, Edifices, and the Letters Royall which are dispersed through* France, *no more than I can send backe the Bishop of* Valence, *and of* Raadan, *since they are not my Subiects, to contest vpon the sixth Article. As to the last, I hope that my seditious Subiects will not complaine of my inclemencie. But, as I see, shee which thinkes to hinder my returne, will goe about to hinder that they shall not try my clemencie. What remaines now in this Treatie, which is preiudiciall*

ciall to your Queene? *Neuertheleſſe, to heape her vp with ſatisfactions, I will write to her of it more amply, with mine owne hand, though ſhee vouchſafes not to write to mee, but by a Secretarie. As for you, Ambaſſadour, I pray you to doe the duetie of an Ambaſſadour, rather to ſweeten buſineſſes, than make them ſowrer.*

But in vaine.

But theſe Letters did not giue Queen ELIZABETH any contentment, who had euer in her heart the iniury which ſhee had done her, in taking the title and armes of *England*, and at that time feared much that ſhee tooke them yet, if by the confirmation of this Treatie, and the Religion of the othe, ſhee was not bound to forbeare them.

She returnes into Scotland.

In the meane time, the Queene of *Scotland* finding the time fit, goes to *Calais*, and gets into *Scotland*, hauing the fauour of Heauen which was cloudy and darke, got the winde of the *Engliſh* Ships, that ſome thought had beene ſent to Sea in honour to conuoy her, others to take Pirates, and others to take her: they grounding it vpon this, that *Iames*, her baſtard-brother, a little before returning from *France*, and paſsing through *England*, had counſelled Queene ELIZABETH to doe it, if ſhee would prouide for Religion, and her owne ſafetie: The which, *Lidington*, being ioyfull that *Doyſell* was retayned in *England*, perſwaded, as his Letters make mention.

Leſt, being returned, ſhee ſhould ſtirre vp Tragedies, take away the commerce of letters and meſſages with the Engliſh, *ruine the faction which was at their deuotion, and exerciſe crueltie vpon the Proteſtants of* Scotland, *not vnder colour of diſloyaltie, but of hereſie, euen as* MARIE *Queene of* England *had lately done.*

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Howbeit, her Maieſtie being returned into *Scotland*, ſhewed all gentleneſſe to her Subiects, ſhee changed nothing in Religion, although tumultuouſly brought in; and begun to temper the Common-wealth by excellent Lawes and good Ordinances. Her Maieſtie ſent *Lidington* to Queene ELIZABETH, with Letters from her ſelfe, and from the Peeres of *Scotland*, by which ſhee referred to her all the care to make and intertaine the peace betweene *England* and *Scotland*, prayed her to ſeeke ſome good diſpatch thereof, and gaue for her aduice, that ſhee did not thinke of a better and more certaine remedie, than that Queene ELIZABETH, dying without iſſue, ſhould declare her Heire, to ſucceed her in the Kingdome of *England*, &c. by authority of Parliament.

This ſeemed ſtrange to Queene ELIZABETH, who expected to receiue the Confirmation of the Treaty of *Edenborrough*, promiſed both by word and writing. Notwithſtanding, ſhe anſwers him:

Elizabeth *anſwers him.*

THat *for concerning the matter of Succeſſion, ſhee hoped that the Queene of* Scotland *would not violently take the* Scepter *from her, nor from her Children, if ſhee ſhould haue any. Promiſeth not to derogate in any manner from the right which ſhe had to the Kingdome of* England, *howſoeuer by the precipitate and ouer-haſted ambition of others, ſhee had attributed to her ſelfe the Title and the Armes of the ſame, for which it were iuſt and requiſit ſhee ſhould make ſome ſatisfaction: And ſaid, ſhee feared that the Deſignation of a Succeſſour, would diſioyne their friendſhip, rather than re-vnite it, by reaſon that thoſe which rule, haue alwayes thoſe in ſuſpition which ought to ſucceed them: That the inconſtant people, vexing themſelues at the preſent ſtate of things, turne away the eyes from the Sunne-ſetting, and looke toward the Sunne-riſing:*

sing; and that those which are once designed Successors, cannot containe themselues within the limits of equitie, nor can keepe vnder the ill desires of their owne, and of others: insomuch that if she did confirme and assure the succession, she should depriue her selfe of all security, she should in her life-time set her winding-sheete before her eyes, yea, she should likewise make her own funerall, liuing, and seeing it.

Qu. Elizabeth presseth the confirmation of the Treatie.

Hauing made this answere, she sweetly admonisheth her againe by Letters, which were deliuered her by *Peter Meutis*, to confirme the Treatie; which she refused not directly; but gaue him to vnderstand, that she could not commodiously doe it, vntill the Affaires of *Scotland* were well established. In the meane time, Queen ELIZABETH, with all maner of courtesie, entertaines *Monsieur le Duc D'Aumale*, the Grand Prior, and *Monsieur le Duc D'elbeuf*, her Vnkles, and other *French* Noble-men, which had conducted her into *Scotland*.

Receiues the Guizes courteously.

And yet notwithstanding, *Monsieur de Guize* behaued himselfe in that sort, that the *English* Ships are taken vpon the Coasts of *Brittanie*, and the Marchants vnworthily handled, and labours againe closely at *Rome*, to procure Queene ELIZABETH to bee excommunicated. Howbeit the Pope, *Pius* the fourth, aduised, that it behoued to deale more gently with her Maiesty; and as he had already sought by courteous Letters, as I haue said vpon the last yeere, hauing then also, to appease the discords which were for matter of Religion, assigned a day to the Councell of *Trent*, long sinnce begunne, and broken off by continuall Warres, and drawing gently thither, all the Princes which had forsaken the Romish religion, hee deputed into *England* the Abbot of *Martinegues*, with Letters full of assurance of loue.

The Guizes vse the English ill.

But because that by an ancient Law, it is most expresse-

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ly forbidden the Popes Nuncio's to goe thither, before he had obtained leaue from thence, and taken Oath, not to worke any thing by ſubtilty there, tending to the preiudice of the King and Kingdome; The Abbot being vpon the way, ſtayed in *Flanders*, and demanded leaue to come hither: But *Englands* Councell of State iudg'd, that it was not ſafe to admit him hither, in regard that ſo many people from all parts, nouriſhed in the Romiſh religion, laboured carefully, both within and without the Realme, to trouble the affaires thereof.

The Abbot not being permitted to come into *England*, the Biſhop of *Wittenberg*, the Popes Nuncio, with the King of *France*, labours that Queene ELIZABETH ſhould ſend Ambaſſadours to the Councell, and many Princes of Chriſtendome, *(viz.)* the Kings of *France*, of *Spaine*, and of *Portingall*, *Henry* Cardinall of *Portingall*, and aboue all, the Duke of *Albe*, who yet bore good will to her Maieſtie, counſelled her, that in matters of Religion, which is the onely Anker of Chriſtians, and ſtay of Kingdomes, ſhe would rather aſſcent to the Oecumenique Councell of *Trent*, than to the particular opinions of a few men, although they be learned.

She anſwers them,

That the right to aſſemble a Councell belongs not to the Pope.

That ſhee deſired with all her heart, an Oecumenique Councell, but that ſhee would not ſend to that of the Popes, with whom ſhe had nothing to doe, his authority being vtterly beaten downe and reiected in England, *with the conſent of the States of the Kingdome. That it is not for him, but for the Emperour, to aſſigne a Councell, and that he hath no greater authority then any other Biſhop.*

At the ſame time (that this Abbot was denyed acceſſe into *England*, beeing the laſt Nuncio that the Popes of

Rome

1561.

Rome haue ſent hither) Sir *Edward Carne*, aforementioned, being a moſt iudicious and wiſe man, very well vnderſtood in the right of Emperours, & by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, honoured with the dignitie of Knight-hood, he dyed at *Rome*, and was the laſt Ambaſſadour ſent from the Kings of *England* to the Pope.

Carne *dyes.*

Chamberlaine, Ambaſſadour for *England* in *Spaine*, perceiuing that this anſwere did more and more alienate the affection of *Spaine*, who iudged it to bee iniurious to the Pope, and fearing no more, that *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* ſhould fall into the hands of the Kings of *France*, ſince that King *Francis* was dead, began to make no more account of the *Engliſh*, tooke leaue of him, and returned into *England*. *Thomas Chaloner* is ſent in his place, who, as he was impatient of iniuries, and had beene many times Ambaſſadour in *Germany*, where he had receiued all manner of courteſies, as ſoone as he was arriued in *Spaine*, inſtantly beſought by Letters to be reuoked, complaining, that according to the cuſtome of the Countrey, they had ſearched his Trunkes. But Queene ELIZABETH admoniſhed him, that an Ambaſſadour muſt ſupport all that which is of equity, prouided that the honour of his Prince were not wronged.

How far an Ambaſſador ought to beare an offence.

Queen ELIZABETH being then capable of good counſell, and very prudent and prouident, and Religion ſomewhat wel eſtabliſhed, to ſtrengthen her ſelfe with remedies againſt forces, prouides for the ſafety of her ſelfe and of her Subiects; and to enioy Peace more ſweetly, although ſhe found the Coffers empty at her comming, began to eſtabliſh a Magazin of all ſorts of Inſtruments of War, and to that end, employed great ſummes of money in *Germany*, (The *Spaniard* retained thoſe Furnitures which ſhee had agreed for at a price, at *Antwerpe*) cauſeth many Cannons of Braſſe and Iron to be caſt, diſcouers in the Country of *Cumberland*, neere *Keſwicke*, by a ſpeciall fauour from God fauouring

Qu. Elizabeth prepares things neceſſary for Warre.

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She finds the Calamite Stone.

fauouring her deſigne, a rich Mine of pure and naturall Braſſe, which had been a long time neglected; and beſides for her owne vſe, ſhe furniſhed other Regions: and at the ſame time, the *Calamite*-ſtone, which aboue all, is neceſſary for Braſſe-worke: and not to trouble her ſelfe, both to pray and to pay to bee furniſhed with Gun-powder, made it in her owne Kingdome, which none of her Predeceſſors had done: increaſeth the number of the Souldiers of the Gariſon of *Barwicke*, which was before but of fiue-hundred men, to eaſe the oldeſt and the moſt war-like: begins mightily to fortifie the Towne of *Barwicke*, and accompliſheth it in a ſmall time; aſſignes Noble and powerfull men to repaire the fortifications within a mile of the Frontiers of *Scotland*: prepares a Fleete, the beſt furniſhed with all ſorts of Inſtruments of Nauigation and Warre, that euer *Great-Brittaine* ſaw: cauſed a Fort to bee built vpon the Shore of *Meadwege* neere *Vpnore*, where the Ships ſhould ride in ſhelter from the weather, and increaſed the wages of the Mariners and Souldiers; inſomuch that ſtrangers named her Maieſtie,

Prepares a Fleete.

THE QVEEN OF THE SEA, THE NORTH-STAR, The reſtorer of the Nauall Glory.

The Engliſh build Ships.

She had no neede now, as her Father and Predeceſſors had, to fraught for her owne vſe, Ships of *Hamburg*, *Lubec*, *Danſick*, *Genes* & *Venice*. The richer ſort alſo of thoſe who dwelt neere the Sea, imitating the prudent Princeſſe, in emulation who could build the beſt Ships of Warre, ſo as in a ſhort time, the Queenes Fleet, ioyned with her Subiects, came to ſo great a number, that ſhe might put to Sea, for a nauall Warre, twenty thouſand combatants. The Nobles,

Nobles, and the people of all parts, ſhewed no leſſe gladneſſe and diligence to furniſh themſelues, ſo farre, that there were euen within the houſes of the Nobles, Magazins and Store-houſes, well furniſhed with war-like Munition: and from that time, they began to muſter and exerciſe Armes, and the Youth was faſhioned for warres, and men imboldned to fight. The husband-men ſeeing that the exportation of Corne was permitted, betooke themſelues to tillage more earneſtly then they had done before; yea, and more then the Lawes made afterward required, turning vp grounds, which, for time out of mind, Plough neuer came ouer.

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Tillage more vſed then euer.

About the ſame time, the QVEENE, by a ſeuere Edict, met with the couetouſnes of ſome Marchants, which furniſhed the Emperour of *Ruſſia* with Engines of Warre, againſt the *Polanders*, and became ſubminiſtrators to the enemies of Chriſtianity; and alſo with the greedines of the Receiuers, who had denyed payment of the Penſions aſſigned to religious perſons, after their expulſion from their Monaſteries, ordaining, that to all of them, who, vpon good teſtimony, were liuing, and not prouided for, they ſhould pay, to a penny.

An Edict in fauour of the King of Poland.

For the Religious.

Shee reuoked the Commiſſions which ſhe had appointed for the victualing of her Nauie, and for the Gariſon of *Barwicke*, and cauſed money to bee giuen to Purueyers, to buy, to the end that they might not be burthenous to the People. Shee alſo thought it fit, to take away thoſe which were for her Royall Houſe, (many Counties being content to giue a certaine rate, to free them from this hurtfull kind of men) *Purueyers*, which ſhee called *Harpies*.

The Commiſſions for Purueyers.

About that time, if I remember well, the entertainement of the Iuſtices of Aſſiſe was augmented, and their Circuit money now firſt of all eſtabliſhed. And although ſhee looked neere to her profit, yet ſhe very well knew vp-

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on what occaſion, how farre, and at what time ſhee ſhould vſe her liberality, and indeed, was prouidently bountifull to thoſe that deſerued it. For, notwithſtanding that King HENRY her Father, howſoeuer charged with three Children, and EDVVARD and MARIE, who had none, had beene bountifull of the Crowne Land, ſhee neuertheleſſe, hauing none neither, gaue very little of it, and yet what ſhe gaue, was vpon condition, that for default of iſſue it ſhould returne to the Crowne; for which, both the Realme and their ſucceſſors ought to remember her, and thanke her, as a carefull fore-ſeer.

Qu. Elizabeths huſbandrie.

Whileſt this good correſpondencie was betweene the Queene and her people (the Common-wealth ſeeming to take life and ſtrength, to the common ioy of all) fell out a ſad accident. A moſt rare Piramide of the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, in *London*, which was frō the ground to the top of the ſquare Tower, 525. foote, & from thence 260. and was couered with wood, & ouer-laid with Lead) was ſtrucken at the top with fire from heauē, which was ſo deuouring, and burnt downeward with ſuch violence, (to the great terrour of all the Inhabitants) that in the ſpace of fiue houres, it reduced it to aſhes, with the whole couering of the Church, which was moſt ample and ſpacious, but the vaults, which were of ſolid ſtone, remained entire. Notwithſtanding, all this couering was new made by the Queenes liberality, and to the effecting of the ſame, gaue great quantity of money and materials, beſide the collection of Eccleſiaſticicall perſons, and others: So all was repaired, ſaue the Piramide.

St. Pauls Steeple burnt.

This yeere dyed *Iohn Bourchier*, a man of ancient Nobility, Earle of *Bath*, ſecond of that name, and Baron of *Fitzwarin*, who, by *Elenor*, daughter of *George*, Baron of *Roſſe*, had a great Progenie, and left his Sonne *William* (yet liuing) his Succeſſor.

The death of Earle Bathon.

THE FIFTH YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1562.



THe troubles of *France* begunne then to waxe hot, in the minority of *Charles* the Ninth, the Princes which enuied one another, pretending on both sides, the specious name, the defence of Religion, and those of the reformed Religion beeing grieuously oppressed. And herevpon, the Papists of *England*, by I knowe not what hope which they had conceiued thereby, to oppresse the Protestants; many discourses of importance were whispered very secretly in priuate assemblies, and all full of suspicion. *Margaret*, Countesse of *Lenox*, who had a secret intelligence with the Queen of *Scotland*, and the Earle of *Lenox*, her husband, were for a time put and detayned

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Pole had vnder examination.

vnder the custodie of the Master of the Rolles. *Arthur Pole* and his Brother, Nephews sonnes to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, King *Edwards* Brother, *Anthony Forteſcue*, who had married their Sister, and others, were brought into examination, for hauing conspired to withdraw themselues into *France* to the *Guizes*, and from thence to returne with an Armie into Wales, and declare the Queene of *Scotland* Queene of *England*, and *Arthur Pole* Duke of *Clarence*, as they at their Tryall ingenuously confessed, neuertheleſſe protesting that they intended not to doe it while Queene ELIZABETH liued, and that they had been seduced by diuiners, to beleeue that shee should dye that yeere: for which they were condemned to dye; notwithstanding, for the respect which was had vnto their bloud, they were suffered to liue. But (as many haue thought) they vsed *Katherine Gray* very seuerely, though she was much neerer of kinne to the Queene, being Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolke*: For, hauing beene married to *Henry*, eldest Sonne to the Earle of *Pembrooke*, by him lawfully repudiated, and left long time in great contempt, finding her selfe with child, & neere her lying down, was put in the Tower of *London*, although shee protested that she was married to *Edward Seimor*, Earle of *Hertford*, and great by him. Hee himselfe being returned from *France*, whither he went for his pleasure, by the Queenes permission, hauing made the like acknowledgement, was also imprisoned in the same Towre; the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and others, were appointed to examine and decide the Cause, without appeale: and when hee could not produce witnesse of his marriage within the time prescribed him, the Arch-bishop, by a definitiue Sentence, pronounced, That the Carnall company which he had had with her, was illegitimate and vnlawfull, and that for this offence, they ought both to be punished. This Sentence was impugned as wicked and vniust, by *Iohn Hales*, a man very opinatiue, but otherwise very

Katherine Gray *imprisoned.*

very learned, who maintained, that their sole consent did legitimate their coniunction; for which reason, he himselfe was committed. She was deliuered in prison of her first-borne, and afterwards, her Keepers being corrupted by the Earle of *Hertfords* deuice, *Edward Warner*, Lieutenant of the Towre, was punished, as conscious of the fact, and displaced. *Hertford* is accused in the Starre-Chamber of three crimes, that he had deflowred a Virgine of the Bloud-Royall, broken the Prison, and had accompanied with her since. Whereupon, after hauing protested that hee was lawfully married to her, he confessed, that hauing found the doores of the Prison open, hee had visited her in the affliction which was caused by the sentence pronounced against them, and had payed her the duty of wedlocke. For which cause, hee was fined fiue thousand pound for euery offence, and kept Prisoner nine yeeres. Yet neuertheless, by perswasion of Lawyers, hee insisted against the Arch-bishops sentence, by interiecting an appeale, and continued to visit her priuily. But in this time, hee voluntarily, and publiquely left it off: and she, after some yeeres, (to the end I may in the time of their separation speake ioyntly of them) fell into a grieuous sickneſſe; after hauing in the presence of *Hopton* Lieutenant of the Towre, demanded pardon of the Queene, in regard shee had married without her aduice, and with Prayers re-commended her Children to her trust, and *Hertford* his libertie; She dyed in Christ piously and peaceably.

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He is fined.

He is fined.

Warre renewing then in *France* betweene the Princes of the Bloud, and the *Guizes*, vnder a feigned pretence of Religion, as I haue said, one sought for to strengthen both parties; Queene ELIZABETH began to feare left neighbour-warres should intangle *England* therein: For she had learned, that the *Guizes*, to draw *Anthonie* of *Burbone* to their partie, had boasted to put him in possession of *Nauarre*, to marry him to the Queene of *Scotland*, and to

The Guizes *practice against* Elizabeth.

Booke 1. 1562.

giue him in dowry the Kingdome of *England*, at the expence of the *Spaniard*, and by the authority of the *Pope*, who would breake the marriage, becauſe his Wife was an Heretique, and by the ſame meanes, depoſe Qu. ELIZABETH of her Kingdome, as being ſo. Vpon that, ſhe ſent *H. Sidney*, a man of great renowne, that he might informe himſelf more ſurely of theſe things, & to exhort vnto peace, the Conductors of theſe ſeuerall parties. But, the buſineſſe was come to ſuch a paſſe, that the eares of both parties were ſhut againſt peace. *Sidney* being returned from *France*, is forthwith ſent to the Queene of *Scotland*, that the Colloque which ſhee deſired to be holden in *England* with Queene ELIZABETH, might be prorogued vntill the yeere following, or vntill the Warres in *France* were abated.

H. Sidney is ſent into France.

After into Scotland.

Now it is conſulted on, whether it were expedient or not, that theſe two Princeſſes ſhould ſpeake together: in that the Queene of *Scotland* deſired it the firſt, it was not without ſuſpition ſhe did it to ſerue her owne ends, and ſought out ſtratagems in their ſeaſon, or to affirme the right which ſhee pretended to haue in *England*, or to giue hope and increaſe of courage to the Papiſts of *England*, and to the *Guizes* in *France*. Some thought the contrary, that this would be a meanes to vnite them with a firme friendſhip, to decay by little and little the alliance with *France*, and to draw the Queene of *Scotland* to the Proteſtants Religion. Others obſerued, that ſuch communications might rather ſow ſeedes of emulation than of loue, and that the ſhew of riches and power of the one, would euer excite the enuy of the other, and that the preſence not anſwering to the opinion and reputation of the body, of the grace in ſpeaking, and of the gifts of the ſpirit, would leaue both to the one and the other, ſome thing of reprehenſion. The Queene of *Scotland* did likewiſe iudge, that it were not ſafe for her to expoſe her ſelfe into the

They deliberate the inter-view of the Queene of Scotland.

Which puts her in doubt.

power

power of Queene ELIZABETH, with whom shee had contended for the right of the Kingdome, and as shee had learned, that shee had openly declared her selfe for the Protestants of *France*: shee was likewise in doubt on what side to ranke her selfe, considering how shee her selfe had written, that of the Father side she had drawne her extraction from *England*, and of her Mother side from *France*: that shee had beene crowned Queene of *France*, and was Dowager of it: that shee was the most certaine Heire of *England*, and looked for the succession: that if shee were obliged to her Vnkles of *France*, who brought her vp, she would be no lesse to the loue of her Sister Queene ELIZABETH.

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Notwithstanding, as shee was subtill of spirit, shee was afraid, if shee should tye her selfe with a stricter friendship to Queene ELIZABETH, to incurre the disgrace of the King of *France*, and to be abandoned of the *Guizes* her Vnkles, and lose the money which shee drew from *France* for her dowry, while shee should preferre this friendship which was vncertaine; and, as shee said her selfe, there is none but transgresseth, and of the friendship of the *French* she was assured. And that that was the cause, why the interuiew which had beene in deliberation many moneths, came to nothing, chiefly after she had declared by Letters, that shee altogether refused it, vnlesse, that, for to ground a certaine peace, and the vnion of the two Kingdomes so much desired, she were by authority of the Parliament designed Heire of the Kingdome of *England*, or adopted Queene ELIZABETHS Daughter: and that if these things were granted her, she promised to be wholly at the deuotion of Queene ELIZABETH, though she quitted all consideration and respect to the *Guizes* her Vnkles. Furthermore, she assured, that she did not presse these things, but vpon aduice which she had giuen her of the secret practices of some, vnder pretence of religion, intended to suborne

Vnlesse it were vpon certaine conditions.

Booke 1.

1562. *The Cardinall of* Lorraine *propoundeth a marriage to the Queen of* Scotland. *Queene* Elizabeth *endeuoureth to diuert her from it.*

orne ſome other Succeſſour than her ſelfe, howbeit ſhe tolerates the Proteſtants Religion in *Scotland*.

But, as the Cardinall of *Lorraine* treated at the ſame time with the Emperour *Ferdinand*, to marry her with *Charles* his Sonne, Arch-Duke, who then ſought to haue Queene ELIZABETH, ELIZABETH declareth vnto her, by *Thomas Randolph*, that if ſhee lent any eare to this marriage to the Cardinall, capitall enemy to the *Engliſh*, ſhe might diſſolue the amity betweene *England* and *Scotland*, and peraduenture therewith to include the loſſe of the Kingdome of *England*: admoniſheth her amiably, not to fall off, but to chuſe her a Husband in *England*; firſt, to pleaſe her ſelfe, and afterwards for the contentment of her owne Subiects, and of the *Engliſh*, and to intertaine the friendſhip which was betweene them, and to prepare her ſelfe a way to a certaine aſſurance of the ſucceſſion of *England*, of which, declaration could not be made, if it did not firſt appeare with whom ſhe meant to marry.

All theſe cares held Queene ELIZABETH in great ſuſpence, neuertheleſſe ſhe was altogether attentiue to the warres of *France*, to hinder that the flames of it in *Normandie* ſhould not be blowne into *England*, and, after mature deliberation, receiued into her protection the King of *France* his Subiects, which were in *Normandie*, and implored her ſuccour, by a Couenant which ſhee paſſed with the Princes of *Condé*, *Rohan*, *Coligni*, and others, to this effect, That ſhee would ſend them a hundred thouſand crownes, and paſſe ouer ſixe thouſand Souldiers, of which, three thouſand ſhould be employed for the defence of *Deepe* and *Roüan*: That they would put into her hands for aſſurance, *Ville-Franche*, which is ſituated at the mouth of *Sene*, and was built by King *Francis* the Firſt, (the *French* calling it *Haure de grace*, and the *Engliſh*, *New-Hauen*) to be kept by a Garriſon of three thouſand *Engliſh* Souldiers, vnder the name of the King of *France*, vntill

till *Calais* be rendred. The same day that this agreement past, to giue a reason of her designe, shee published a manifestation to this effect.

Giues her reasons.

That shee sent not an armie into Normandie, to recouer this Prouince, *an ancient patrimony of* England, *which had been wrongfully vsurped, but to conserue it for the King of* France, *being but yet a Childe, and to warrant it against the* Guizes, *who had begun cruelly to ouer-runne those who professed the pure Religion, and iniustly to robbe her of her right which shee had to* Calais, *and to take possession of the Ports of* Normandy; *from thence, they threaten next to fall vpon* England, *which they haue by hope deuoured already: insomuch, as shee could not chuse but meete their attempts, vnlesse shee should seeme to be fayling to the young* King *her Brother and Confederate, and his Subiects that are oppressed, to enuy the quiet of Christendome, and, which is more, cowardly betray her Religion, her securitie, and her saluation.*

And as *Paul de Foix*, Ambassadour of *France* in *England*, summoned her by vertue of the Treaty of *Cambray*, to deliuer into the Kings hands, the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, of *Hai*, and others, who had signed the accord, as Traitors to their Countrey: shee excused her selfe of that by her Letter to the King, discharging them of the crime, and charged the turbulent spirits of the *Guizes* for it, who had wrapped in the tempest of warre the Kings Father and Brother, and the King himselfe.

Shee excuses the French fugitiues,

In the moneth of *September*, one part of the *English* Army landed at *New-Hauen*, vnder the conduct of *Adrian Poining*, who was appointed Marshall, where they were with ioy receiued by the inhabitants: the other part landed at *Deepe*. The Earle of *Warwicke*, Generall of the

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Army, arriued there later, hauing been by contrary windes twice driuen backe into *England*. Afterwards, they made diuers incursions into the Countrey neere thereabout, but to hinder the same, the *Ringraue* came and camped neerer. The *English*, and the *French* had notwithstanding often light skirmishes, and those which were men of warre, vpon the Sea, brought in rich spoyles, taking and bringing in euery day *French* ships, from the neighbouring harbors.

The death of the Earle of Oxford.

This yeere, *Iohn Vere*, the Earle of *Oxford*, died, the sixteenth of that illustrious House, who, by his first Wife, Daughter to *Ralph Neuill* Earle of *Westmerland*, had *Katherine*, who was wife to *Edward*, Baron of *Windsor*: by his second Wife *Margaret Goulding*, *Edw.* Earle of *Oxford*, who ouer-threw and wasted his Patrimony, and *Mary*, who was married to *Peregrine Bartie*, Baron of *Willoughbie*.

At the same time, *Shan O-Neale* came out of *Ireland*, to performe that which he had promised the yeere before, hauing for his Guard, a troupe of *Galloglasſorum*, who had their heads naked, and curled haire hanging on their shoulders, yellow shirts, as if they had beene died with Saffron, or steeped in Vrine, wide sleeues, short Cassockes, and rough hairy Clokes. The *English* admired them no lesse, than they should doe at this day to see those of *China*, or *America*. Hauing beene receiued with all courtesie, hee cast himselfe at the Queenes feete, and with teares acknowledged his crime, asked pardon, and obtained it. After, being graciously questioned, Wherefore he had excluded *Matthew* his Brother from the succession of his great Grand-father, answered fiercely, as hee was vsed to doe in *Ireland*, that it was his right, and being the certaine and lawfull sonne and Heire of *Cone*, borne of a legitimate woman, he had taken his succession. That *Matthew* was the issue of a Lock-Smith of *Dundalke*, married with a woman named *Alison*, after this marriage: and notwithstanding,

Defends his cause.

had

had beene deceitfully suppoſed by his Mother *Cone*, to be her ſonne, to the end falſly to take away the dignity of *O-Neale*. And although he ſhould ſuffer it, ſome of the Houſe of *O-Neales* would not. The grant which his father had made to King HENRY the Eighth, and the reſtitution that HENRY the Eighth had made vnto him, were nothing conſiderable, ſeeing that *Cone* had nothing in the things granted, but during her life, & could not haue made this grant, without the conſent of the Peeres, and of the people, who had elected him to the honor of *O-Neale*. That ſuch Letters alſo could not be of any valew, vnleſſe witneſſed by the othes of twelue men, that hee was the certaine Heire of the Houſe, which had not been done in this matter. That by diuine and humane right, he was vndoubted Heire: moreouer, the eldeſt Sonne of his Father, begot in lawfull marriage, & deſigned *O-Neale* with a generall conſent of the Peeres & people, by vertue of the Law of *Temſter*, which was his Countrey; by which, a man of ripe yeeres ought to be preferred before a Child, and an Vnkle before a Nephew whoſe great Grand-father out-liued the Father. To conclude, hee had not vſurped any authority ouer the Lords of *Vlſter*, though in times paſt his Anceſtors, by a particular right, had vſed it. But of this I haue ſpoken elſe-where. Which when the Queene found true, he was ſent home with honour, where he behaued himſelfe both faithfully and induſtriouſly againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels.

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THE SIXTH YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1563.

IN the moneth of Ianuary, the States of the Kingdome assembled at *Westminster*, and established Lawes for the reliefe of the poore, for the increase of traffique by Sea, and for husbandry, to represse South-sayers, Negromancers, Sodomites, Coyners, and Periury, and translated the Holy Bible and Liturgy into the *Welsh* Tongue: And, to maintaine the Maiesty of the Queene and Realme, tooke order, that the like inconueniences might not happen to them, which shamefully fell out by the Popes vsurped authority; and, to curbe the violence of those which vpheld it, declared them criminals *læsæ Maiestatis*, whosoeuer, after three admonitions, should maintaine in print, in words, or in deedes, that any Prince, Prelate,

Prelate, or ſtranger, ſhould haue any authority in Spirituall things, in *England*, or any other Countries of the Queenes Dominions; or whoſoeuer ſhould refuſe twice to take the Oath which ſhould be offered to him, for acknowledging of the Queenes ſoueraigne authority in Spiritual things, and ouer Eccleſiaſticall perſons; yet with this charge, *without ſpilling of blood*, neither that it ſhould bee required of any Baron of this Kingdome, or of thoſe of more eminent dignity, the Queene not doubting their fidelity, nor any others:

Saue thoſe which were, which had been, or hereafter ſhould be of ſome Eccleſiaſticall Order; or thoſe, who after hauing bin aduertiſed of the forme of ſeruice of the Engliſh *Church, will not obſerue it; or ſhall publikely in words or actions depraue it; which ſhall celebrate or heare Maſſe, with like things, which is ſeene in the Ordinance eſtabliſhed for it.*

Now, to witnes the ioy which they had to ſee the proſperity of the times, the Clergie granted the Queene a Subſidie, and the Lay people another, together with two Tenths, and two fifteenths, in acknowledgment of her reformation of Religion, eſtabliſhment of Peace, deliuering *England* and *Scotland* from ſtranger Enemies, to put downe baſe money, repaire the Fleet, make preparation for Warre and Nauigation beyond expectation, and of the laudable deſigne which ſhe had for *France*, to aſſure *England* and the yong King of *France*, and to recouer *Calais*. Now this Tenth and Fifteenth (that I may make it remarkable in the behalfe of ſtrangers) is a Taxe, which long agoe hath bin impoſed vpon euery City, Borrough, and village, not by the pole, but by generalities, according to the fifteenth part of the reuenew of the places. A Subſidie is that which is impoſed vpon euery particular, for goods and lands

Fifteenths. Tenths.

Subſidies.

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which he poſſeſſeth. But neither of theſe two Taxes are euer impoſed, but by the Parliament.

The Prence of Condé taken in the Battell of Dreux.

In the meane time, the Prince of *Conde*, who made haſte to get into *Normandy*, to the *Engliſh* ſuccour, is taken in the famous Battell of *Dreux*, and with him *Nicholas Throgmorton*, who ſuffered himſelfe voluntarily to bee taken by the Proteſtants, to communicate ſome ſecret deſignes vnto them. And beeing preſently after ſet at liberty, he preſented the money which was promiſed to *Coligni*, who was marched forward with the Troupes of auxiliary *Engliſh* to the Caſtle of *Cane* which he then beſieged, and eaſily compelled *Cane*, *Bayeux*, *Falexe*, and the Temple of Saint *Lo*, to render.

While things were thus carried in *France*, Queen ELIZABETH made knowne to the King of *Spaine*, by *Chaloner* her Ambaſſadour, that, to preuent the *Guizes* in time, who inſultingly, and with deadly intent raiſ'd vp againſt her, pernitious things and dangerous Treaties; that ſhee had ſent an Armie into *France*, and kept ſtill in her hands *Haure de grace*, which was deliuered vp to her, till ſhee receiued full ſatisfaction for *Calais*. He anſwered her, That if ſhe demanded onely the reſtitution of *Calais*, it was all ſhee deſired from the beginning, but if ſhe vndertooke this warre for Religions ſake, he could not likewiſe abandon that of his Grandfathers and Predeceſſors. As for the *Guizes*, who are they, ſaid he, for a moſt puiſſant Queene of *England* to feare, they beeing of no alliance to the King of *France*, as hereto fore they haue beene? Whereunto ſhe made no other reply, but conformable to that *Engliſh* Prouerbe; which ſayes, *Euery one muſt looke to their own, when their neighbours Houſe is on fire.* And the King of *Spaine* vnderſtood well inough, how ſhee politikely treated with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, by the ſollicitation of then *Henry*, but now, Lord *Knowles*, and *Chriſtopher Hill*, for the Prince of *Condé*'s reliefe, and to defend the com-

The Kings anſwer.

mon

mon cauſe of Religion, whereat being more highly offended, he likewiſe ſecretly ſought meanes againſt her, vnder the colour and pretext of Religion.

Hoſtages giuen for the reſtitution of Calais, attempt to fly away.

Withall, thoſe *French* Hoſtages, who were ſent into *England*, for the ſecurity of the payment of ue hundred thouſand Crownes, promiſed, in caſe *Calais* were not reſtored, perceiuing all things enclining to a warre, laboured all they could to flye away: but beeing ready to take Barke, they were taken and brought backe againe, together with that famous Pylot, *Iohn Ribant*, who came ſecretly into *England*, to conuay them ouer. In the meane while, peace was accorded in *France*, between the King, and the Prince of *Condé*, allured thereunto, out of hope that hee ſhould haue the generall managing of all affaires, and marry the Queene of *Scots*; the Proteſtants, and the Queenes Maieſtie of *England* being no waies therein comprehended; all men, with one generall voice, proteſted, that if the *Engliſh* withdrew not themſelues forthwith out of *Haure de grace*, the promiſe of ſurrendting *Calais*, intimated by the Treaty of *Cambray*, ſhould be fruſtrate, and take no effect: and by publique ſound of Trumpet, the *French* were permitted in this caſe, to aſſaile the *Engliſh*, to take, and pillage them, while they yeelded it vp. The Queenes Maieſty of *England* alſo, for her part, permitted the *Engliſh* to repute of the *French-men* as enemies, thoſe onely excepted, that did inhabite in *London*, while they detayned *Calais*: and the *Engliſh* put to ſea, with ſuch a powerfull Nauie, as was incredible, clozing it vp from all *French* nauigation, as alſo from the *Spaniards*, making ſo many, and ſuch inſolent ſurprizals of them both, as her Maieſtie was vrg'd to excuſe the ſame to the King of *Spaine*, and to divulge prohibitions, by publike Proclamation, to the *Engliſh*.

Peace made in France.

War proclaimed between the French and the Engliſh.

The Earle of *Warwicke*, Gouernour of *Haure de grace*, obſeruing, how the fidelity and loyaltie of the *French* Inhabitants began to wauer, and that vpon ſo weake a rumor of

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of Peace, they held secret Councels amongst themselues, and that the *Ryngraue* was in the adiacent parts, with his forces, to surprize the Towne, and expell the *English*: he in like manner draue out all the *French* indifferently, both Papists and Protestants, out of the Towne, and seazed on their shipping, which they tooke in grieuous ill part; complaining, that the *English* were not so carefull to protect the afflicted *French-men*, as to make themselues absolute Masters of the place; and how they felt their oppression more heauy, then that of the Enemie himselfe. And certainely, to speake but truth, nothing euer so alienated the hearts of the *Normanes*, those of *Guyenne*, the *Poytouines*, and all other Prouinces liuing vnder the subiection of the Kings of *England*, as because the *English* euer reputed, and entreated them like meere strangers.

The Qu. Maiestie offers to surrender Haure de grace, *for* Calais.

The *French-men* had now studiously prepared all things to assaile the Towne: The King, and the Prince of *Condé* at the same time labonred hard, and very earnestly in *England*, by *Brickmore* and *D.* for the surrender of the Towne, and her Maiestie consented thereunto, vpon these conditions:

First, *That the King of* Spaine *should ioyne in Caution, for the restitution of* Calais, *within the time prefixed: Then, the Treatie of* Cambray *was to be confirmed by the Kings Oath, the Queene Mothers, and that of the Princes of the Bloud, & ratified by all the Parliaments of* France, *and Gentlemen of greatest note and quality, giuen for Pledges.*

The English Soldiers molested with the Pestilẽce.

In the meane while, the Plague raigned very hot in *Haure de grace*, amongst the Soldiers of the Garrison; and two-hundred, sent for their relieue and succour, were lost by ship-wracke, with Sir *Thomas Finch*, their Conductor, and two Brothers of the Lord *Wentworth*: Wherefore, there being no great likelyhood of maintayning and holding

ding the Towne, Sir *Thomas Smith*, ordinary Leager in *France*, receiued expresse Commandement, to propound the restoring of it, for *Calais*, and so in like maner, that the King of *Spaine* should arbitrate this affaire, who had married the King of *France* his Sister. But the *French* would in no wise giue any eare vnto it, alleadging, that the King of *France* acknowledged none for his Superiour, neither would hee commit his affaires to the arbitrement of any Prince. They detayned Master *Nicholas Throgmorton*, sent to moue these Conditions, suspecting he was returned into *France*, for the disturbance of proceedings (as hee could play his part well) grounding their Action vpon this, that he had no publique Commission, though he had about him Letters of Credit, besides others he had from the *French* Ambassadour Leager in *England*: and they would in no wise heare him, verily beleeuing, that *Haure de grace* would presently be recouered by maine force, by reason the Pestilence caused there such a fearefull mortality. *Monsieur Memorancie* was already come thither, with all the most remarkeable Nobility in his company. Not long after, arriued the Prince of *Condé*, with the whole Flowre of the Protestant Cheualrie: and the *English* wondring at this sudden alteration, answer was made them, that Peace was now generally established, and the forces of both parties ioyn'd in one, and now no motiues were made of fighting for Religion, but for defence of their Countrie.

A Trumpet was sent from *Monsieur Memorancy*, to the Earle of *Warwicke*, to summon him to surrender, and another returned from the said Earle, to the Constable *Memorancie*, with a Gentleman, one Master *Paulet*, to certifie him, how the *English* were resolued to suffer all extremities, rather than to yeeld vp the Place, without the Queenes expresse Commandement. Wherfore the Frenchmen hauing raisd Mounts to make their Batterie, ruin'd and battered the Towne for the space of many daies, broke vp all the

Haure de grace *beleagred and assailed by the French.*

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the Conduit-heads, and diuerted the water out of its proper Chanell, which was seated aboue the Sea: they applied all their endeuours to take the Towne by force: the *English*, on the other side, with most loyall and couragious fidelity, opposed theirs, daylie losing more men by the Plague, than by the Armes of their Enemies.

When Queen ELIZABETH heard of the lamentable and vnhappy estate of her people, no longer to expose such valiant spirits to slaughter, and pestilentiall Infection; after an approofe of her Captaines and Soldiers valours, in a publike Proclamation, she sent to the Earle of *Warwicke*, commanding him to compound with the *French*, vpon reasonable and equall Conditions. There were also incontinently delegated from the Earle of *Warwicke*, to *Monsieur Memorancy*, Master *Paulet*, & Master *Pelham*, with whom in a short time they came to an Accord, vpon these Capitulations ensuing:

Articles for the restitution of Haure de grace.

That the Towne, with all the war-like munition, should be surrendred to the King of France, *and his Subiects. That presently Monsieur* Memorancie *should take possession of the greatest Towre within the Towne. That the prisoners both of the one and other side, should instantly be redeliuered. And that the* English *might depart with all freedome and liberty, carrying whatsoeuer belonged to their Queene or themselues, within the compasse of sixe dayes, if the Winds would permit.*

For performance whereof, they deliuered for Hostages, Mr. *Oliuer Mannors*, Brother to the Earle of *Rutland*, Mr. *Leighton*, Mr. *Pelham*, and Mr. *Horsie*. The last remaining, was, Mr. *Edm. Randolph*, Marshall of the Campe, who, with a pitty and commiseration, neuer ouer-highly to be extolled, ceased not to carry vpon his owne shoulders, poore, miserable, and weake Soldiers into the Ships.

And

And thus, *Haure de grace*, being more violently assailed by the Plague, then any enemie, was left to the *French*, hauing beene formerly in the *Englishmens* hands, about eleuen Moneths; during which time, besides priuate Soldiers, there dyed of the Pestilence, these famous Captaines, *Somerset*, *Zouch*, *Alb.* *Darcy*, *Drurey*, *Entwesel*, *Ormesby*, *Vaughan*, *Crookes*, *Cocson*, *Proud*, *Saul*, and *Kemish*: and with the Sword, two Brothers of the *Tremayns*, *Sanders*, *Bromfield*, Master of the Ordnance, *Robinson*, Baylife of the Towne; *Strangewaies*, very expert in Sea-seruice; & *Goodall*, maruelous vnderstanding in casting of Mines.

France *reioyceth for recouery of* Haure de grace.

For the so happy recouery of this little Towne, the King of *France* gaue publike thanksgiuing vnto God; the Papists all ouer *France*, made Bonefires of ioy, exulting and boasting, in that the *English-men* were driuen out by the ayde and helpe of the Protestants, who first called them in, and that by this meanes, some seeds of discord were sowne betweene them and the Protestants of *France*; and the Chancellour of the Hospitall, in an ample Discourse, expressing to them the present felicity they thereby enioyed, and the generall contentment they ought to receiue, and testifie the same withall, for the amplification of this subiect; and, out of a false surmize, he reported to them, that the day before the Townes surrender, there was seene within the view thereof, an *English* Fleet, which came for ayde and succour: and he openly auerred, that by reason of this warre, the *English* were wholly frustrate of their right and demand, touching the restoring of *Calais*. The infected Soldiers were transported into *England*, who so spred the face of this sickenesse, through a contagious and infectiue poyson, as all the Kingdome was therewith grieuously afflicted, & onely in the Citie of *London*, consisting of an hundred twenty and one Parishes, within the compasse of one yeere, an hundred and thirty thousand men, rather more then lesse, dyed.

The English Soldiers bring the Plague into London, *and other parts of* England.

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Monsieur de *Guize*, Vncle to the Queene of *Scots*, dying while this Ciuill Warre lasted, the Queenes Maiesty of *Scotland* not beeing paid her Dowrie, Marquis *Hamilton* depriued of the Duchy of *Chastelraut*, and the *Scottish* Guard being excluded from the King of *France*, the Queen of *Scots* tooke it very much to heart. But the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, her other Vncle, fearing that this would bee a subiect which might cause her to reiect the *French*, and become friend to the *English*, sends her word againe by *Croc*, to marry with *Charles* of *Austria*, and to offer for her Dowrie, the County of *Tyrol*. Shee aduertiseth Queene ELIZABETH thereof, who counselled her, by *Randoll* (who I haue spoken on before) to make choice of a Husband, as heretofore I haue said; and withall (more plainely then yet shee had done) recommended *Robert Dudley* (whose wife (beeing heire to *Robsert*) had lately broke her necke) and promised her, in case that she would marry him, to declare her, Her *Sister, or Daughter, and Englands Heretrix*, by Act of Parliament. *Foix*, the *French* Ambassadour, made the Queene Mother, and her Vncles acquainted with this, who presently disdained the Party so much, as altogether vnworthy of that Race and Royall Maiestie, that they promised not onely to pay her Dowrie, but also, that the *Scots* should haue their ancient immunities, yea, and more, if shee would stand firme in amity with *France*, and reiect the marriage which was offered her: telling her, that Queen ELIZABETH did not propound this marriage to her seriously, but with dissimulation, as hauing destin'd *Dudley* for her owne Husband: and that shee should not ground her hope vpon the authority of the Parliament, because that in *England*, one Parliament aboliseth what another hath established. Furthermore, that the designes of the Councell of *England* were no other, but to hinder her from marrying at all.

Marriage againe propounded to the Queene of Scots.

The Queene of England recommends Dudley *for her husband.*

The French diuert her.

She

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She neuertheleſſe referres it to the Colloque, being moleſted with troubles in her Kingdome, to ſee that the Arch-biſhop of Saint *Andrewes* had beene impriſoned by the command of the Earle of *Murray*, for not deſiſting to celebrate the Maſſe, who would ſcarce grant him pardon, though he asked it with flowing teares: and that the feruent Miniſters, ſupporting themſelues by *Murrayes* authoritie, did violence to the Prieſt who had celebrated Maſſe in her Court (being allowed by the Law,) and were not puniſhed. And it was not poſſible for her to ſuppreſſe thoſe which troubled the affaires, though all her care was wholy for the Common-wealth, granting a perpetuall forgetfulneſſe of all that was paſt, increaſing the ſtipend of Iudges, eſtabliſhing wholeſome Lawes, inflicting capitall puniſhment vpon Adulterers, and often her ſelfe hearing cauſes pleaded in the Seat of Iuſtice, ſo that by an equall Law, ſhee gouerned both the great and the ſmall.

They inſult ouer their Queene.

In this vnlucky yeere dyed *William Gray*, Baron of *Wilton*, Gouernour of *Berwicke*, who had in warre purchaſed great glory, & much diminiſhed his patrimony for the ranſome that he payed when he was taken priſoner in *France*. The Proteſtants lamented much for him, and *Francis* Earle of *Bedford* was ſubſtituted in his place.

The Baron of Gray *dyes.*

Aluarus of *Quadra*, Biſhop of *Aquila*, Ambaſſadour of *Spaine* in *England*, likewiſe dyes, who was no leſſe lamented by the Papiſts, whom he had fed with hope, that the Romiſh Religion ſhould haue beene re-eſtabliſhed. The *Poles*, of whom I haue ſpoken, were his intimates, whereby he made himſelfe ſuſpected to haue nothing elſe in his minde, but to trouble and diſorder the affaires of *England*, and to breake the amitie which was betweene the Queene and the King of *Spaine*: whereupon, the Queene intreated the King to reuoke him. But hee excuſed it by his piety, and writ backe, that it would be a great incom-

And the Biſhop of Aquila.

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moditie to Princes, if at the first discontentment that is taken at their Ambassadours, they should be constrayned to reuoke them. And to say truth, hee was displeased, that without giuing him notice, they had shut him vp in his House, subiect to be questioned and publiquely reprehended, for no other cause, but that one *Italian* hauing shot another with a Pistoll, he admitted him into his House, and conueyed him priuately away: whereupon, he was more prouoked against the *English* than euer tofore; taking occasion thereby to say, that the *English* Pyrates molested the entries of *Spaine*, and prepared to goe for the West-Indies; and made it appeare manifestly, sending *Richard Shelley*, an *English* Fugitiue for Religion, (who was greatly bent against his Prince) vpon an Embassie of honour to *Maximilian* the designed King of the *Romanes*, to congratulate with him, and seyzed vpon some *English* Merchants Ships, in the Ports of *Beotia*, becausé the *English* pursuing the *French*, had intercepted some *Spanish* Ships.

The Spaniard against the English.

William, Lord *Paget*, who for his vertue was exalted to three eminent dignities, died. Hee was so learned, that HENRY the Eighth made him his Secretary, sent him in an Embassie to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and to *Francis* the First, King of *France*, and he nominated him to be one of the Gouernours of the Kingdome, during the minority of his Sonne: Then *Edward* made him Chancellor of the Duchie of *Lancaster*, Controller of the Kings House, honoured him with the dignity of a Baron, gratified him with the Order of the Garter, which was reproch-fully taken from him, by *Dudley* Earle of *Northumberland*, but restored againe with honour by Queene MARIE, becausé, by his prudence and sound aduice, he had done good seruice to the Common-wealth: and hee conferred vpon him the keeping of the Priuy Seale, which is one of the foure highest dignities of ciuill honour. For, HENRY the Eighth, by Act of Parliament, constituted the first in

Lord Paget dyeth.

the

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the Chancellor, the second in the Treasurer, the third in the Lord President of the Priuy Councell, and the fourth in the Keeper of the Priuy Seale, aboue all Dukes; and inferiour onely, to the Children, Brethren, Vnkles, or Nephewes to the King. Queene ELIZABETH, perceiuing that his old yeeres exempted him from being conuersant in matters of State, as formerly he had beene, remitted him of whatsoeuer belonged to publique administrations, and loued him affectionately, though hee stood zealously affected to the *Romane* Religion. Hee left behinde him, *Henry* and *Thomas*, his Children, who succeeded him one after another, in his dignity of a Baron: *Charles*, who purchased renowne to his name, and some Daughters, who were married into honourable Families.

The supreme dignities of honour in England.

Henry Mannors, or *Manners*, Earle of *Rutland*, died, who was Sonne to *Thomas* the first Earle of that Family, Nephew to *Iames*, Baron of *Rosse*, who came of the Daughter of *Thomas* S. *Leger*, and *Anne* his wife, who, by reason she was Sister to EDVVARD the Fourth, gaue wonderfull lustre and splendor to that name; Cousin-germaine to *Robert*, who hauing married the Daughter and Heire to the Baron of *Rosse*, an honourable and ancient Family, augmented his owne with mightie reuenewes, and the title of Baron of *Rosse*: and he had by the Lady *Neuill*, Daughter to *Ralph* Earle of *Westmerland*, two Sonnes, *Edward* and *Iohn*, who were each of them, in their due times, Earles of *Rutland*: and a Daughter, who was married to *William Courtney* of *Powderham*.

Death of the Earle of Rutland.

Frances, Duches of *Suffolke*, Daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*, and *Mary* second Sister to HENRY the Eighth, and Queene Dowager of *France*, died, who was afflicted with many miseries during her life. She saw her eldest Daughter *Ianes* head cut off, after shee had beene proclaymed Queene, and presently after, her Husbands: her second Daughter, married to the Earle of *Pembroke*, to be

Duchesse of Suffolke.

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be diuorc'd and impriſon'd: and her third Daughter, meanly married to *Key*, who in his time was Maſter of the Reuels at Court: And then her ſelfe, forgetting from what degree ſhe deſcended, to her great diſhonour, yet notwithſtanding for her beſt ſecurity, married with *Andrew Stoakes*, a meere priuate Gentleman.

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THE

THE SEVENTH YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1564.

FRance then reioyced for the peace ſhee enioyed, which in ſome manner was maintayned with the Queene of *England*, as being eſtabliſhed, to ſhut vp all entry to the *Engliſh*, who began to flye out, in calling to mind the cruell ſlaughters made by them in former ages, when the Duke of *Burgundie* called them in, for reuenge of his peculiar rancours and hatreds. But this peace hauing rather ſlaked the feruent heat of warre, than faſtned any true concord or amity betweene the *Engliſh* and the *French*; and the Queenes Maieſty perceiuing how the Proteſtants neglected and contemned her, ingratefully returning thoſe pleaſures and fauours ſhee had done them, reſolued to trouble her ſelfe no more in others

Booke 1. 1564.

behalfe, to the preiudice and hinderance of her owne proceedings. Wherefore, ſhe bent all her care and thoughts to her owne occaſions, deliberated to make peace, commended the ouerture thereof to Sir *Thomas Smith*, a wiſe and learned man; and the *French*, lending a ready eare to the ſame, gaue him *Throgmorton* for his Aſſiſtant, who was then in *France* a priſoner at large, to the end they might both together negotiate and procure the ſame. The *French* King for his part, aſſigned a Commiſſion to *Moruillier*, Biſhop of *Orleance*, and to *Iohn Bourdin*, one of his Secretaries. You may hereunder ſee the Articles whereupon they came to an accord, in the moneth of *Aprill*, within the Towne of *Troyes* in *Champaigne*.

Articles of peace accorded on betweene the Engliſh *and the* French.

THat one ſhould not violently aſſaile the other, neither yeeld ſuccours to any other that made aſſault either vpon the one or other, particulars onely ſhould be lyable to their peculiar inſults and offences. No Traytors nor Rebels of eyther ſide were to be receiued. All former iniuries were to be buried in obliuion. Excepted all rights, actions, ſuites, and pretenſions, which eyther they haue, or pretend to haue reſpectiuely one againſt another, ſhall remaine forcible and entire, and ſo likewiſe all exceptions and prohibitions to the contrary.

Theſe Articles concluded vpon, the day following they annexed theſe Couenants ſeparately, and apart: *That a certaine ſumme of money ſhould be payd to the* Queene *of* England, *at daies conſtituted and appointed: The Hoſtages in* England *were to be deliuered after the ſatisfaction of fiue hundred crownes.* And ſo this Treaty being ratified and confirmed, *Throgmorton* might freely returne into his Country. The King of *France* made Bone-fires of ioy, according to the cuſtome, and after the Queene of *England* had ratified

the same by oath in the presence of *Gunor*, and *Foix*, himselfe likewise within a very small time confirmed it, in the presence of the Lord of *Hunsdon*, who, hauing at the same instant admitted his Maiesty to the Order of S. *George*, he solemnely inuested him with the Garter, the Robe of honour, a Collar of Esses, whereat hung the picture of Saint *George*, and other ornaments belonging to that Order.

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The King of France *enstalled in the Order of the* Garter.

In those dayes, there arriued in *England*, clad in the habit and grauity of a Priest, to appeare more venerable, *Diego* or *Drilaco*, *Guzman de la Forresta*, a Canon of *Toledo*, sent in stead of the Bishop of *Aquilar*, deceased some moneths before, during which internall, *Roderic Gomez de la Forresta*, out of an hatred to Religion, had bin the procurer of some rude entreaties of the *English* in *Spaine*, who notwithstanding was much qualified by the Duke of *Alua*, no man being able truely to say, whether hee did it out of any loue he bare to the *English*, or hatred to *Gomez*. The like ill entreaty they also found in the Prouinces of the Low-Countries, that liued vnder the *Spanish* gouernement, at the instigation of the Cardinal of *Granuella*, who, to sow dissention betweene them and the *Flemmings*, who held friendly and neighbourly commerce together, in hatred to the said Religion, he so brought it to passe, that the yeere before the *Flemmings* complayned by *Assonuil*, that the customes of *England* were enhaunst, (though this was performed during the reigne of *Philip* and MARY) and that by Act of Parliament, many of their handy-workes were there interdicted. The *English* on the other side, they exhibited also Bills of complaint, how for small and trifling occasions, their goods were confiscated in *Flanders*, by vertue of new Edicts, which also prohibited the bringing in of certaine merchandizes, or to goe into *Italie*, and *Germanie*, by way of *Flanders*, with horse, Salt-Peter, and Powder. That they iniuriously exacted of them greater

The English *ill entreated in* Spaine,

And in the Low-countries.

The mutuall complaints of the English *and* Flemmish.

Booke 1. 1564.

Impoſts than euer were ſo much as mentioned in former times, and all this againſt that Treaty of Commerce heretofore concluded on, which was called the Grand Intercourſe.

Engliſh Merchants prohibited in the Low-Countries.

In the meane while, the Princeſſe of *Parma*, Regent of the Low Countries, cauſed publique prohibitions to be diuulged: firſt, that no forbidden merchandize ſhould be tranſported into *England*, and then preſently after, for the importing of any *Engliſh* clothes into *Flanders*, colouring it with the pretext of the plague, which not long before had ſpred it ſelfe all *England* ouer. But the naked truth is, all theſe things were managed, by the cautelous counſels and ſtratagems of Cardinall *Granuelle*, to cauſe the Clothiers, and other workemen depending on them, to riſe, when they ſaw no clothes to be tranſported: and yet the traffique of Clothes was eſtabliſhed in *Flanders*, to the preiudice of the *Engliſh*, who prouoked hereat, conſtituted a Faire of *Engliſh* cloth and merchandizes at *Embden* in Eaſt *Frizeland*, as if they feared the Spaniſh Inquiſition, which now was entred into the Low-Countries, and fore-ſaw that troubles would preſently enſue.

The Engliſh conſtitute a Faire or Mart at Embden.

Againſt all this, the Regent publiſhed an Edict, importing an expreſſe prohibition of all men, vpon paine of confiſcation, to entertaine any traffique with the *Engliſh* at *Embden*, or any where elſe, or to tranſport into the Low-Countries, any Merchandizes bought of them.

Guzman *labors to atone this difference.*

Guzman blam'd theſe proceedings, as beeing too ſtrict and rigorous, dammageable both to the one and other part: For this wiſe man conceiued truely, what wealth dayly came into *Flanders*, by meanes of the *Engliſh* Taffique, euer ſince *Lewis Malan*, Earle of *Flanders*, about the yeere 1338. by a Grant of great immunities, had drawne the *Engliſh*, to ſettle a Mart, or Staple of *Engliſh* Wools at *Bruges*: for euer ſince that time, in a manner all Nations flocking into *Flanders*, to buy Clothes, and other *Engliſh* Merchandizes,

chandizes, as alſo to ſell their owne there, it is incredible, what Traffiques, Commerces, Nauigations, and Fiſhings, haue euer ſince flouriſht among the *Flemmings*. So as this wooll was vnto them a true Golden Fleece: and that Noble Order of the *Golden Fleece*, fetcheth from hence its originall, and the Dukes of *Burgundy*, their great wealth and Treaſure. And queſtionleſſe, in theſe very dayes wherein wee liue, (I ſpeake according to the papers of Account) the Commerce that is betweene the *Engliſh* and the *Flemmings*, hath amounted to aboue twelue Millions of gold each yeere: And the Clothes tranſported euery yeere to *Antwerpe*, (omitting to ſpeake of Lead, Tinne, and other things) is eſtimated at fiue Millions of gold. Wherefore, vpon theſe conſiderations, *Guzman* employing all meanes poſſible, to atone this difference, at laſt hee obtained, that the Commerce lately broken off betweene the two Nations, might be reſettled in its former ſtate, and that whatſoeuer had beene ordained and decreed, from the firſt day of the firſt yeeres raigne of Queene ELIZABETH, both of the one ſide and on the other, ſhould ſurceaſe, till, by Deputies both for the one and the other partie, more ample prouiſion could be made. But the yeere following, when my Lord *Montaigue*, *Nicholas Wotton*, and *William Haddon*, Maſter of the Requeſts, Delegates for the *Engliſh*, *Montigny*, *Aſſonuil*, and *Io. Egidius*, for the *Flemmings*, had begunne twice to treate of theſe matters in the Towne of *Bruges*, the *Flemmings* falling into their precedent tumults, interrupted this Treatie, after an Agreement made, that this Commerce and Traffique ſhould be free, while one of the Princes made an oppoſite denountiation to the other, the Marchants of both parties being aduertiſed forty dayes before, to prouide and take ſome order for their liuing commodities.

Theſe things beeing thus ordain'd out of the Kingdome, the Queenes Maieſty betooke her ſelfe to the plea-

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Queene Elizabeth visits the Vniuersity of Cambridge.

sure and recreations of the Countrey; and to this end shee visited the Vniuersity of *Cambridge*, which is one of the two resplendent Lampes of *England*, where, beeing entertained of the Schollers, with all manner of honours, and taken contentment in beholding their Comedies, Tragedies, and exercises of Armes, she personally visited all the Colledges, and in a Latine Oration, gaue them great thanks for their singular loue and affection, highly commended their profound and diuers Eruditions, exhorting them to apply their hearts to the studies of piety and learning, and for their vertuous stimulation, promising alwaies to fauour and cherish them.

Robert Dudley *raised to honors.*

When shee returned, the more to honour *Robert Dudley*, *Sarlatan*, a speciall Fauourite of hers, whō, with a secret desigme, she made choice of for an husband to the Q. of *Scots*, she created him Baron of *Denbigh*, giuing him the Castle of *Denbigh* in property, with all the appurtenances of soyle, and Demeanes; and the day after, Earle of *Leicester*, to himselfe, and the heires males of his body lawfully begotten: hauing likewise before, for his sake, confer'd vpon *Ambrose*, his elder Brother, the dignities of Baron of *Lisle*, and Earle of *Warwicke*, to him, and his lawfull heires males, for euer. The Lord *Dudley*, exalted by all these supereminent honours, and to currey fauour with the Queen of *Scots*, whom he affected, and studied by all manner of Offices to deserue well of; presently, before Queene ELIZABETH, he accused Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the great Seale, of discussing the point of Succession, against the Queene of *Scots*, and that he was priuy to a Libell, wherein that same *Hales*, of whom before I spake, laboured to intimate, that if the Queenes Maiesty of *England*, then liuing, dyed without Issue, the right of the Crowne came to the House of *Suffolke*. For which cause, he was committed prisoner; and as for Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, though he absolutely denyed it, my Lord *Cecill* resoluing to conceale

Dudley *accuseth* Bacon.

1564.

ceale what hee thought, vntill the Queene (whose Maiestie hee was assured, would neuer in this case impose on him any demand) should command him to speake his minde: had much adoe to recouer him her fauour, and long time he was a compassing it; for nothing could be more distastfull to her, then to heare any debatements about this Title of Succession. But so the wiser and wealthier sort were more carefull and studious of nothing then of this, they obseruing how by reason of the contrariety of Religion, the Protestants, transported with an ardent zeale, held opinion, that the Queene of *Scots*, being of an opposite Religion, (though otherwise her right was neuer so much as called in question) ought neuertheless, by the subtill construction of the Lawes, to bee reiected from succession: Some Papists againe, and those who had reference to that which was iust and equall, maintain'd how she was to be receiued as the true, right, and vndoubted Inheritrix. Others there were, who prefer'd before her, MARGARET, her Aunt by the Mothers side, and Wife to *Mathew Stuart* Earle of *Lenox*, and her Children, of whom they conceiued good hopes, because they were borne in *England*. All this lay not hid from the Queene of *Scots*; who, to preuent it so farre as was possible, by the Counteſſe of *Lenox*, her Aunt, sent for *Mathew*, Earle of *Lenox*, to come into *Scotland*, vnder pretext to re-establish and settle him in the Inheritance of his Predecessors. But this was to consult further with him, who, by his Wiues meanes, obtained leaue, and Letters from Q. ELIZABETH, after he had bin banisht out of his natiue Countrey, for the space of 20. yeeres.

Diuers opinions about the point of Succession.

The Queene of Scots cals home the Earle of Lenox into Scotland.

This Earle of *Lenox* (to the end that relating the same from the essentiall extraction of his eminent Nobility, I may giue the better light & lustre to things) was descended from the very same race of the *Stuarts*, as the Royall Progeny of the *Scots* came from; and moreouer lately by the *Hamiltons*, of the bloud-Royall: For *Marie*, daughter to

The discent of the Earle of Lenox.

Iames

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Iames 2. King of *Scotland*, had by *Iames Hamilton*, *Iames*, who was the first Earle of *Arraine*, & *Mary*, who was wife to *Matt. Stuart*, first Earle of *Lenox* of that name. *Iames*, Earle of *Arraine*, being diuorced from his first Wife, tooke in her place the Lady *Ienet Beton*, Aunt by the Mothers side, to the Cardinall *Beton*, by whom hee had Issue, *Iames Hamilton* Duke of *Chastel-Heraut*. *Marie*, Sister to the Earle of *Arraine*, bore to *Mathew*, *Iohn*, Earle of *Lenox*, who being slaine by the *Hamiltons*, when hee attempted to set King IAMES the fourth at liberty, left this *Mathew*, Earle of *Lenox*, whom King *Iames* the Fifth loued most dearly in respect of his Father.

When the King was dead, and the *Hamiltons* in full authority, *Mathew* went secretly into *France*; from whence, being sent backe, by the French King *Henry* the second, into *Scotland*, to preuent all detriment to the *Scottish* Common-wealth, through the practices of the Regent *Hamilton*, hee valiantly carried himselfe in this employment. But being of an honest milde nature, and very open-hearted, permitting himselfe to bee outreached by *Hamilton*, and the Cardinall *Beton*, in a small time hee lost the amity of the French, and when hee could neither tarry in *Scotland*, nor returne into *France*, he went into *England*, and committed himselfe in trust to King *Henry* the Eighth, who very graciously entertained him, as one that was powerfull & well beloued in the Westerne parts of *Scotland*: Whervpon, he acknowledged him for next Heire to the Crowne of *Scotland*, after Queene MARY, who was then exceeding yong, (though neuertheless the *Hamiltons* condemned him, and confiscated all his Lands) gaue him to Wife the Lady *Margaret Douglasse*, his Neece by the elder Sisters side, with demeanes in *England*, which amounted in an annuall reuennew, to the summe of 1700. Marks, after hee had made promise to surrender into his hands, the Castle of *Dunbritton*, and the Ile of *Buthe*, with

with the Castle of *Rothsay*, which is in *England*. The which hee vndertooke with courage, but fayled in the succesſe.

Causes of the Repeale of the Earle of Lenox.

The Queene of *Scots*, beeing a wiſe and prudent Lady, all whoſe drifts aymed at *England*, ſhee gaue him her ſafe conduct, and reſtored vnto him his Fathers goods, both that hee might oppoſe the deſignes of *Iames*, his baſtard brother, whom ſhee had honoured with the Earledome of *Murray*, as alſo to cut off the hopes of others, by the meanes of *Darley* her Sonne, which they might any wayes foſter and nouriſh, of ſucceſſion to the Diadem of *England*. For ſhee feared, that being of the Blood Royall, borne in *England*, and very well beloued of the *Engliſh*, if hee were ioyned with any puiſſant Family in *England*, relying on the *Engliſh* power and forces, hee might happely one day diſturbe her right of ſucceſſion to the Kingdome of *England*; many men reputing him for the ſecond Heire apparant after her: and ſhee affected nothing more feruently, then by his meanes, to bring the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, to fall into ſome *Scottiſh* Race, and Name, and ſo by him to propagate them to poſteritie, in the name of the *Stewards*, his Anceſtors.

The Queene of England endeuours to preuent the Qu. of Scots proiect.

Queene ELIZABETH well diſcerned all this, and to preuent it, gaue the Queene of *Scots* to vnderſtand by *Randolph*, that this Marriage was ſo diſtaſtfull to all the *Engliſh*, as againſt the conſent of her Councell, ſhe was enforſt to prorogue the conuentions of Parliament, to ſome other fitter time, for feare, leſt the States of the Kingdome therewith prouoked, ſhould enact ſomewhat, to the preiudice of her right to the ſucceſſion. And therefore, to cut off all occaſions of this Iſſue hereafter, and to ſatisfie the *Engliſh*, ſhe aduiſed her to thinke of ſome other marriage; and ſo by this meanes, ſhee once againe, and with great affection, commended vnto her the Earle of *Leiceſter*,

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Another commendation of the Earle of Leiceſter.

A Treaty of Marriage betweene the Queene of Scots and the Earle of Leiceſter.

for an Husband, who, for this ſpeciall reaſon, ſhe had exalted to the Dignity of an Earle.

For proſecution of this, the Earles of *Bedford*, of *Randolph*, and of *Lidington*, were deputed to treat of this marriage at *Barwicke*, in the Moneth of *Nouember*. The *Engliſh* promiſed vnto her, a firme and conſtant Amity, a perpetuall Peace, and that vndoubtedly ſhee ſhould ſucceed to the Crowne of *England*, if ſhe married with the Earle of *Leiceſter*. The *Scots* on the other ſide conteſted; alleadging, That their Queenes Dignitie, who had beene ſued vnto, by *Charles*, Sonne to the Emperour *Ferdinand*, the King of *France*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, could not permit her, ſo farre to embaſe and vnder-valew her ſelfe, as to match with a new-made Earle, a Subiect of *England*, and who propounded nothing but bare hopes, without any certaine Dowrie: neither ſtood it with the honour of the Queene of *England*, to commend ſuch a man for an Husband to ſo great a Princeſſe, her neere Kinſwoman; but rather, ſhee ſhould giue an infallible teſtimonie of her great loue and affection towards her, to giue her abſolute libertie to make choice of ſuch an husband, as might entertaine perpetuall peace with *England*, to aſſigne her a yeerely Penſion, and with the authority of the Parliament, confirme the right which ſhee had to ſucceede. In all this buſines, the extreme deſire of Queene ELIZABETH was (although ſhe made diſcreete haſte) to aſſure, by ſuch a marriage, the ſucceſſion of the Kingdome in an *Engliſh* Race. The Queene of *Scotland* ſeeing that this buſineſſe had beene prolonged full two yeeres, and making account to marry *Darley*, doubted whether ſhe was proceeded withall in good earneſt, or no; and that Queene ELIZABETH did not propound this marriage, but to make a pre-election of the moſt worthy for her ſelfe, or to marry the more excuſable with *Leiceſter*, She beeing abſolute

absolute Queene, after she should haue really consented to marry him. But the Commissioners of *Scotland*, weighing these reasons, to maintaine their power with the Queene, had resolued to hinder, by all meanes, all kinde of marriages. Queene ELIZABETH admonisheth them to hinder that with *Darley*; *Leicester* himselfe full of hope to enioy Queene ELIZABETH, by secret Letters, priuily warnes the Earle of *Bedford*, not to presse the thing, and with this hope, it is credibly thought, that hee secretly fauoured *Darley*.

Booke 1. 1564.

THE EIGHTH YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1565.

Darley *goes into Scotland.*

DARLEY in the meane time, by the interceſſion of his Mother, with Prayers and diligence to Queene ELIZABETH, obtained (though with much difficultie) leaue to goe into *Scotland*, and to ſtay there three Moneths, vnder pretext, to be partaker of his Fathers eſtabliſhment; and came to *Edenborrough* in the Moneth of *February*, in the great winter, when the *Theames* was ſo frozen, that people paſſed dry ouer on foot. Hee was a Youth of a moſt worthy Carriage, fit to beare rule, of an excellent compoſition of members, of a milde ſpirit, and of a moſt ſweet behauiour. As ſoone as the Queene of *Scotland* had ſeene him, ſhe fell in loue with him;

He is beloued of the Queene of Scotland.

him; and to the end to keepe her loue ſecret, in diſcourſing with *Randolph* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour in *Scotland*, ſhe often-times intermixt her diſcourſe with the marriage of *Leiceſter*, and at the ſame time, ſeekes a diſpenſation from *Rome* for *Darley*, ſhee being ſo neere in bloud, that according to the *Popes* Ordinance, they ſtood in neede of one. This being come to euery bodies knowledge, ſhee ſends *Lidington* to Queene ELIZABETH, to haue her conſent to contract with *Darley*, and not to be any longer detained with a vaine hope of marriage.

Asketh Qu. Elizabeths *conſent.*

Queene ELIZABETH propounds the matter to her moſt intimate Councellors; who, by the ſecret ſuggeſtions of the Earle of *Murray*, eaſily beleeued that the Queene of *Scotland* had no other deſigne, but to ſtrengthen her ſelfe by ſuch a marriage, to carry the right which ſhee pretended for the Kingdome of *England*, and at length, to eſtabliſh it, and likewiſe the Romiſh Religion: that ſome did adhere vnto her, ſeeing that, by reaſon of her children, the ſucceſſion was aſcertained to her Houſe; and others, for the affection which they bare to the Romiſh Religion, there being found more *Eirenarch's* in *England* deuoted to the Romiſh Religion, than to the Proteſtants. That to preuent theſe accidents, it was chiefly requiſite, firſt, to pray the Queene to marry ſpeedily, to the end that the affaires and hopes of *England* ſhould not depend elſe-where, but of the certainty of Succeſſion, which ſhould come of her, and of her Linage: (for they feared that if the Queene of *Scotland* did marry, and ſhould haue iſſue firſt, many would incline towards her for the certainty and aſſuredneſſe of ſucceſſion.) Secondly, to ruine (as much as may be) the Romiſh Religion in *England*, and to aduance and carefully eſtabliſh the reformed: the one, by vſing more moderately in things indifferent, ſuch Proteſtants that are carried with a feruent zeale: the other, in ſetting Guards againe vpon the depoſed papiſticall Biſhops, who were then

Deliberation vpon it.

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diſperſed thorow the Countrey by reaſon of the plague, conferring vpon the other Biſhops greater authority to execute the Eccleſiaſticall Ordinances then they had, contrary to the terrifying *Præmunire* which the Lawyers doe obiect, ſuppreſſing thoſe Bookes which *Harding*, and the fugitiue Diuines had ſent out of the Low-Countries into *England*, driuing out ſome *Scottiſh* Prieſts, who hid themſelues in *England*, depriuing the *Engliſh* fugitiues of the Eccleſiaſticall Benefices which they enioyed vntill then, and compelling the Iudges of the Land, who were for the moſt part Papiſts, to acknowledge the Queenes Soueraigne authority, and to ſweare vnto it: And that to hinder the marriage of *Darley*, it was fit to leuy Souldiers vpon the Frontiers of *Scotland*, to the end to raiſe a terrour: to fortifie the Garriſon of *Berwicke*: to ſet a guard vpon the Counteſſe of *Lenox*, *Darley's* Mother, and on *Charles* her Sonne: and to re-call out of *Scotland* into *England*, the Earle of *Lenox* and *Darley* his Sonne, vpon paine of loſſe of their goods, before they made any alliance with the *French*, or with *Spaine*: and to aſſiſt thoſe which were bent againſt this match, and to receiue the Earle of *Hertford* and *Katherine Gray* ſomewhat into fauour: which thing onely was thought that the Queene of *Scotland* very much apprehended, in regard that ſhee likewiſe pretended a right to the Kingdome, and it ſeemed none other could bring a greater impediment to this marriage than ſhe.

Throgmorton *is ſent to hinder.*

From hence, *Throgmorton* is ſent to the Queene of *Scotland*, to aduiſe her, that it behooued to deliberate long of a thing that can be but once determined on, and that a precipitate marriage was followed with repentance: to re-commend *Leiceſter* to her againe, and againe, and that it was altogether contrary to Canon Law, to contract with the Sonne of her Aunt by the Father-ſide: For Queene ELIZABETH deſired aboue all, that ſome of the *Engliſh* Race ſhould by her meanes ſucceed to both the Kingdomes, albeit

albeit there fayled not, who for matter of Religion, and for the two Kingdomes, made account to ſucceed, if ſhee dyed without iſſue.

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She anſwers, That it was now paſt reuoking, and that Queene ELIZABETH had no cauſe to be angry, ſeeing that by her Councell ſhe had made choyce of a Husband which was no ſtranger, but an *Engliſh* man borne of the Royall bloud of both the Kingdomes, and the moſt noble of all Great Brittaine. Amongſt theſe things, *Lidington* treateth of affaires in *England*, and diſſembling with *Leiceſter*, often ſpoke vnto him touching marriage with the Queene of *Scotland*, as alſo to the Duke of *Norfolke*, (much more worthy to marry a Queene) who then refuſed it with a modeſt excuſe.

He is anſwered.

The Qu. of *England*, to interpoſe ſome hindrance to this ſo haſtened marriage, calls backe *Lenox*, and his Son *Darley*, as being her Subiects, according to the forme of the leaue which ſhe had granted them. The Father excuſes himſelfe modeſtly by Letters; the Sonne prayes her not to hinder his aduancement, repreſenting vnto her, that hee might be vſefull to *England* his deareſt Countrey, and openly declared vnto her, that aboue all things hee loued and honoured the Queene of *Scotland*: To anſwere which loue, ſhe had adorned him forthwith, with the dignity *Equitis Aurati*, with the titles of Baron of *Ardmanock*, Earle of *Roſſe*, and Duke of *Rotheſie*; and fiue moneths after his comming into *Scotland*, marries him with the conſent of many Peeres, and declares him King. The Earle of *Murray*, who imbraced nothing ſo affectionately as ambition, and vnder pretence of Religion, had drawne to his faction the Duke of *Chaſtelraut*, a man without leauen, *Murray* murmuring exceedingly, and others ſtorming and ſtirring vp ſuch like queſtions:

Lenox *and* Darley *are re-called out of* Scotland.

They excuſe themſelues.

The Queene of Scotland marries the Lord Darley.

The Earle of Murray *and others murmure.*

Whether a Papiſt *might be admitted King or no? If the*

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the Queene of Scotland *might chuſe her ſelfe a Husband? If the States might not impoſe their authoritie?*

The Queene of England *indures it with moderation.*

The Queene of *England* bare this peaceably, knowing the ſweete and tractable nature of *Darley*, and the open heart of his Father, and taking pitty to ſee a kinſman and a Queene very young, to haue to doe with turbulent men, who hauing beene already more than twenty yeeres looſed from Royall command, could not indure Kings; and feared them not, ſeeing that the power of this Queene, who enuied her, was not increaſed by ſo meane a condition; hauing *Darleyes* Mother in her power: and fore-ſeeing that troubles in *Scotland* would ſpring out of this marriage, as it happened quickly after: for ſome great ones of the Kingdome, and the chiefe of them, *Hamilton* and *Murray*, diſdaining the match; this one, becauſe it had beene contracted without the conſent of the Queene of *England*; the other, for the enuy which he bare to the Houſe of *Lenox*: but both the one and the other, pretending the conſeruation of Religion, to diſturbe the marriage, brought their Enſignes into the field: inſomuch as ſhe was conſtrained to raiſe forces to celebrate it in ſafety; and, with the helpe of the King her Husband, purſued the Rebels ſo ſwiftly, that ſhe conſtrained them to flie into *England*, before the *Engliſh* troupes, which were promiſed them for ayde, were arriued: and the Queene of *England*, conniuing with *Murray*, who was much addicted to the *Engliſh*, aſſigned him a conuenient place to lye heere in ſafetie, and ſent him money vnder-hand by the Earle of *Bedford*, vntill his returne into *Scotland*, which was the morrow after the murder of *Dauid Riz*, as wee ſhall ſpeake of it in its owne place. Now the reaſons why ſhee receiued the *Scottiſh* Rebels into *England*, were theſe: Becauſe the the Queene of *Scotland* had receiued into her protection,

Some Scots take diſtaſte about the marriage.

They are put to flight.

They are maintained in England.

Yaxley,

Yaxley, *Standon*, and *Walsh*, *English* Fugitiues, and the *Irish Oneale*, and that she had held Councels with the *Pope* against the *English*, and had not done iustice vpon Theeues and Pirates.

They counsell the Qu. of England *to marry.*

This marriage being accomplished, those which laboured most for Religion and *Englands* safetie, thought that Queene ELIZABETH could not doe better for that purpose, than to take away all hope of the Succession to *England* from the Queene of *Scotland*. And it fell very commodiously; for, at the same time, *Maximilian* the Second, Emperour, sent word by *Adam Smicorit* his Ambassadour, of very honourable conditions for her to marry with his Brother *Charles*. But there arose instantly a most vehement hatred in the Court, betweene *Sussex* and *Leicester*, I know not whereupon, vnlesse about this marriage, which *Sussex* sought very eagerly to bring to passe, and *Leicester* vnder-hand hindered, hoping to haue her for himselfe (verily great and vnsatiable hopes doe those conceiue, who haue obtained things beyond their hope.) Indeede *Sussex* iniuriously despised him as an vpstart, and, to detract him, would say, that hee could cite onely two of his pedigree, that is to wit, his Father and Grand-father, both being enemies to their Countrey, and attempters against the State, that put the Court in diuision: Insomuch, as when the Earles went abroade, they drew great troupes after them, armed with Swords and piked Targets, which were then in vse, as if it were come to the extremitie. But, within few dayes, the Queene reconciled them, and rather smothered than tooke away their malice, but endeuoured what shee could to extinguish it quite. For, shee condemned dissention among Peeres, and that old prouerbe vsed by many, *Diuide & Impera*, and some, who were of opinion, that the force of command, is by the obeyers consent. And she delighted her selfe, at the emulation and grudging of inferiour women, yet not

The Emperour recommendeth his Brother.

It causeth hatred to grow in the Court.

The Queene reconcileth them.

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without making speciall good vse thereof.

Among these things, shee is not vnmindfull of the affaires of *Scotland*. A moneth after the solemnization of the marriage there, she sent one *Tamworth*, a Gentleman of her Priuy-Chamber, to the Qu. of *Scotland*, to exhort her not to breake the peace, to expostulate about the marriage which shee had so rashly contracted without her consent, and withall, to send backe *Lenox*, and *Darley* his Sonne, according to the transaction, and to receiue *Murray* into grace. She, perceiuing whereunto this tended, admitted not *Tamworth*, but by Articles in writing,

Tamworth *not admitted.*

They answere by writing.

Promiseth, by the word of a Princesse, *that neither shee nor her Husband would enterprise any thing to the preiudice of the* Queene *of* England, *or to her Children lawfully begotten of her bodie, or to the tranquillity of the Kingdome, by admitting of Fugitiues, or making alliance with strangers, or by any other means; but, to the contrary, they would most freely contract such an alliance with the* Queene *and Kingdome of* England, *as should be commodious and honourable for both the Kingdomes, and innouate nothing in Religion, contrary to the Lawes and liberties of* England, *if they should happen to enioy the same. Notwithstanding, vpon condition that* Queene ELIZABETH, *on her part, should fully performe the same to her and her Husband, and, by authoritie of the Parliament, should confirme the Crowne of* England *vpon her and her issue lawfully begotten; and, for fault of such issue, vpon* Margaret *Countesse of* Lenox, *her Husbands Mother, and of her Children lawfully begotten. Moreouer, as soone as shee had resolued to marry, shee had assured the* Queene *that it should be with* Darley, *and had no answere from the* Queene *vpon it. That shee had satisfied her demands, seeing shee had married*

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an Engliſh *man, and no ſtranger, whom ſhee knew to be more nobly deſcended, and more worthy of her, than any in* Great-Brittaine. *But it ſeemed ſtrange that ſhee might not retaine* Darley *by her, to whom ſhe was bound in the ſacred bond of marriage, or* Lenox, *who was naturally* Earle *of* Scotland. *As for* Murray, *whom ſhee had proued to be her ſworne enemy, ſhee graciouſly intreated her to giue her freedome ouer her Subiects, ſeeing ſhe meddled not with the affaires of* England.

Tamworth returned with this anſwere, not hauing been intertained according to his worth. And indeed being an impudent man, hee had wronged the reputation of the Queene of *Scotland*, and diſdained to giue her Husband title of King.

At the ſame time, Queene ELIZABETH had this augmentation of honour, that at the report of her vertue, which was equally ſpred in all places, *Cecillia*, *Henry* the Second King of *Suedens* Siſter, and Wife to *Chriſtopher*, Marquis of *Baden*, being then great with Childe, came from the furtheſt part of the North, and a great iourney, through *Germanie*, to viſit her. She intertained her and her Husband very magnificently, gaue him a yeerely penſion, chriſtened his Sonne, and named him *Edward* the Fortunate. And *Donald Mac Cartymore*, one of the greateſt Peeres of *Ireland*, humbly ſubmitted himſelfe and his large Territories to the Queene, to hold them from her hereafter in fee for him and his heires males lawfully begotten, and for default of ſuch iſſue, to the Crowne of *England*. This Princeſſe, who was borne to draw the affections of men, according to her humanity, moſt graciouſly receiued him, inſtalled him ſolemnely, and like himſelfe, Earle of *Glencar*; and *Tegue* his Sonne, Baron of *Valance*; gaue them gifts, payed the charge of their voyage, and

Cecillia, *Queene of* Sueden, *comes into England.*

Creation of the Earle of Glencar.

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Vice-Royes and Iuſtices of Ireland.

and all this, to get a party againſt the Earle of *Deſmond*, who was ſuſpected to renouate new things.

The ſame yeere, *Nicholas Arnold*, of the County of *Gloceſter*, Knight, was ſent to gouerne *Ireland* with the title of Iuſticiary, and had for his Garriſon, onely one thouſand fiue hundred ninety ſixe Souldiers. But, within a while after, being called backe, hee gaue vp his place to *Henry Sidney*, who in the reigne of Queene MARY was Iudge and Treaſurer of *Ireland*, and preſently after, Preſident of *Wales*. Now, to note this by the way, the chiefe Gouernours of *Ireland*, which now in Latine are termed *Proreges*, ſince the firſt entrance of the *Engliſh*, vntill the time of *Edward* the Third, were called *Iuſtices* of *Ireland*, and their Lieutenants, *Deputies*. Since, according to the pleaſure of the Prince, they are called one while *Iuſtices*, and another while *Lieutenants*, which is a moſt honourable title, but for the moſt part of like authority. And without doubt, theſe chiefe Iuſtices of *Ireland*, as the Iuſtices of *England*, which were called at that time, ſimply, Iuſtices, were ordained to keepe the peace, and to doe Iuſtice to all and to euery particular, as, in times paſt, the *Romanes* had their *Pro-Pretors* and *Pro-Conſuls*, which were ſent into Prouinces with Soueraigne authority.

Affaires of Ireland.

Sidney, being Gouernour of this *Prouince*, found the Countrey of *Mounſter*, which lyes toward the South, in great confuſion, in regard of great and ſharpe troubles which were betweene *Girauld*, Earle of *Deſmond* (who had faithfully promiſed to performe all the dueties of a loyall Subiect) and others, who were broken out into ciuill warres. To extinguiſh theſe Controuerſies, Queene ELIZABETH calls *Deſmond* into *England*, and makes him Gouernour and Iuſtice of that *Prouince*, with an Aſſeſſor, two Lawyers and a Clerke, and nominated *Warham S. Leger* chiefe Preſident, a man that had beene long conuerſant in *Iriſh* affaires.

Diſcord betweene the Earles of Deſmond *and* Ormond.

Chiefe Preſident of Mounſter.

About

1565. *The death of Sir* Thomas Chaloner.

About the middle of *October*, the same yeere, dyed *Thomas Chaloner*, lately returned Ambassadour from *Spaine*, a famous man, borne in *London*, brought vp at *Cambridge*, who had addicted himselfe as well to *Mars* as to the *Muses*, and being but young, got honour vnder *Charles* the fifth, in the expedition of *Alger*, who hauing suffered ship-wrack, and had swomme so long, that his strength and armes fayled him, saued himselfe, by taking hold of a Cable with his teeth, whereof he lost some: Vnder EDVVARD the Sixth, at *Mussleborrough*, where hee behaued himselfe so valiantly, that the Duke of *Sommerset* honoured him with the Dignitie of Knight-hood: And vnder Queene ELIZABETH, in an extraordinary Ambassie to the Emperour *Ferdinand*, and foure yeeres ordinary Ambassadour in *Spaine*, where he composed fiue Bookes in pure and learned Verse, of the restauration of the *English* Commonwealth, which he called [*Hieme in fumo, æstate in horreo.*] Hee was honourably buried at Saint *Pauls* in *London*, *Cecill* being chiefe mourner, when *Thomas*, his Sonne (who liued neere HENRY, Prince of Wales) was very yong.

THE NINTH YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1566.

IN the beginning of the yeere, *Charles* the 9. King of *France*, sent into *England* to the Queene, *Rambouillet*, with the Robes of the order of S. *Michael*, to bee giuen to two of the Peeres of *England*, whom shee pleased. She made choice of the Duke of *Norfolke*, as being much more noble then any other, and to the Earle of *Leicester*, louing him very well. *Rambouillet* hauing beene, for and in the Name of his King, placed honourably at *Windsor*, amongst the Knights of the Order of Saint *George*, inuested them solemnly in

The Duke of Norfolke, *and the Earle of* Leicester, *Knights of the Order of* France.

Booke I. 1566.

in the Royall Houſe at *Weſtminſter*. This ſhee tooke for a great honour, remembring her ſelfe, that no *Engliſh* was euer honoured with this Order, ſaue HENRY the Eighth, EDVVARD the Sixth, and *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolke*. But when ſhe exactly obſerued all things that belonged to the honour of it, ſhe was at length much diſpleaſed, to ſee it ſo vilified, that it was proſtituted indifferently to euery man. And ſhee buſied her ſelfe, not onely in things concerning honour, but chiefely what was for the good of her Subiects: For, the Ayre beeing ſo intemperate that yeere, that experienced men feared a want of Corne and other victuals, ſhe did not onely prohibit any Corne to be carried out of the Kingdome, but tooke care that great quantity was brought in.

Prouiſion of Corne.

While theſe things paſt, *Henry*, Earle of *Arundell*, being great and powerfull among the Lords of the Realme, after hauing conſumed much wealth vpon a vaine hope to marry the Queene, and the Earle of *Leiceſter*, who then was in great credit with her, and his friends, which had failed in the truſt which hee repoſed in them, taking away this hope quite from him, tooke leaue of her, and voluntarily went out of the Kingdome, vnder colour to recouer his health, but in effect, to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt ſorrow. But the other *Engliſh*, who for their naturall valour, thought themſelues borne to liue in Armes, and not in idlenes, ſeeing the Nobility of all parts, did riſe at the report of the warre againſt the Turke, and carried their Armes and Courages into *Hungarie*. Amongſt whom, the moſt remarkeable were, *Iohn Smith*, couſin german to EDVVARD the Sixth, by the Siſter of *I. Seimor*, the Kings Mother; *H. Champernon*, *P. Butſhid*, *R. Greuill*, *G. George*, *T. Cotton*, &c.

The Earle of Arundel *goes out of the Kingdome.*

The Engliſh *carry their Armes and their courages to the* Hungarian *Warre.*

In *Iune* following, the Queene of *Scotland* had a moſt auſpicious and happy Deliuery, for the eternall proſperity of *Great Brittaine*, IAMES her Sonne, who is now Monarch thereof:

The birth of King Iames *the ſixth of* Scotland.

Booke 1. 1566.

thereof: whereof ſhe gaue preſent notice to Queene ELIZABETH, by *Iohn Meluin*. Queene ELIZABETH, howſoeuer angry to ſee her out-ſtrip her in honour, who enuied her, as ſpeedily ſent *H. Killigrewe*, to congratulate her lying in, and the birth of her Sonne: and to admoniſh her, not to fauour any longer *Shan O-Neale*, who rebelled in *Ireland*, nor to aſſiſt *Roquerbay*, an Engliſh Fugitiue, and to puniſh ſome theeues that rob'd vpon the Borders.

The Queene of England reioyceth.

After, hauing vn-wearied her minde by a Progreſſe, to ſhew her ſelfe as fauourable to the Muſes of *Oxford*, as well as of *Cambridge*, betweene which there was then a ſincere emulation, goes toward the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford*, where ſhe was magnificently entertained, and ſtaid there full ſeuen dayes, taking pleaſure in the pleaſant aſpect of the place, at the beauty of the Colledges, in the ſpirits and learning of moſt exquiſit Schollers, which paſſed the nights in Comedies, and the dayes in learned Diſputations; for which ſhe gaue them ample thankes, by a moſt ſweet diſcourſe in Latine, and a moſt louing farewell.

Viſits the Vniuerſity of Oxeford.

As ſoone as ſhee was returned to London, the States of the Kingdome aſſembled there the firſt day of *Nouember*, beeing the day aſſigned, and after hauing eſtabliſhed a Statute or two, they begun to diſpute among themſelues, of the Succeſſion of the Kingdome; ſeeing that the Queene hauing vowed Virginity, had already reigned eight yeeres, without thinking ſeriouſly of an Husband: that on the one ſide, the Papiſts made account of the Queene of *Scots*, who had lately had a Sonne: that on the other ſide, the Proteſtants being deuided, ſome of them made account of one, and ſome of another, and euery particular prouiding for their ſafety and Religion, preſaged the ſtormes of a moſt fearefull time, if ſhee ſhould dye, without aſſuring a Succeſſor. And the keener ſort of ſpirits proceeded ſo far, as to blame her, as if ſhe abandoned both her Country and Poſteritie: and to teare, by reprochfull & defaming Libels,

Holds a Parliament.

Cecill,

wicked Councellor therein: and to curse *Huic*, her Phisicion, because he disswaded her to marry, for I know not what womanish infirmity. The Earles of *Pembroke* and *Leicester* were openly, and the Duke of *Norfolke*, couertly, of opinion, that a necessity of marriage should be imposed vpon her, or else publikely to appoint a Successor by authority of the Parliament, whether she would or no: which caused them to bee forbidden to enter into the Priuie Chamber, or come neere the Queene, who neuertheless granted them pardon, as soone as they demanded it.

The States sollicite her to marry, and to declare her Successor.

They neuertheless being much troubled, and all the rest of the vpper House of Parliament, touching the Succession; all with one mind, by the mouth of *Bacon*, Keeper of the great Seale, according to the dutie which they ought vnto God, the fidelity to their Prince, and the charity to their Countrie, so to doe; that as by her meanes they then sweetly enioyed all the benefits of Peace, Iustice, and Clemency, they and their posterity might by her meanes likewise enioy the same assuredly and continually. But withall they shewed her, that it could not bee done, except she married, or designed a certaine Successor. For which cause, they desired, and, aboue all things, besought her to be ioyned by the sacred bond of Marriage, with whom she would, in what place she liked, & as soone as she pleased, to the end to haue Children, for helps to the Kingdome: withall, to ordaine with the States of the Realme, a Successor certaine, in case that shee, or the Children which she might haue, should dye without Children, which God forbid. And for the obtaining of these things so much the more easily, being so necessary, they represented vnto her many reasons for the same: the feare, which of fresh memory had seized vpon them with such a sickenesse, of which they had beene but newly recouered; the opportunity of the time, the States of the Kingdome beeing then assembled, which might maturely deliberate of so great matters; the terrour

The modestie of the great Ones.

Booke 1. 1566.

which ſhe ſhould giue to her enemies by this meanes, and the incredible ioy which ſhe ſhould fill the hearts of her Subiects withall. They praiſe the examples of her Anceſtors, who in like caſes prouided for the ſuretie of their Poſterity, condemning this ſaying of *Pyrrhus*, who would leaue his Kingdome to him that had the ſharpeſt ſword. And moreouer ſhewing her, with what a ſtorme *England* were threatned, if ſhe ſhould dye without deſigning a certaine Succeſſor: there would follow impetuouſly vpon it, ſeditions, and inteſtine Warres, of which the Victory it ſelfe is moſt miſerable: and that Religion ſhould bee driuen out, Iuſtice ouerwhelmed, the Lawes trodden vnderfoot, there beeing no Prince (who is the ſoule of the Law) and the Kingdome a prey to ſtrangers. They numbered and exaggerated many other like calamities, which would inuolue all ſorts of Families, if ſhe ſhould dye without Iſſue. And modeſtly they added counſels, Precepts, and examples, drawne from the holy Scriptures.

The popular ſort eagerly.

But thoſe of the Lower Houſe debated of theſe things more tumultuouſly; *Bell*, and *Monſon*, Lawiers of great renowne, *Dutton*, *P. Wentworth*, and others, refuted Royall Maieſtie too much; and among other things maintained, that Kings were bound to deſigne a Succeſſor; that the loue of Subiects was the moſt ſtrong and inexpugnable Rampart of Princes, their onely ſtay and Support. That Princes could not obtaine this loue, if they did not prouide for the good of their Subiects, not onely while they liued, but after their death. That that could not be done, if a Succeſſor did not plainely appeare. That the Queene, for lacke of deſigning one, prouoked Gods wrath, and alienated the hearts of her Subiects. That then, to gaine the fauour of God, and haue Subiects moſt affectionate and obliged, and to raiſe her vp Statues in the hearts of men, which would neuer periſh, ſhee ſhould declare a Succeſſor. Others, that ſhee ſhould knowe, that they did

hold

hold her, not for a Mother and a Nurſe, but for a Stepdame and a murdereſſe of her Countrie, ſeeing ſhee loued her ſelfe better than *England* (which then breathed by her ſpirit) would expire with her, rather then ſubſiſt aliue. That there were neuer, but cowardly Princes, haters of their Subiects, and fearefull weake women, who conceiued feare becauſe of their Succeſſors; and that ſuch as be enuironed with the loue of their Subiects, ought not to apprehend the danger which might bee ſtirred vp againſt them, by a declared Succeſſor. Booke 1. 1566.

Theſe things ſhe heard with a great deale of diſpleaſure, but ſhee contemned them for a time, and for a time kept them hidden. For, as vſe had inſtructed her, ſhe well knew what danger there is to deſigne a Succeſſor; inſomuch that Queene MARIE reigning, many of the Nobility, and of the people, had caſt their eyes and hearts vpon her, as beeing to ſucceed her: that euen as any thing had bin ſaid or done in her moſt holy Cabinet, or ſecret Councell, they reported it to her; and that *Wyat* and others, miſliking their ſtate, and deſiring to innouate things, had conſpired againſt her, to ſet her vpon the Royall Throne in her place. Shee knew that the hopes of Competitors were better reſtrained, and they kept in their duety, while ſhe ſuſpended the wayting of euery one, and made no declaration of any. That by a precipitate deſire to reigne, euen Children haue tooke Armes againſt their Fathers, and that ſhee could not looke for leſſe from her kindred. She had obſerued in reading, and when ſhe diſputed of that, remembred incontinently, that it was rarely found, that the Succeſſors had bin declared in the collaterall line. That *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*, had neuer been declared Succeſſor in the Kingdome of *France*, to *Charles* the Eighth; nor *Francis*, Duke of *Angouleſme*, to *Lewis*, yet neuertheleſſe they ſucceeded without any noiſe. That ſuch deſignation had alwaies in *England* beene the ruine of the deſigned, and that *Roger* *The Queene is angry.*

Booke 1. 1566.

Mortimer, Earle of *March*, deſigned Heire by King *Richard*, had not beene ſo ſoone extinct, and his ſonne *Edmond* conſtituted and kept priſoner twentie yeeres together, but for this cauſe: That *I. Polhem*, Earle of *Lincolne*, declared Succeſſor by *Richard* the 3. & after the death of his ſonne, by *Henry* the Seuenty, was alwaies ſuſpected, and finally killed in warre, as he was weauing of innouations, and his brother *Edward* beheaded vnder HENRIE the Eighth. But theſe things make vs goe from the purpoſe.

But as ſome ceaſed not with prouoked ſpirits, and ſharpe contention, daily more and more to cry aloud, theſe things which I come to tell, and other things which had a greater ſting, the Queene hauing commanded that choyce ſhould be made of thirty of the Vpper-Houſe of Parliament, and as many of the Lower, and that they ſhould appeare before her; Shee, with a light reproofe, made them milder, and by force of her moſt worthy Maieſty, diuerted them from their deſigne, promiſing them with many words, not onely the care of a Princeſſe, but alſo the affection of a Mother. And the States hauing offered her for Subſidies, more than they were accuſtomed to doe, vpon condition, that ſhe would deſigne a Succeſſour: Shee vtterly refuſed it, as being too much, receiued the ordinary, commending their affection, & remitted the whole fourth payment of the granted Subſidie, ſaying, That her Subiects money was as well in their owne coffers, as in hers.

She ſweetens the moued ſpirits.

Giues backe part of the Subſidie.

The laſt day of theſe Seſſions, ſhe ſpoke thus in few words, which I will ſhut vp in fewer.

Chides the States.

Seeing that the words of Princes doe often penetrate deepe into the hearts and eares of men, heare theſe from mee. As I haue ſimply cheriſhed truth, ſo haue I alwayes thought that you would ingeniouſly haue cheriſhed her:

her: but it hath beene in vaine. For I haue discouered, that dissimulation thrusts her selfe into these assemblies, vnder the maske of libertie, and of succession. There are some of them among you, who are of opinion, that I ought presently to grant, or vtterly to refuse libertie to dispute of the Succession, and to [illegible]blish it. If I should haue granted it, those would tri[illegible]ph ouer mee, hauing their wishes: If I refused, they had thought to haue excited the hatred of mine own, which my greatest enemies hitherto could neuer doe. But their wisdome was out of season, their designes too farre aduanced, and they haue not regarded the euent. And I haue easily discouered by these things, who haue beene iust on my behalfe, and who haue not, and doe see well, that all your Assembly is composed of foure sorts of persons. For some haue beene Architects and Authors, others Actors, who with sweet words haue perswaded: who being perswaded, haue accorded to that which was propounded: others, who haue maruelled at this audacitie, kept silence; and those in truth are the more excusable. Thinke you that I contemne your good and safetie, that you ground vpon a Successor? or that I will infringe your libertie? So farre am I from that, that I haue not so much as thought of it. For I haue considered, that it behooued you to retyre from the pit into which you runne head-long. Euery thing hath his season. Peraduenture you shall haue after me a wiser Prince, but not that loues you more than I doe. I know not if I shall liue to see such Assemblies once more: but take heede of offending the patience of your Prince: and notwithstanding, take it for a certaine truth, that I haue a good opinion of the most part of you, and that I loue you all with all my heart, as heretofore.

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Thus, the wisdome of a Woman quieted these stirres, the time which became clearer, caused such a calme, that, beside the seditious and timorous, few were since found, to storme for a Successour. And certainely all men, what face for her they set vpon it, doe not penetrate more deepely into publique affaires, than they finde it necessary for their owne particular. Yet that the Successour should more plainely appeare, which shee thought could not be doubted of, she imprisoned *Thornton*, Reader of the Law at *Lincolnes Inne* in *London*, because the Queene of *Scotland* had complained, that he called her right in question.

Maketh it plainely to appeare, that the Queene of Scotland had the right of Succession.

In these Assemblies of the States, besides other things, which were for the good of the Common-wealth, it was declared with the generall consent of all,

The ordination of Bishops is confirmed.

THat the election, consecration, and instalment of Arch-bishops and Bishops of England, *(which many, by calumniating them, had called in question) was lawfull, and well and duely consecrated, according to the Acts and Statutes of the Realme: And ordained, that all these, and those which for the time to come, should be consecrated as they had beene, were and should be holden well and duely consecrated, notwithstanding any Law or Canon.*

For the Papists had detracted them as false Bishops, peraduenture because the Vnction, the Ring, and the Crozier were not vsed with the Benedictions: and, as if they had not beene solemnely instituted to this Order, by three Bishops, which could bring their ordination, rising from the Apostolique authority receiued from Christ, although they most truely could, as appeares by the Registers, hauing beene consecrated with godly prayers, deuout inuocation of the holy Ghost, the imposition of hands of such Bishops, the preaching of the Word, and celebration of the Lords Supper. About

1566.

About that time (after they had reſtrained the inſolency of ſome Ruffians, who violated theſe delators, which the vulgar call Promoters, purſued them through the ſtreetes with cryes and clamours, and killed them) came the day appointed for the baptizing of the Prince of *Scotland*. The Queene hauing beene intreated to receiue him at the ſacred Font, ſent the Earle of *Bedford* with the Lauor made of maſſie Gold, for a Preſent of State, and commanded him expreſly, & all the *Engliſh* which accompany him, to take heed that they honour *Darley* with the Title of KING.

Promoters ſuppreſt.

The Earle of Bedford ſent Ambaſſadour to the Queene of Scotland, for the baptizing of her Sonne.

The ceremony being ended, the Earle, according as he had beene commanded, treated with the Queene of *Scotland*, to haue the Treaty of *Edenborrough* ratified, and to accord the domeſticke diſcords which were betweene her and her Husband. For ſome ill-willers, both to the one and the other, had by craft ruined this agreeable ſocietie of life and loue which was betweene them. Shee refuſed to make this ratification, alledging this reaſon, That there was in that Treaty, ſome Articles that did derogate the right which ſhee and her Children had to *England*: neuertheleſſe, promiſed to ſend Commiſſioners into *England*, which ſhould treat about it, for the altering of ſome things; *to wit*, that ſhe ſhould leaue off the Title and armes of *England*, as long as Queene ELIZABETH, or any of hers ſhould liue, (as if the Treaty had imported, that ſhe ſhould giue it ouer altogether,) and they they ſhould let her ſee what iniuries ſhee had receiued by the wicked practices of thoſe which too much abuſed the ingenious credulitie of her Husband. And, finding her ſelfe vnhealthfull, ſhee recommended her Sonne to the truſt and Gardianſhip of Queene ELIZABETH, by Letters bearing,

That although ſhee knew well, (Iuſe her owne termes) ſhee

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shee was by right the vndoubted Heire of England, *after the* Queene, *and that many at their pleasure forged many things against this right;*

She promised neuertheleſſe, ſhe would not preſſe her any more to a declaration of it, but that ſhee would aſſiſt and adhere to her alwaies, and againſt all, with all her affection.

The death of I. Maſon, *and Sir* R. Sackuile.

In the yeere 1566. there dyed two of the Lords of her Maieſties moſt honourable Priuy Councell, (both in one day) *I. Maſon*, Treaſurer of Queene ELIZABETHS houſhold, a moſt learned, iudicious, and graue perſonage, moſt diligent and carefull to the preſeruation of benefits. In his place and office, was preferred Sir *Francis Knolles*, who had married the Lady *Katherine*, Couſin-Germane to her Maieſty, by the Lady *Mary* of *Bulleine*; & *Richard Sackuile* alſo, Couſin to her Maieſty, by the Lady *Anne Bulleine* her Mother. Sir *Walter Mildmay*, an vncorrupt and conſiderate man, ſucceeded in his place.

THE

THE TENTH YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1567.

The murder of the Lord Darley, *who was married to the Qu. of* Scots.

A Little before the Commissioners from the Queene of *Scotland* were arriued, a moneth or two after the christening of the Prince of *Scotland*, the King, at the age of one and twenty yeers, was strangled in his bed, in the dead time of the night: a dreadfull and horrible wickednesse, which was detested of all honest men: afterwards throwne into his Garden, the House being blowne vp with Gun-powder. The report of it being spread through both the Kingdomes, the crime was cast vpon *Morton*, *Murray*, and their Confederates, who in-

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sulting ouer the weaker Sex, laide it vpon the Queene. Which by bookes, as also a Libell, written by *Buchanan*, which was imprinted, none can be ignorant of: But being of the party, and carryed away by *Murray's* bountie, the bookes were condemned to be false by the Councell and State of *Scotland*, to which more credit is to be giuen: and, as I haue heard, he himself to the King, whose Schoolemaster he was, reprehended himselfe for it, that hee had vsed so poysonous a penne against the Queene, and being ready to dye, he wished but to liue so long, that hee might take away the staine which he had spread vpon the Queene, or to cleanse it with his bloud, vnlesse (as he said himselfe) his slanders might be accounted vaine, by reason of his doting age. Giue me leaue that the other side may be heard, by diuers that writ thereof, and at that time publisht it in print: but such writings were soone call'd in, both in fauor of the Earle of *Murray*, and in hatred of the Queene, and likewise by Ambassadours Letters worthy to bee beleeued.

Buchanan condemned for falshood by the States of Scotland.

A digression from Scottish affaires.

Iames, Prior of Saint Andrews.

In the yeere 1558. at the marriage of *Francis* the *Dolphin* of *France*, and *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, *Iames*, the Queenes Bastard-Brother, commonly called the Prior of Saint *Andrewes*, (Metropolitan of the Order of Saint *Andrewes*) despising that title, was ambitious after a more splendid one: but when the Queene, by the aduice of the *Guizes*, refused it him, hee returned into *Scotland* discontented, wherein, vnder a faire pretext of reforming Religion, and to establish the liberty of *Scotland*, hee begun to trouble the State, and effected it; and so brought it to passe (without the knowledge of the Queene, in a Conuenticle of Confederates) Religion was changed, and, by the calling in of ayde from *England*, the *French* were driuen out of *Scotland*. *Francis*, King of *France*, being dead, he presently went to his Sister into *France*, and hauing put away all suspition tending to her preiudice or dis-reputation for

the affaires of *Scotland*, ſwore vnto her, (calling GOD to witneſſe) to performe all dueties that a Siſter could expect from a Brother, and vpon the hope which he had, that ſhee being brought vp from her tender age in the delicacies of *France*, would not returne into *Scotland*, workes with the *Guizes* to appoint ſome Noble-man of *Scotland* to be Regent there, and almoſt poynted at himſelfe to be the fitteſt man of all. But, hee being ſent backe into *Scotland*, without any authority, but Letters of Commiſſion, by which the Queene gaue power to the States to aſſemble, and conſult for the good of the Kingdome, and ſeeing himſelfe deiected from his hope, returned much vexed; and paſſing thorow *England*, made it there knowne, that if they wiſhed well to Religion in *Scotland*, to the peace of *England*, and the ſecurity of Queene ELIZABETH, they ought by all meanes to hinder the Queene of *Scotland* to paſſe into *Scotland*. Shee neuertheleſſe being ſafely arriued in *Scotland*, the Engliſh Ships being diſappointed by obſcure weather, and being there, embraced her Brother with all ſignes of fauour and good-will, and in a kinde of manner, committed vnto him the generall adminiſtration of affaires. Notwithſtanding all this, the branches of his ambition are not cut off, which grew daily, and appeared both in words and deedes. For, hee could not containe himſelfe, but often, among his friends, deplored that the warlike *Scottiſh* Nation was no leſſe ſubiect to the command of a Woman, than the *Engliſh* was, and by the inſtruction of *Knox*, whom he eſteemed as a Patriarke, often debates, that Kingdomes were due to merit, and not to linage, and that Women ſhould be excluded from ſucceeding, and that their gouernement were monſtrous. He treated likewiſe with the Queen, by his friends, that ſhe ſhould ſubſtitute foure of the Royall Houſe of the *Stewards*, who, if ſhe dyed without iſſue, ſhould ſucceed to the Crowne one after another, without regarding who were legiti-

Hee ſeekes to be Regent of Scotland.

Being fruſtrated of it, vnder-hand oppoſes himſelfe againſt the Queene.

Makes his ambition to be openly and euidently knowne.

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legitimate or no, thinking he should be one, seeing he was the Kings Sonne, though vnlawfully begotten.

But the Queene, wisely considering that such a substitution was contrary to the Lawes of the Kingdome, to defraud the right Heires, a most pernicious example, dangerous for her Subiects, and would be an hinderance to her selfe for her second marriage, she mildely answered, That she would more aduisedly deliberate with the States of the Kingdome, about a matter of such weight & consequence; and to testifie her fauour and bounty towards her Brother, shee honoured him with the title of Earle of *Mar*, afterwards, with the Earledome of *Murray*, (for the dignity of *Mar* was then in controuersie,) being ignorant all this while, that he aymed at the Kingdome, and affirmed himselfe to be the lawfull Sonne of *Iames* the Fifth. To make the easier way hereunto, by meanes of the extraordinary fauour the Queene shewed to him, he suppreſt the most noble Family of the *Gordons*, powerfull in vassalage and command, whom he both feared in respect of themselues, as also by reason of the reformed Religion, which adhered vnto him: he expelled *Hamilton*, Duke of *Chastelraut*, out of the Court, who was reputed next Heire to the Crowne, imprisoned the Earle of *Arraine* his Sonne, banished Count *Bothwell*, into *England*; dismissed all opposites of their honourable offices, and places, and retained the Queene vnder his power and surucy, as a Gardian might doe his Ward: aboue all other things being carefull, that Shee might not negotiate, nor intend any marriage.

He is created Earle of Murray.

He persecutes the great men of Scotland.

And when he saw, that of the one side, the Emperour sollicited her, for his Brother, and the *Spaniard* on the other part for his Sonne, he absolutely disswaded her both from the one and the other, alledging vnto her, how the ancient immunities of *Scotland* would not permit nor indure a strange Prince, and whensoeuer the Scepter fell into the

Hee dissuades the Queen from marrying.

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the hands of Women, they neuer made choyce of an Husband, but within their owne Countrey of *Scotland*. But in concluſion, he perceiuing that all the *Scots* generally affected her marrying, and diſcerning that by the perſwaſion and inducement of the Counteſſe of *Lenox*, ſhe deſired to marry with the Lord *Darley*, hee himſelfe likewiſe then commended him vnto her for an Husband; hoping, in reſpect of his youth, and for that he was of a tractable nature and diſpoſition, he would be euer at his direction and diſpoſe. Neuertheleſſe, when hee ſaw how dearely the Queene loued him, & himſelfe to fall by little and little out of her fauour and grace, hee repented of the counſell and aduice he had giuen, and admoniſhed Queene ELIZABETH to croſſe this marriage by all the meanes poſſible that ſhe could.

Preſently after the Nuptials were accompliſhed, and the Lord *Darley* proclaimed KING, the King then preſently reuoked ſuch gifts, as during his minority, the Queene had conferred both vpon him, and others: whereupon, being nigh aſſociated with them, he tooke vp armes againſt the King and the Queene, pretending that this new King was diſ-affected to the Proteſtant Religion, and how ſhe contracted this marriage without the conſent of the Queene of *England*. But, hauing ſcarcely made any triall of the fortunes of warre, he fled, as I ſaid, into *England*, where, deſpayring of all ſuccour, he laboured by Letters to *Morton*, a man of great ſubtilty, and another like himſelfe, to effect, that ſeeing the marriage could not be broken off, yet that the affection and loue of the married couple might be abated, by ſome ſecret practices: and a fit occaſion offered it ſelfe: for after ſome domeſticall and priuate grudgings, to quaile the courage of this young King, which boyled a little too hot, and to preſerue entyre her owne Royall prerogatiues; in all publique acts, ſhee began to ſet her Husbands Name after her owne, and altogether to leaue

He takes armes againſt her, after ſhee was married.

He flies into England.

He ſeekes to ſow diſcord betweene the Husband and the Wife.

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leaue out and omit it, in Moneyes and Stampes.

Earle *Morton*, who was a notable Make-bate, by his flatteries easily perswaded this young King, to set the Crowne of *Scotland* vpon his owne head: yea, though the Queene wold not giue her consent therunto, & to shake off the domination and controll of a Woman, because women were borne to obey, and men to command: he hoping, that by meanes of this counsell, he should make the King, not onely to lose the Queenes affection, but further, the loue of all the great Men of the Kingdome, and the people. To make him lose the Queenes heart, first he instigated him by diuers calumniations, to kill *Dauid Rice*, a Pie-mountaine, and by doing this, to preuent the crossing of their designes, by his reaching and subtile spirit. By profession he was a Musician, and came the yeere before into *Scotland*, with the Ambassadour *Moret*, and then grew to be admitted into the Queenes House, and fauour, in that hee was industrious, and obseruant, and in the Secretaries absence, he assisted, and dispatched Letters into *France*, and managed secret consultations. Then, the more to exasperate this businesse, he brought him to be present in person, at this Murder, in company with *Rauen*, and the other murderers, who entring with himselfe into the Queenes Chambers, their swords naked drawne, as she was sitting at the Table, with the Countesse of *Arguile*, and this man, standing by a Buffet-stoole, was eating somwhat taken off from the Table, as ordinarily Wayters of the Dining-chamber will doe, bending also a Pistoll against the Queenes brest, who was then with Childe, so as vpon the sudden affrightment shee thought to haue miscarried in the place, they layde hold of him in her presence, and drawing him into an outward Chamber, most cruelly they murthered him, and shut vp likewise the Queene within the same Chamber.

The murder of Dauid Rice *in the Queene of Scots sight.*

This Murder was cõmitted, the day before that the Earle of

Murray *is repealed.*

of *Murray* was assigned to make his appearance before the Assembly, and in hearing of the States, there, to answere an Accusation of Rebellion, which was informed and put in against him. Hee appeared the day following, and no body sate, neither came any witnesses against him, by reason of these great garboyles and troubles in the State: that, (as it might seeme) this murder was purposely vndertaken for *Murrayes* security and safety. Notwithstanding, the Queene, at the Kings intreaty, receiued him into fauour, and was confident in his brotherly loue. But when the King had more deliberately waighed the quality of his offence, and the Queene began to take it deepely to heart, he repented himselfe much of this rage and fury, and with many teares and sighes, humbly on his knee craued her pardon, confessing freely, that he was excited to so bloudy a crime by *Murray* and *Morton*: from which time, euer after hee conceiued so mortall an hatred against *Murray*, that he thought on nothing elsé, but how to be rid of him: Earle *Morton*, and the other Homicides, by reason of this Murder, being fled into *England*, with Letters of recommendation, which *Murray* had written in their behalfe, to the Earle of *Bedford*. But the passionate affection of his youth not being able to reserue his most secret thoughts, and his high respect to the Queene, curbing all boldnesse, for the executing of him, at last hee was satisfied, to let her vnderstand thus much, that for publique good, and the security of her owne house, shee must remoue him. The Queene in all sort detesting this course, dissuaded him there-from, yea euen with threates, for hauing moued this vnto her, and putting him in hope to make a perfect reconciliation betweene them. And yet notwithstanding, in that shee could not but with great spleene digest the authority this Bastard vsurped ouer her, transported with wonderfull impatience, shee opened this designe to others: which, comming to *Murrayes* vnderstanding,

Earle Morton *flies into England.*

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ſtanding, to preuent her, hee laid many ſecret ambuſhes in waite for her, vnder colour of ſhewing himſelfe to be very officious and diligent, vſing herein Earle *Mortons* counſell and aduice, though he were then abſent.

Diſſention ſet betweene the King and the Queene.

Their Reſolution ioyntly was, that the Queene muſt be cleane alienated from the loue and affection ſhe bare to the King, while this affection was not yet well knit, and reioynted. Then to draw into their ſociety Earle *Bothwell*, who, not long before had beene reconciled to *Murray*, vpon promiſes, that he ſhould be diuorc'd from his owne Wife, and be married to the Queene, when ſhe were a Widow. For effectuall performance whereof, and to warrant and defend him againſt all others, they bound themſelues in writing, ſubſcribed and ſealed, perſwading themſelues, that at one blow, they could cut off the King, depraue the reputation and good opinion which the Nobility and people held of her, ſuppreſſe afterwards *Bothwell*, and ſo be poſſeſt themſelues of the whole and abſolute Adminiſtration of all affaires.

Lord Darley *the Queenes Husband, murdered.*

Earle *Bothwell*, who was of himſelfe a wicked man, and blinded with Ambition, which made him bold and daring, readily intertained theſe hopes propounded to him, and moſt trecherouſly performed this bloudy Aſſaſſinate, hauing hardly fifteene houres warning, to prouide a ſufficient number of Complices if need had beene, (for Earle *Murray* was gone farre off, to proſecute his owne buſineſſe) and to lay the whole ſuſpition and imputation vpon the Queen. When hee was returned to the Court, both hee, and all thoſe of the Conſpiracy, commended Earle *Bothwell* to the Queene; and, to perſwade her to make choyce of him for her Husband, they intimated by all meanes vnto her, how hee was moſt worthy and deſeruing of her loue, both in reſpect of the eminency of his Family, his valiant Attempts againſt the *Engliſh*, and the many infallible proofes and trials of his fidelity. Moreouer, they layd open vnto her,

Earle Bothwell *commended to the Queene, to marry him.*

her, that being alone, and without any helpe, or assistance, she was not able to pacifie those troubles and tumults that were then raised, to discouer the plots that might be projected against her, and to discharge the administration and gouernement of the Kingdome. And therefore she should doe very well, to admit to the societie of her bed, & counsell, such an one, as had both will, power, and courage, to oppose them: So as, they wrought thus farre with her, that she yeelded her consent, trembling for feare, and danted with horror, for hauing beheld such direful occisions, & calling to minde what fidelitie *Bothwell* had euer shewed both to her and her Mother, and not knowing whither to haue recourse, but to her Brothers faith and loyaltie. But neuertheless, with speciall prouiso, carefully to intend the safety of her young and tender Sonne, that *Bothwell* should first cleare himselfe of the murder of the King, and be diuorc'd from his former Wife.

I am desirous here to set downe, what the Earle of *Huntley* and *Arguile*, who are the principall of all the great Nobility of *Scotland*, testified hereof, as I coppied it out of a Writing seal'd, and subscribed with their owne hands, which they sent to the Queene of *England*:

Testimony of the murder of the Lord Darley.

Because Earle Murray, *and others, to couer their owne Rebellion against the* Queene, *whose authoritie they vsurped, openly imputed her, as culpable and guiltie of her Husbands death: wee publikely protest, and testifie this which ensues. In the Moneth of December,* 1556. *the* Queene *being at* Cragmill, *the Earles of* Murray *and* Lidington *acknowledged in our presence, that* Morton, Lyndsay, *and* Rauen, *murdered* Dauy Rice, *to no other end, but to preserue the Earle of* Murray, *who the same day was to be proscrib'd. Wherefore, that they might shun the note of ingratitude, their desire was, that* Morton *and others*

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banished by reason of this murder, might be repealed. But withall they implyed, that this could not be done, except the Queene *by a Diuorce were separated from her Husband, and they promised to doe it, if wee would yeeld our consents. After that, Earle* Murray *promised to me, of* Huntley, *that I should re-enter the inheritances of my Ancestors, and haue the perpetuall loue and affection of the banished, if I did but further and procure this Diuorce. Then they went likewise to Earle* Bothwell, *to draw also from him his consent and liking: and lastly, they went to the* Queene, *whom* Lidington *in the name of all the rest, instantly requested, to release* Morton, Lindsay, *and* Rauen, *of their banishment: in very outragious termes, he exaggerated the Kings faults, and the offences hee had committed against the* Queene, *and the Realme, prouing how the* Queene, *and the State, were deepely interessed, in procuring speedily this Diuorce: because the* King *and* Queene *could not liue securely together in* Scotland. *Her Maiestie made answer: That she had rather for a time returne into* France, *while her Husband did more truely discend into the errours and vnstaidnesse of his youth, not willing any thing should be done to her Sonnes preiudice, or her owne dishonour. Whereunto* Lidington *replyed: Wee of your Councell will looke to this well-enough. But in any wise,* (said Shee) *I prohibite you to performe, any thing that may in the least manner blemish my honour, or burthen my conscience. Let things stand as they doe, till God from aboue vouchsafe some fitter remedie. I much feare, lest, that you iudge requisite for my good, may redound to my hurt. A few dayes after, when the* King *was murdered, after a most execrable manner, wee are assured, out of the inward touch and testimony of our Consciences, that the E.* Murray *and* Lidington *were the*

the Authors, Proiectors, and Plotters of this abominable Parricide, whosoeuer the other were, that put it in execution. This is that which they affirmed in writing.

Bothwell *is freed of the murder of the* King.

The Confederates aymed then at nothing else, but how to free *Bothwell* of this Parricide: Wherefore, a Session of Parliament was ordained for this onely cause, and apprehension of their bodies enioyned, of whom the least suspition was conceiued, and the Earle of *Lenox* accusing *Bothwell*, and feruently vrging, that he might come to a triall before the States were assembled, it was granted, and so command imposed vpon the Earle, to appeare within twenty dayes. But within the compasse of this time, hauing receiued no instructions nor aduertisements from the Queenes Maiestie of *England*, and in that hee could not liue without danger of his life, in a place repleniſhed with his enemies, Earle *Bothwell* made his appearance, and hauing *Morton* for his Aduocate, preuayled in the cause, and so was sent away absolu'd, by the Sentence of all the Iudges.

He marries the Queene.

This businesse being thus contriued; the other Complices so wrought, that diuers of the Nobility consented to the marriage, whereof they made a Draft in Writing, subscribed and sealed, for feare, that if it should euer be broken, *Bothwell* might haue accused them to be the Authors of all that villany. This marriage thus solemnized with Earle *Bothwell*, who was created Duke of the *Orcades*, caused euery one to surmize that the Queene was guiltie of this murder, and the Conspirators strengthened the same opinion, by Letters sent into all parts, as likewise they held assemblies at *Dundagh*, where they conspired to depose the Queene, and destroy Earle *Bothwell*. Although *Murray*, because he would not appeare to be one of this Combination, obtained leaue of the Queene to goe into

They conspire both against him, and the Queene.

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Earle Murray *retyres into* France.

Earle Bothwell *is expelled.*

The Queene empriſoned.

Queene Elizabeth *complaines.*

France, and for the remouing of all diſtruſt, hee re-commended to her Royall care, and *Bothwell's* fidelitie, all his proceedings and occaſions whatſoeuer in *Scotland*.

He was ſcarcely arriued in *France*, but they, who abſolued *Bothwell* of that crime, and gaue conſent to this marriage, tooke vp armes, as if they would haue ſeyzed on his perſon. But in effect, vnder-hand, they priuily admoniſhed him ſpeedily to with-draw himſelfe, for feare leſt being taken, he might haue reuealed the whole Complot, and that from his flight, they might draw argument and ſubiect whereof to accuſe the Queene, for the murder of the King, they ſeyzed on her perſon, and entreated her ſo ignominiouſly and diſgracefully, that although ſhee had nothing on, but a very homely night-Gowne, yet they ſo clapt her vp in priſon at *Lake-Leuin*, vnder the cuſtody of Earle *Murray's* Mother, who was *Iames* the 5. his Concubine, who further perſecuted her with moſt ſhameleſſe malice, during her reſtraint, boaſting how ſhee was lawfull Wife to *Iames* the 5. and her Sonne lawfully deſcended from him.

So ſoone as Queene ELIZABETH had certaine notice of all theſe proceedings, deteſting in her heart this vnbrideled inſolency of Subiects towards a Princeſſe, who was her Siſter, and Neighbour, terming them perfidious, rebellious, ingratefull, and cruell: Shee ſent into *Scotland*, *Nicho. Throgmorton*, to complaine hereof vnto the Confederates, and to conſult of ſome meanes how to reſtore the Queene to her former liberty and authority, for the puniſhments of the Kings murderers, and that the yong Prince, might bee ſent into *England*, rather than into *France* for his more ſecure preſeruation, and ſafety. For that which paſſed ſucceſſiuely while *Throgmorton* lay in *Scotland*, I will deliuer it faithfully, euen as I collected it out of his owne Letters, which queſtionleſſe are very ſincere, and well approued of.

Many

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Many in *Scotland* were very much incens'd against the Queene, insomuch, as they absolutely refus'd to behold her, as likewise *Villeroy*, and *De Croc*, Ambassadours for *France*. Yet the Conspirators could not agree among themselues, how to dispose of her. The Lord of *Lidington*, and some others, were of opinion, to haue her re-established in her authority vpon these conditions: That the Murderers of the KING should be punished according to the Lawes; and the young *Prince* his safety procured. That *Bothwell* should be separated from her by a firme Diuorce; and Religion established. Others perswaded a perpetuall banishment of her, eyther into *France* or *England*, so the Queene of *England*, or King of *France*, would be content to be Cautions and Pledges, that shee should transferre all the Regall authority to her Sonne, and some other great and eminent persons of the Kingdome. Againe, some would haue cited her to a peremptory triall, haue had her condemned, committed to perpetuall prison, and her Sonne crowned KING. Finally, there wanted not others, who for her summary chastisement, and punishment, would haue had her depriued both of her Royall Authority and life. And this was vsually preach'd and diuulged by *Knox*, and some other Ministers, in the open Pulpit.

They consult what is to be done with the Queene prisoner.

Throgmorton produced against this, many reasons and Arguments taken out of the holy Scriptures, touching due obedience and submission to superiour power, who retaine the Sword of Authority in their hands: arguing very strongly and constantly, *How the* Queene *was vnder no other Tribunall, but that of the heauenly IVDGE, neither could shee iuridically be constrayned to appeare and answer in the Court of any earthly Iudge. That in* Scotland *the same authoritie which the Queene had not delegated, nor made ouer to any other, was nothing, and by her reuocable.*

Throgmorton *defends the Queenes cause.*

But the *Scottish-men* replying, alledged the peculiar rites

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The Scots *maintaine the contrary out of* Buchanans *reaſons.*

and priuiledges of *Scotland*, and that in extraordinary occurrents, they might extraordinarily determine, euen as they had collected out of *Buchanans* reaſons, who, by the Earle of *Murrayes* perſwaſion, then writ that Dialogue of *the Right of Reigning or gouerning among the Scots*, who was condemned: wherein he maintained, againſt the Teſtimony of the Scottiſh Hiſtories, that the people were priuiledged, to create or depoſe their Kings. Notwithſtanding, *Throgmorton* ceaſed not importunately to ſollicite them, for the Queenes re-eſtabliſhment, and that himſelfe might viſit her, though he no ſooner opened his mouth in this poynt, but they all replyed, how this by no meanes could be granted him, becauſe herein they had denyed the *French*, and that by this meanes they would not diſtaſte the King of *France*, to pleaſe and ſatisfie the Queene of *England*, who (as often experience heretofore had taught them) laboured for nothing, but her owne peculiar intereſts, when ſhee was a meanes to driue the *French* away out of *Scotland*, and lately ſhewed her ſelfe but niggardly, and ſparing of her fauours towards the *Scottiſh* Exiles. Whereupon, he thought it fit to take heed, leſt this importunity might vrge them, to embrace the amity of the *French*, and ſhake off that of the *Engliſh*; when, according to the *French* Prouerbe, *Qui quicte la partie la perd*, He that leaues his partie, loſeth it: aduiſed and counſelled the *Engliſh* to be carefull and iealous, how they forſooke and loſt the *Scots*.

After this, by a Writing vnſeal'd, filled with variety of diſcourſe, which they committed to *Throgmortons* hands, they vowed and proteſted, that the Queene was remoued, and reſtrained to a cloſe place, for no other end, but to diſioyne her from Earle *Bothwell*, whom ſhee moſt entyrely loued, till this heat of affection, and her wrath conceyued againſt them, might ſomewhat ſlacken: and therefore they requeſted him to be ſatisfied in this Anſwer, while

ſome

some other Nobles of the Kingdome were assembled: and yet neuertheless they restrayned the Queenes liberty, euery day more and more, though with teares shee intreated them to vse her more fauourably, if not as Queene, yet as shee was a Kings Daughter, and Mother to their Prince: and so hee many times requested, that hee might goe and visit her, but all in vaine. Briefly, not to rip vp in particular all the iniuries and disgraces offered her, at last they made triall, whether by milde and faire meanes, they could induce her, freely to giue ouer the gouernement, either by reason of her weakenesse and indisposition, or in respect of the trouble and annoyance it brought her to, to reigne and gouerne: which indeed they deuised for an excuse, or else as others counselled her, with more drift and subtilty, to the end that being more weakly and gracelessely garded, shee might the more safely and easily make her escape. But when all this tooke no place, they threatned to bring her to a publique triall, to accuse her that shee had led an incontinent life, murdered the King her former Husband, and practised tyranny in violating the Lawes, and ancient priuiledges of their Country, especially those which *De R.* and *De Oisel* had enacted in the King of *France* his name, and her owne. Finally, through feare of death, and without euer hearing her answers, they forced her to seale three Patents: the first of which contained, that shee assigned the gouernement ouer to her Sonne, who was scarcely thirteene moneths old: the second comprehending, how shee constituted Earle *Murray* to be Vice-Roy, during her Sonnes minority: and the third implyed, that in case *Murray* refused this charge, shee ordayned for Rectors and Protectors of her Sonne, the Duke of *Chastelraut*, and the Earles of *Lenox*, *Arguile*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Glencarne*, and *Mar*: But then shee presently certified the Queene of *England* by *Throgmorton*, how shee had surrendred the gouernement of the Kingdome by compulsion,

They extort from their Queene a Resignation of the Gouernement.

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sion, and against her will subscribed to the Patent thereof, by *Throgmortons* perswasion, who informed her, that any Grant extorted from her during imprisonment, which causeth a iust and true feare, was inualidious, and of no effect. But I will relate these things more at large in the yeere ensuing, according as they may be faithfully extracted out of the Accusations, and Answers of parties, which were propounded at *Yorke* before the Commissioners, to whom the absolute determination of this businesse was referred.

Iames *the 6. consecrated and inaugurated* King.

Fiue dayes after this Resignation or Grant, *IAMES*, Sonne to the Queene, was consecrated and crowned King, *John Knox* then preaching publiquely, after the *Hamiltons* had protested, how it was without any manner of preiudice to the Duke of *Chastelraut*, in the right of Succession, against the Family of *Lenox*. But Queene ELIZABETH forbade *Throgmorton* to be present hereat, to the end that by the presentiall assistance of her Ambassadour, shee might not seeme to approue this vniust deposition of the Queene.

Murray *returnes into* Scotland.

Twenty dayes after, *Murray* returned out of *France* into *Scotland*, where hauing remained onely three dayes, he went to the Queene with certaine of the Conspirators in his company, he obiected vnto her many crimes, and like a religious Confessor, layd open vnto her many demonstrations, to moue her to conuert vnto God with true repentance, and to implore his mercy. Shee shewed her selfe penitent for the sinnes of her life past, confest part of them obiected to her, extenuated some, and excused others, out of humane fragility and weakenesse, but absolutely denyed the greater part, entreated him, to assume the mannaging of affaires vnder her Sonne, and coniured him to be tender of her reputation and life. Whereunto he made answer, how this lay not in his power, but shee must sue for it, from the Estates of the Kingdome, perswading

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ding her notwithstanding to obserue these things, if she regarded either her life, or honour. That she should not disturbe either the peace of the King or Kingdome: not to attempt the breaking of her imprisonment: no waves to excite the King of *France*, or Queene of *England* to any domesticall or externall Warre: no more to affect *Bothwell*, and neuer to seeke any reuenge against them that were his enemies.

Hee prescribes the Queene what shee should doe.

So soone as he was proclaimed Vice-Roy or Regent, he obliged himselfe by Writings vnder hand and seale, to attempt nothing that should concerne either war or peace, the person and marriage of the King, or the Queenes liberty, without the consent of the other Complices: and hee caused the Lord of *Lidington* to informe *Throgmorton*, that he should no more intercede for the Queene, and that both himselfe, and all others, made choyce rather to indure any thing else, than to permit that shee enioying liberty, should still retaine *Bothwell* about her, expose her Sonne to danger, the Countrey to molestation, and themselues to banishment. We well know (said hee) what you *English* men can effect by a warre, if you harrasse our frontiers and wee yours: and are well assured out of the ancient alliance they haue alwaies entertained, will neuer forsake vs. Neuertheless, hee denied *Ligneroll* the French Ambassadour Leager, to see the Queene, while *Bothwell* were taken: and contrary to that which he had promised to the King of *France*, he daily intreated this miserable Queene most rigorously, for all the good shee had formerly done him. Hitherto, so much as I could collect out of *Throgmortons* Letters.

Hee is established Regent, or Vice-Roy.

Presently after, Earle *Murray* put to death *Iohn Hepborne*, *Paris*, French *Dowglas*, and some other of *Bothwels* seruants, who assisted in the murdering of the King. But when they came to their execution, they protested before God, and his Angels, (whereunto he gaue no eare) that they

Some of the murderers of the King, are put to death.

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They acquit the Queene of all ſuſpition.

they heard Earle *Bothwell* ſay, how himſelfe and *Morton* were the originall Authors, and diſcharged the Queene of all ſuſpition. As alſo, *Bothwell* himſelfe, when hee was priſoner in *Denmarke*, had often proteſted, both during his life, and at his death, with a moſt ſincere and religious atteſtation, that ſhe was innocent thereof: and foureteene yeeres after, when *Morton* came to vndergoe his laſt puniſhment, he confeſt: that *Bothwell* ſollicited him to conſent thereunto, and he vtterly refuſing to attempt the ſame, except he firſt ſaw an expreſſe command in writing from the Queenes owne hand, he replyed, that this in no manner could be compaſſed, but excluded it muſt be without communicating of it formerly to her.

The Queene of England, *and the King of* France, *labour to procure her libertie.*

Queene ELIZABETH, and the King of *France*, being much encenſed with ſuch a precipitant depoſition, and the Conſpirators obſtinacy againſt the ſute of their Ambaſſadours, it turning as it were to the reproch of Royall Maieſty, they began to fauour the *Hamiltons*, who ſtill held the Queenes party. *Paſquier* alſo, Ambaſſador Leager for *France*, treated with Queene ELIZABETH, to procure her re-eſtabliſhment by force of Armes, who thought it moſt expedient, firſt to prohibit the *Scots* all commerce with *England* and *France*, while ſhe were deliuered: that ſo, ſome diuiſion might grow betweene the Nobility and the people, which Nobility ſeemed to conſpire againſt her. But for a while, to paſſe ouer theſe affaires of *Scotland*.

Queene Elizabeth *demands the reſtitution of Calais.*

Queſtion being then made of reſtoring the Towne of *Calais* to the *Engliſh*, according to the Treaty of *Cambray*, ſeeing the eight yeeres therein ſpecified were now expired, *Smith* being ſent into *France*, with *G. Winter*, Maſter of the Nauall Artillery, after the ſounding of a Trumpet before the gate of *Calais*, which lookes towards the Sea, with a lowd voyce, & in the *French* Tongue he demanded, that, according to the Articles of that Treaty, the Town & Territory,

Territory, with some Canons, might be surrendred into his hands: he also at the same time, drew an Act, by the hand of a publique Notary, in the presence of some Germane and Flemish Merchants, who were accidentally there at the same time, and taken for witnesses, and then he went presently to the King of *France*, at *Castell de Fossat*, where, with *Norris*, Ambassadour Leager, he made againe the same demand. The King sent to his Councellors, amongst whom *M. de l'Hospitall*, Lord Chancellor, Prolocuutor for the rest, with a graue and well compiled discourse, spake to him in this manner:

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The French maintaine, how they ought not to doe it.

That if the English *had any right to lay claime to* Calais, *they might as well challenge and pretend title to* Paris, *for by the fortune of Warre, they had conquered and lost both the one and the other. That the right they pretended to* Calais, *was but new, whereas that of the* French, *tooke beginning with the Kingdome it selfe. And though the* English *possessed it for the space of three and twenty yeeres more or lesse, yet the originall title euer remained to the King of* France, *as well as that of the Duchies of* Guyenne, *and* Normandy, *which the* English *likewise detayned for a long time, by the force of their Armes. That the* French *did not conquer, but rather recouered* Calais, *with their Armes, euen as they did their former Dukedomes. That the prescription of times, alledged by the* English, *tooke no place betweene Princes, but their right lay alwayes in their force, and in the Law of the twelue Tables: for one might eternally challenge his owne properties out of the hand of his enemie. That the* English, *though sufficiently instructed in Treaties and contractations, of affaires, were neuer mindefull of* Calais, *in the Treaty which passed not long since, at* Troyes, *though they*

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enterprised a warre principally for the recouery thereof: so as hereby they manifested, that they had giuen ouer all pretence to the same. That this Treaty of Troyes was a Renouation, by meanes whereof that of Cambray was in some poynts reformed, notwithstanding the clause of the Reseruation of rights and claimes, because that touched onely inferiour and petty Priuiledges and claimes, whereas that of Calais was held for one of the most principall, and important. That, notwithstanding any thing which Francis the Second attempted in Scotland, this would not accrue to the preiudice of Charles the Ninth. That in some speciall cases, the attempts of particular men, were subiect to the Lawes, but in the proceedings of Kings and Princes it tooke quite otherwise. That, for whatsoeuer was vndertaken in the Kingdome of Scotland, made ouer in dowry to King Francis, the Englisſh, who by surmizes aymed at his, and the Queene of Scots proiect, they should rather complaine vnto her, seeing they entred Haute de grace, which is in France, vnder a colourable pretext of the Kings preseruation, where placing a strong Garrison, and diuers warlike munitions, they held it by force of Armes, and furnished the Prince of Condé with Moneyes: for which cause, they lost the claime which they had to Calais. That GOD permitting the French to recouer the same, resolued in his heauenly prouidence, that it should be a meanes, to end the warres that had beene betweene them, in that they were seuered and separated by the Sea, which running betwixt both coasts, serues for iust borders and limits: as that Poet sings,

And the Englisſh, who are certaine Nations,
Seuer'd by Sea, from other Regions.

That

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That the Queene of England *should take a better course, in embracing Peace with the King of* France, *then by seeking to recouer* Calais. *Finally, that no man should dare to moue a word to the King, about surrendring it to the* English, *but if any were so presumptuous, that he deserued extreme punishment, yea, greater torments then those of hell fire.*

Sir Thomas Smith's answere.

Whereunto *Smith* made answere: *That it nothing concerned him, and to search out what right and title the* French *had in former times to* Calais, *one must rip vp wonderfull ancient and absolute Antiquities; but well he perceiued at last, that what the* French *laid hold of, either by right or wrong, they take it for their own, as if their claimes and titles lay in nothing but Armes, and little car'd, whether they possest a good or bad conscience. That they resolued to hold* Calais, *by that Law of Nations, which permits captiues to release themselues from their enemies, and recouer former libertie, though the other held it by vertue of a solemne Conuention and Accord. And that they cal'd not to consideration, how after the first, there was another, so as they determined in no wise to performe their promise giuen touching the restitution of* Calais. *And yet neuertheless, this was of more waight and consequence then the most important reasons that could bee alleadged. That they euer tooke to themselues, and denyed the* English, *the glory and honour which then they willingly ascribed to them, for beeing capable and apprehensiue in Contractations. That this renouation of Contract, was but a meere Antistrophe, which might iustly bee returned vpon the* French, *because the reason why the Queene redemanded* Calais, *was for nothing else, but in that the* French *attempting and innouating by their Armes in* Scotland, *had lost the right they pretended there-*

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thereunto: becauſe the Queene of England, *vpon this, ſurprized* Haure de grace: *As if in ſo doing, the one Prince minded not to yeeld one iot to the other. We,* ſaid he, *accorded a Peace at* Troyes; *which, if it induced any nouation or change, this innouation or change, cut off the right which the* Frenchhad *to* Calais, *and confirmed the* Engliſh *Title, which the* Engliſh *could not as yet iuſtly claime, becauſe the eight yeeres were not then fully expired.* Whereupon riſing, and turning toward the Councell of France; *I appeale,* ſaith hee, *to your faith and conſcience, ſeeing your ſelues were then preſent, when wee inſiſted in making a Reſeruation, by expreſſe termes, for our right to* Calais, *you labouring as much to haue it omitted, becauſe the full time was not expired: Is it not true, that the Accord was made betweene vs, with this prouiſo, and ſecret reſeruation, expreſt in this Clauſe,* All other reſpectiue intentions and demands to remaine ſolid and entire, and ſo likewiſe, the exceptions and prohibitions both of the one and the other ſide reſerued. *As for* Haure de grace, *the* Engliſh *entred it without one blowe ſtrucke, at the intreaty of the Inhabitants, and the Normane Nobility, and after a ſolemne proteſtation, that it ſhould bee kept and held to the King of* France *his behoofe, ſo as heerein they vndertooke nothing againſt him by courſe of Armes, nor innouated not any thing to the infringement of the former Treaty. As for the moneys lent to the Prince of* Condé, *and his Confederates, this was done with no other drift or intention, then to ſatisfie the* Almaine *Souldiers, who mutined for their pay, and to detaine them from foraging thoſe Countries, that liued vnder the King's obedience, which the King himſelfe acknowledged to haue beene done to a good end, and for his owne ſpeciall ſeruice.*

And

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And thus you see what Sir *Thomas Smith* vttered, with diuers such matters and allegations.

Whereupon, *Monsieur Memorancy*, beeing Constable of *France*, holding vp his Sword on high, the Scabbard whereof was set with Flowers-de-Luce, for a marke and embleme of his high Office, and vsing many words of the great warlike preparations which the *English* brought before *Haure de grace*, as if they had not only beene able to defend a small Towne, but further to haue taken in all *Normandy*.

No man (said Smith) *need to wonder, because the* Englishmen, *being a maritime Nation, vnderstanding that they haue no command ouer the Winds, who are Lords of the Sea, they prouide plentifully and in due season for time to come.*

Then the *Frenchmen* complaining, that conformable to the Accord, the Protestants that fled out of *France*, were refused to bee deliuered to the *French* Ambassadour, who had demanded them: this busines was put off till another time, and so by little and little, came to be buried in silence, the Ciuill Wars instantly renewing in *France*. And certainely, the *French-men* were resolued among themselues, neuer to deliuer vp *Calais* againe: For they no sooner tooke it, but they razed all the old Fortifications, began to make new, let houses and grounds for fiftie yeeres, and granted a perpetuitie in others.

While these matters thus passed in *France*, the Count of *Stolberg* came into *England*, from the Emperour *Maximilian*, to treate of a Marriage with the *Arch-duke*, for which end likewise, the Queenes Maiestie not long before had sent to the Emperour, the Earle of *Sussex*, with the Order of the Garter; who, for the loue he bare to his Countrey, and hatred to the Earle of *Leicester*, employed all his best endeuours

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The Earle of Sussex *is sent to the Emperour.*

endeuours, to bring to passe, that the Queene might marry with a strange Prince, and *Leicester* by this meanes to bee frustrated of his hopes; this alwaies readily comming out of his mouth, That whether in respect of honour, power, or meanes, a strange Prince was to be preferred before the most noble Subiect of the Kingdome of *England*. Which made one of a contrarie opinion, vpon a certaine time, vtter ingeniously these words in his presence: *That in marriages, wherein respect is had to three things, to honour, power, and riches, the Diuell, and the World were the Paranymphes and Solliciters.* Notwithstanding, *Leicester* conceiuing good hopes, found meanes to suborne the Lord *North*, whom the Earle of *Sussex* had chosen to accompany him in his voyage, that he should giue an eare to what he spake, cast a vigilant eye ouer what hee did, and vnder-hand to plucke backe the Marriage of the Arch-duke, as fast as hee aduanced and set it forward: letting him vnderstand, that the Queene was farre from it, whatsoeuer shew shee made of a willing mind, and what face soeuer *Sussex* set on it. As also himselfe laboured incessantly in Court, to diuert the Queene from any such resolution, he hauing the command of her eare, and to this end, he representing vnto her all the discommodities which might accrew, by her marrying out of the Realme.

Leicester *hinders it.*

Representing to her all the discommodities that might happē if she married a stranger

The Marriage of late memory that her Sister MARY *contracted with the King of* Spaine, *whereby shee cast her selfe into perpetuall sorrow, and* England *into danger of comming vnder the* Spanish seruitude. *That it was vnpossible to discouer the manners, cogitations, and inward inclinations of strangers, though these things ought to be lookt into in the person of an Husband, who by an inseparable band, is one and the same flesh. How it was an extreme misery and griefe, to be dayly conuersant with a man of strange maners and language. That*

Children

Children begotten in such marriages, tooke from their birth, I know not what kind of extraordinarie propertie and disposition. That frequent commerce with strangers, brought into the Common-wealth strange maners and fashions of life; and that Ladies Princesses, by these Marriages, in stead of augmenting their owne Kingdomes, added to those of their Husbands, submitted themselues and their Subiects to their commands, and laid open to strangers the secrets of their Kingdoms. That a strange Husband, out of the naturall affection he bare to his owne Countrey, would preferre his owne Subiects, before the Subiects of England. *That* England *had no need of the helpe of any stranger, beeing strong enough of it selfe, to defend the Kingdome, and the riches thereof, and to repell any forraigne Force. That the annexing of another Kingdome, would breed but charge, care, and trouble, and how Kingdomes, as well as humane bodies, fell many times by their owne waight. That some alleadged in scorne of the Nobility, That the Queene marrying within the Kingdome, should somewhat impaire her Royall dignity; whereas her Maiestie, who by her vertue opened a way to rise vnto this Soueraigntie, was extracted from Nobility, and that yet there are some Nobles of the Royall Blood, who are like Sprigs of the same Royall Branch or Arme, and hereupon, the Kings of* England *haue euer in their Letters, honoured Dukes, Marquisses, Earles, and Vicounts, with this Title of Cousins.*

In the meane while, the Earle of *Sussex*, taking his Iourney by *Antwerp*, *Cullen*, *Maguncе*, *Wormes*, *Spire*, *Vlme*, and *Ausberg*, came into *Austria* with a great and magnificent Traine: who beeing honourably entertained, he there remained fiue moneths at the Emperours charge, hauing daily conference with him about serious and waighty

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Articles of the marriage propounded.

matters, and touching the Marriage of *Charles*; and on a day appointed, he inueſted him with the Order of the Garter, at an Euening Prayer, refuſing, through ſcruple of conſcience, to bee preſent at the celebration of Maſſe. In this affaire, many difficulties preſented themſelues about Religion, and the Arch-duke's mayntenance, the ſtile of King, and the ſucceſſion to the Kingdome; and many points were argued both of the one ſide and the other: For the Title and Stile of King, it was accorded he ſhould haue it. For the Succeſſion, in that hee could not enioy it by the Lawes of the Kingdome, in that it was preiudiciall to the Children, hee ſhould haue the tutelage and gardianſhip of them. And that nothing more was granted to *Philip*, King of *Spaine*, when he married Queene MARY. As for his maintenance, if hee would furniſh them at his charge, whom he ſhould bring with him and retaine in the Court, the Queene, out of her Royall Dignitie, would abundantly diſcharge the reſt, yea, and that too, if he required it. But one ſcruple ſtill remained touching Religion: For the Emperour demanded, as alſo *Charles* himſelfe, that he might haue a publike Church granted him, whither hee might repaire with his Court, to the celebration of diuine Seruice according to the *Romane* forme. But this beeing refuſed, the Emperour was ſatisfied with an indifferent motion, which was, That hee might haue a peculiar place ordained within the Court for this purpoſe, where he might quietly performe his Deuotions, as euer it is permitted the Ambaſſadours of *Romane* Princes, with a prouiſo that the *Engliſh* ſhould not bee thereto admitted, and that neither hee nor his Followers did oppugne the Religion receiued in *England*, neither fauour any oppoſites. If any diſcontentment grew about Diuine Seruice, hee ſhould for a time forbeare his ordinary exerciſe, and with the Queene repaire to that celebration performed according to the Church of *England*. When this Treatie had beene ſagely

diſcuſſed

discussed of in *England*, (that I may not relate any further of the negotiation) the Queene made answere, That if shee yeelded to this, she should offend her owne Conscience, and openly violate the publike Lawes of the Kingdome, to the extreme perill both of her dignitie and safety: But if *Charles* were pleased to come into *England*, to see her, he should reape fruites worthy his trauell and paines. And thus the Emperour dismissed the Earle of *Sussex* with great honour: and the Earle of *Sussex* turning a little out of his way to see *Charles*, tooke his leaue of him at *Gratz*; and the Arch-duke *Charles*, expecting to receiue a more fauourable Answere, found himselfe frustrated of his intention. For this prosecution was giuen ouer by little and little, which made a progression of seuen whole yeeres, with diuers intercourses of honourable Embassies: it leauing notwithstanding a mutuall loue and amity betweene the Princes, so cordiall and inherent, that the Emperour alwaies crost the Popes designes against Queene ELIZABETH. Not long after, the Arch-duke married *Mary*, Daughter to *Albert* the fifth, Duke of *Bauaria*, by whom, amongst other Children, he had two Daughters, whereof the one was Queene of *Spaine*, the other of *Poland*.

Ambassadours sent from the Emperour of Muscouie.

About this time, came into *England*, from the mightie Emperour of *Russia* and *Muscouie*, *Ioh. Basilius*, *E. Twerdico*, and *T. Pogarella*, with most Martlet, Sable, and Ermyne Skins, whereof at that time, and in precedent ages, the *English* made great account, both for ornament and health: and they promised to the Queene and the *English* Nation, continuance of that affection which the Emperour had manifested, and what great studie and care he had taken for the *English*, euer since they frequented those parts, whereof you shall hereunder see the beginning.

In the yeere 1553. certaine Marchants of London, the principall of whom were *An. Iudd.* *G. Barnes*, and *A. Husay*, shaping out a course for *Cathay*, by the frozen or

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The English opened the way to goe to Ruſsia *by Sea.*

Hyperborean Sea, vnder the conduct of Sir *Henry Willowbie*, who was frozen to death in the Iourney, *Ro. Chancelour*, his Lieutenant, happily opened the paſſage of *Ruſsia*, before this time vnknowne, running vp with the Riuer of *Duina*, till he came to ſixtie degrees of the Pole Articke, where a little Monaſteerie is ſeated, conſecrated to Saint *Nicholas*. When the Emperour heard of it, he ſent for him to the *Moſco*, in Caroches made after the manner of the Countrie: he entertain'd and diſmiſt him with many graces and fauours, promiſing the *Engliſh* great immunities, if they would trade into his Empire, and reioycing that hee had met with a meanes to tranſport by Sea into *Ruſsia*, forraign merchandize, which the *Ruſsiãs* could not come by before, but with great difficultie, by the *Narue*, and the Kingdome of *Poland*, enemies. When *Robert Chancelor* vpon his returne gaue inforamtion thereof, and of what high eſteeme the Clothes of *England* were in thoſe parts, the low rate of Hempe and Flaxe, whereof they made their Cables and cordage, and what rich Skins they affoorded, theſe Marchants raiſed a ſociety or company, by Queene MARIES permiſſion, in a faire Building appropriated to their vſe, which at this day we call the *Moſcouie houſe*; and *Baſilius* granting them many immunities, they haue ſince that time, ſent euery yeere a Fleet of Ships, and maintained traffique, the which likewiſe hath been greatly augmented ſince the yeere 1569. when out of his loue to Queene ELIZABETH, he granted them, that none but the *Engliſh* of this Company, might traffique into the North part of *Ruſsia*, and they onely ſhould ſell their merchandizes throughout the whole extent of his Empire, which is large and ſpacious, as in fit place ſhall be declared.

The Company of Muſcouie Marchants.

An. Ienkinſon returned with theſe Ambaſſadours into *England*, who had obſeruantly runne ouer all this Countrey: he deſcribed the ſame in a Geographicall Map, and was the firſt man of the *Engliſh*, that croſs'd the Caſpian Sea,

Sea, and landed in the Countrey of the *Bactrians*. The Emperour committed vnto him secret matters, which hee would by no meanes communicate to any of his owne people, which was, seriously to treat with Queene ELIZABETH in his name, that she would enter into mutuall league with him offensiue, and defensiue, against all the world, and that she would send into *Russia*, Ship-wrights, Mariners, warlike Munitions, and to oblige her selfe by solemne oath, courteously to receiue him, with his Wife, and Children, if he were driuen out of his Empire, eyther by rebellious Subiects, or open enemies. And thus this Tyrant, whom no man could trust, seemed to be distrustfull euen of himselfe: and though he were somewhat moued with the short and ambiguous answer that her Maiesty returned, yet did he not giue ouer solliciting of her in these things, both by Letters and Ambassies, as hereafter shall be expressed, requesting her continually, to send him backe that same *Anthony Ienkinson*, who, as he thought, had not beene so faithfull, as in matters of so great waight was requisite.

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A secret message from the Emperour of Muscouy.

The first Moneth of this yeere, dyed *Nicholas Wotton*, a Doctor of the Ciuill Law, and Deane of the Churches of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*: a very honourable person, for his parentage, but much more for his prudence: whereof he had giuen ample testimony both within and without the Realme. For, hee was one of the Priuy-Councell to the Kings, HENRY the Eighth, and EDVVARD the Sixth; as also, to Queene MARY, and Queene ELIZABETH. Nine times he went Ambassadour to the Emperour, the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, and other Princes. Three times he was a Commissioner to make peace betweene the *English*, *French*, and *Scots*; and one of the sixteene, whom HENRY the Eighth chose for Executors of his last Will and Testament.

The death of N. Wotton:

There dyed also *El. Leyborne*, third Wife to *Thomas*, Duke

And the Duchesse of Norfolke.

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Duke of *Norfolke*, and formerly Widdow to the Lord *Dacres*, hauing brought him forth no Children. But ſhe had one by her firſt Husband, *George* the Baron: who dyed young, with a fall off of a Vauting-Horſe of wood, when he learned to vaut: and three Daughters, who were all affianced by promiſes of performance to the Dukes three Sonnes.

I told you, how *Shan O-Neale*, lawfull Sonne to *Cone-Oneale*, ſurnamed *Bacon*; that is to ſay, Lame; the mightieſt man in the North part of *Ireland*, which is called *Vlſter*, was come into *England*, and craued pardon for his offence, in the yeere 1563. When hee was returned into his Countrey, hee valiantly defended that part of *Ireland* againſt the *Scots* which landed there out of *Cantria*, and *Hebride*: and he ſlew *Io. Mac O-Neale*, his father in Law, and *Anny* his Brother, who conducted them. This victory cauſing him to be inſolent, he began to exerciſe tyranny vpon other petty Lords of *Vlſter*, not of ſo powerfull a command as himſelfe: hee burnt *Armach*, the Metropolitane City of *Ireland*, for hatred to the Arch-biſhop, draue *Mac-Guire* out of the inheritance of his Predeceſſors, pilled and ſacked *Mac-Geniſſe*, and others; and the *Engliſh*, receiuing them into their protection, hee ſpred rebellious colours againſt Queene ELIZABETH. But he preſently wrapt them vp againe, at the inſtigation of *Cuſac*, a Knight of the Order, yeelded vp his Sonne in Hoſtage, and ſubmitted himſelfe. And Queene ELIZABETH, to containe him within bounds, hauing rent and torne all thoſe Letters, by which HENRY the Eighth declared *Matthew* falſly reputed for his Sonne, to be Heire to *Cone*, ſhe reſolued to conferre vpon him, the honourable titles of Earle of *Tyrone*, and Baron of *Dungannon*, as being the vndoubted Sonne and Heire. But this man altogether impatient of repoſe, and peace, perceiuing that he was able to bring into the field a thouſand Horſe, and foure thouſand

Shan O-neale raiſeth troubles.

He rebels.

thousand foot of his Vassals, and Tenants, and he had already fiue hundred of his Guard, with barbarous pride hee reiected such titles of honour, in comparison of the name of *O-Neale*, but caused himselfe, by his owne people, to be styled King of *Vlster*: He trayned vp the Peasants to War, offered the Kingdome of *Ireland* to the Queene of *Scots*, and conceiued such a mortall hatred against the *English*, that hauing built a Castle vpon the *Lac Eaugh*, he named it *Feognegall*, which is to say, *the Hatred of the English*, and strangled some of his people, because they ate the bread of the *English*, though hee would neuer speake otherwise than honourably of the Queene.

Sir Henry Sidney armes against him.

Sir *Henry Sidney* was commanded to arme against him, and *Randolph*, a braue Conductor, sent by Sea, vpon the Northerne Frontiers of *Vlster*, to *Derry*, which is a small Episcopall See, neere to *Loygh-foy*, with a troupe of horse, and seuen hundred foot, to assaile him vpon the backe, when the Vice-Roy would come vp, and set vpon him in his Van. *Shan* vnderstanding this, hotly beleaguerd *Dundalk*, but was repelled by the Garrison, with great losse of men: as he was likewise from *Wittscastell*, where hee met with no lesse losse. Then being about with fire and sword to waste the Earledome of *Louth*, with the ouerthrow of a number of men, he was rowted by a small troupe of the *English*: when, making towards *Derry*, he forraged all the Countrey round about, and prouoked the *English* Garrison to fight, who ranging themselues in battell, fell on all sides vpon this disordered multitude, disarrayed, ouerthrew, and put them to open flight. But the victory proued but sorrowfull, by reason of a lamentable accident that light vpon *Randolph*, who was slaine fighting valiantly among the thickest of his enemies: as braue a Gentleman questionlesse, as our present times haue seene, and none euer purchased greater respect, ioyned with loue, among Souldiers, than this man had done. S. *Lo* being con-

He is discomfited.

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conſtituted in his place, he much endammaged the Rebels in that quarter, till on a day, when the Fort by an vnhappy accident, was ſet on fire, with all the Munition, and Powder, which blew vp many Souldiers. For then, embarking all his foot in ſhipping, and with a wing of Horſe, commanded by one *Haruey*, he paſt through the middeſt of his enemies, who continually galled him, and, by a way of foure dayes iourney, went to the Lord Deputy, who, to honour *Randolphs* vertue, ſolemnized his Obſequies, and was himſelfe in mourning.

Shan *reaßumes courage.*

And raiſing forces preſently to goe into *Vlſter*, *Shan* retyred with his men into the Woods and Forreſts, re-amaſſing againe together at ſeuerall times, here and there, the reſt of his men, about *Clogner*, and *Caſtell Salmon*, belonging to *Turlogh-Leinich*, who then had left it. But when the Lord Deputy had conſtituted Garriſons, ſettled *Odonel* againe in his State, and was returned to appeaſe the differences between the Earles of *Ormond* and *Deſmond*, who in an ill time bandied one againſt another, *Shan* re-aſſuming courage, after he had ſpoyled and ranged farre vp into the Countrey, he againe beſieged *Dundalch*, which he was preſently conſtrained to giue ouer with great loſſe, and ſhame, many of his men being ſlaine: inſomuch, that enraged with fury and madneſſe, he practiſed moſt barbarous cruelty againſt them: for, many had forſaken him, and he perceiuing that his number was greatly diminiſhed, (for beſides thoſe that left him, he loſt a thouſand in fight) and how the paſſages were ſtopped, and all places of retreat ſeyzed vpon by the *Engliſh*, he reſolued to proſtitute himſelfe at the Deputies feet, and to craue pardon with an Halter about his necke. But, being diſſwaded by his Secretary, and firſt to try the amity of the *Scots* of *Hebrides*, who were returned into *Clande-boy*, from whence he had formerly driuen them, and were there re-entred into an hot warre, vnder the conduct of *A. Oge*; which is to ſay, the

He vſeth cruelty to his men.

He meanes to yeeld.

1567.

the youngeſt, and *M. Gilleſpie*, whoſe Brethren, *Anne*, and *Ioh. O-Neale*, himſelfe had ſlaine in fight: he firſt ſent vnto them, their Brother *Surley-boy*, that is to ſay, *Surley* the Redde, to recouer their fauour, and then went to them himſelfe, with the Wife of *Odonel*, whom he had ſtolne away. They, boyling with choller, to bee reuenged for their brethren, and couſins, whom he had ſlaine, entertayned him but with feigned courteſie, but preſently leading him into their Tent, in drinking they quarrelled with him, vpon ſome obſcene ſpeeches he vſed of their Mother, and ſo falling vpon him with their naked ſwords, ſlew both himſelfe, and many others of his company.

He is ſlaine.

And thus you may ſee, what a bloudy end this *Shan* came to, in the middeſt of *Iune*, after he had taken away all gouernement from his Father, and life from his baſtard-Brother. A man wonderfully polluted with Homicides, and Adulteries, a great gourmand, and an infamous drunkard, who, to refreſh his body inflamed with too-much Wine, and Vſquebagh, he was faine to bury himſelfe often-times in ground, vp to the chin. He left behinde him, *Henry*, and *Shan*, his Sonnes, that he had by his Wife, and many others whom he begot on the Wife of *Odonel*, & his other Concubines. His poſſeſſions and goods were confiſcated by the Parliament of the Kingdome of *Ireland*, and *Turlogh-Leinich*, the mightieſt man of the Family of *O-Neale*, and of a ſtayed ſpirit, proclaimed *O-Neale*, by the Queenes permiſſion, and the peoples election. Neuertheleſſe, the Queen, for an oppoſite to him, if he ſhould chance to exceed the bounds of his duety, receiued to grace *Hugon*, Nephew to *Shan*, by reaſon of *Matthew* his Brother, who was commonly called the Baron of *Dungannon*, a young man then of ſmall note, and yet afterwards he proued the Tempeſt, yea the very Plague and Peſtilence of his Countrey.

Hugon, *who was afterwards Baron of Dungannon.*

Thus peace was concluded vpon *Vlſter*. But in the meane

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Troubles in Munster.

while, new troubles grew in *Munster*, through the debate and secret grudgings, about their seuerall limits and borders, which fell out betweene the Earles of *Ormond* and *Desmond*, so as they came to hand-blowes neere to *Dromell*, and were both summoned into *England*, to plead their causes before the Qu. Priuy-Councell. But they, the matter much encombred, sent them backe to the Vice-Roy in *Ireland*, where they might haue both their titles and testimonies neere at hand. Both of them being equall in the number of warlike subiects, in courage, and friends at Court, contemning the decision of Lawes, they resolued to end their suite by the sword. The Vice-Roy hindred it as much as he could, both by his authority and armes. But *Ormond*, who would be thought to haue the best cause, so wrought, that the Vice-Roy was blamed for bearing too-much with *Desmond*, and commanded to seyze his person, which he did, when hee least thought of it, and together with himselfe, he tooke *Ioh. Desmond*, his Vnkle by the Fathers side, neere to *Kilmalec*, and so, he sent them both into *England*, where, they had a strong Guard set about them.

THE

THE ELEVENTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1568.

WHen *Tho. Harding*, *N. Sanders*, and *T. P.* Diuines, and Fugitiues out of *England*, boldly exercised the Episcopall Authority they had lately receiued from the Pope:

The Papists absolue many.

IN iurisdiction of conscience, to absolue all those English that would returne into the bosome of the Romane Church, to dispence in cases of irregularity, except in poynts proceeding from voluntary manslaughter, or growne to a contentious iurisdiction, and of irregularities, by reason of Heresie, so the absolued abstaine for three yeeres, from ministring at the Altar:

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The Innouators shew themselues.

On the other side, it hapned, that *Colman*, *Button*, *Hallingham*, *Benson*, and some others, who with ardent zeale professed the more pure Religion, reprehended whatsoeuer was performed without authority out of the holy Scriptures, and, whether transported with a desire of purer doctrine, of nouelty, or of dissentions, but, in the open view of all men, they questioned the Discipline of the *English* Church, authorized and receiued the *Liturgie*, and vocation of Bishops, expresly condemning them, as senting too strongly of the Romane Church, with which to hold any thing in common, they daily preached to be a singular impiety, vsing all meanes and endeuour that matters in the *English* Church might be reformed, according to the forme of *Geneua*. And, although the Queene commanded them to be clapt vp in prisons, yet they had an incredible number of Followers, who were presently branded with that odious style of Puritans: And in all places they encreased, out of a wilfull obstinacy, the imprudence of the Bishops, and the secret fauours of some of the Nobilitie, who barked at, and maligned the riches of the Church.

Puritans.

Second ciuill warre in France.

And, when some *French* likewise laboured after reformation of Religion, and fearing lest the Papists would enter into league against them, they repayred to the King with armes in hand, by reason of the iust feare they stood in, and in this manner presented vnto him a Supplication. A second ciuill warre hapned; for cessation whereof, the Queene commanded her Ambassadour *Norris*, to sollicite the King; and so, hereupon, a Peace was agreed vpon, but, questionlesse hollow, and full of deceit, and stratagem. At the same time, the Queene, mother to the King of *France*, shewing great affability and grace, both to the Ambassadour himselfe, and diuers of the *English*, couertly shee vsed some speech, as pretending to treat of other affaires, that shee was desirous to marry *Henry*, Duke of *Anjou*, her

her Sonne, to Queene ELIZABETH, who was hardly seuenteene yeeres old, to diuert her, as diuers supposed, from assisting the Protestants of *France*, in the third Ciuill-Warre, which shee plotted presently to be set on foote.

But then in *Spaine*, *Man*, the *English* Ambassadour, was disgracefully entreated: For, it beeing imputed to him, that he had spoken vnreuerently of the Pope, hee was prohibited the Court, afterwards banisht from *Madril*, to a little Village among booriſh and rusticall people; he is forced to heare *Masse*, and the exercise of his owne Religion forbidden him. Wherein, I am not able to say whether the *Spaniards* shewed greater hatred to Queene ELIZABETH, or to Religion, considering that at the same time, shee vsed all manner of humanity to *Guzman*, the *Spanish* Ambassadour in *England*, permitting him the exercise of his religion: Her Maiestie was wonderfully moued with this Insult, esteeming it offered to her own person, in that they vsed her Ambassadour so, as likewise for the iniurie which was done at the same instant to one *Iohn Hawkins*. This man went to traffique at the Port of *S. Iohn de Vlua*, within the Mexican Gulfe, hauing fiue Ships laden with merchandize, and some Negro slaues, of whom the *English* then made ordinary sale, hauing learn'd it of the *Spaniards*: but I know not with what honour they might so doe. The day after his arriuall, came in also the King of *Spaine*'s Fleet, which (because he would not violate the Peace) he suffered peaceably to enter into the Port, though he might haue hindred it, obtayning first a firme promise of security for himselfe and his people, vpon certaine prouisoes and conditions. The *Spaniards* thus entered, scorning to haue conditions imposed vpon them in their owne Proprieties, obserued a fit time, and falling vpon the *English*, slew many of them, seized on three of their Ships, and made pillage of the goods; a victory notwithstauding that cost themselues much blood. This treacherous Action, caused the

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The Duke of Aniou, *commended to* Queene Elizabeth. *for an Husband.*

The English Ambassador disgracefully vsed in Spaine.

Hawkins *ill intreated by the Spaniards in* America.

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the Souldiers and Sea-men of *England* to murmur, vrging them to call out for warre against the *Spaniard*, and dayly exclaiming, how they were breakers of Peace and Accord, becauſe it was agreed vpon between the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and HENRY the Eighth, that commerce ſhould bee free betweene their Subiects, in all and each of their Kingdomes and Dominions, as alſo in the Ilands, not excepting ſo much as *America*, which then appertayned to *Charles*.

The Queene of Scots eſcapes out of priſon.

About the ſame time, the ſecond day of *May*, the priſoner Queene at *Lake-Leuin*, made an eſcape out of priſon, and retired to *Hamilton* Caſtle, by meanes of *George Dowglaſſe*, to whoſe Brother ſhee was committed in guard; where, vpon the teſtimonies of *R. Meluin* and others, and with an vnanimous conſent of all the Nobles, who flockt thither in great numbers, Sentence definitiue was vttered, That the Grant or Reſignation, extorted by meere feare from the priſoner Queene, was void from the beginning: and the Queene her ſelfe beeing preſent, tooke a ſolemne Oath, that it was extorted and forced from her. By meanes whereof, in two dayes ſuch multitudes of men repayred to her out of all parts, as ſhe raiſed an Army of ſixe thouſand braue Souldiers, who notwithſtanding, when they came to ioyne battell with *Murray*, & fighting rather hare-braindly, then with wit or diſcretion, they were ſoone diſcomfited. This timorous Lady, beeing daunted with that hard ſucceſſe, betooke her ſelfe to flight, and rode the ſame day threeſcore miles; when comming by night to *Maxwel's* houſe, Baron of *Heris*, ſhe had rather expoſe herſelfe to the mercy of the Sea, and rely vpon Queen ELIZABETHS Protection, than vpon the fidelity of her Subiects: But yet before her embarking, ſhee ſent vnto her, *Iohn Beton*, with a Diamond that Queen ELIZABETH had formerly giuen her for a gage of their mutuall loue and amitie, to the end to aduertiſe her, that ſhee meant to come into *England*,

She is vanquiſhed.

land, and demand ſuccour of her, if her owne Subiects any longer purſued her by courſe of Warre. Queene ELIZABETH promiſed her all the kindneſſe and loue of a Royall Siſter: but ſhe not ſtaying the returne of the Meſſenger, committed her ſelfe to a ſmall Veſſell, againſt the aduice and counſell of her friends, and ſo the ſeuenteenth of *May*, with the Barons, *Heris* and *Flemming*, and ſome fewe others, came to *Werrington* in *Cumberland*, neere to the mouth of the Riuer *Derwenton*: and the ſame day ſhee wrote to Queene ELIZABETH a Letter in *French*, the principall heads whereof, I thinke good to ſet downe, euen as I extracted them out of the originall Copie it ſelfe, which comprehend a Relation of that which paſſed againſt her in *Scotland*, more at large then what before I haue deliuered.

She writes to Qu. Elizab.

MY moſt deare Siſter, you very wel vnderſtand, how ſome of my Subiects, whom I haue raiſed to ſoueraigne degrees of honor, haue conſpired to ſuppreſſe and impriſon both mee and my Husband: as alſo, that when by force of Armes I had expelled them out of my Kingdome, I receiued them againe into grace, at your entreatie; notwithſtanding all this, they violently entred into my Chamber, and though I was great with Child, cruelly ſlew mine owne ſeruant in my preſence, and ſhut vp my ſelfe vnder guard and cloſe keeping. When I pardoned them of this crime, then preſently they perpetrate another, the which, though it were plotted by them, and had obliged themſelues to the execution thereof, by ſeal'd writings, ſubſcribed with their owne hands, yet they imputed it to mee, and were ready with armed power to ſeize vpon me. But beeing confident in mine owne innocence, for the ſparing of blood, I was content to yeeld my ſelfe vnto them: Foorthwith they committed mee to priſon, beeing depriued of all my ſeruants,

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ſeruants, except two wayting-Maides, a Cooke, and a Phiſician; enforcing me, by menacings and terrors of death, to reſigne ouer the gouernment of the Kingdome, refuſing to heare either me or my Attourneys, in a Conuention of the Eſtates, ſummon'd by their owne authority onely, ſtript off all my goods, and denyed the meanes to ſpeake with any. After this, by Gods direction, I vſed a courſe to eſcape this impriſonment, and beeing aſſiſted with the whole Flowre of the Nobilitie, who cheerefully made recourſe vnto me out of all parts, I put mine enemies in minde of their duety, and of the fidelity they had ſworne vnto me, offered them pardon, tooke order that each partie might bee heard in the Conuention of the Eſtates, to the end the Common-wealth might no longer bee rackt and tormented with inteſtine miſchiefes; and for this effect, I ſent towards them two Meſſengers: But they impriſoned both of them, proclaimed them Traytors that aſſiſted me, and ordayned that they ſhould preſently forſake me. I entreated them vnder publike warrant and ſafety, to negotiate with the Baron of Boyd, for the according of theſe differences: but in this motion they alſo refuſed me. Neuertheleſſe, I conceiued ſome hope, that they might bee brought vnder obedience by your procurements: but when I ſaw that I muſt either dye, or vndergoe another impriſonment, I thought to goe to Dunbritton, and was onward in my way: They oppoſed and way-laid me, beat and ouerthrew my people, my ſelfe beeing conſtrained to flie. Then I retired to the Baron of Heris, and with him repayred into your Kingdome, relying on your Princely and Royall affection, that you will ayde me in my need, and by your example inuite others thereunto. Wherefore, I requeſt you in all kinde affection, that beeing ſo deepely plunged in many diſtreſſes, as at this inſtant I am, you will cauſe mee to be conducted out of hand to

your

your presence, and if you be pleased to commiserate my case, I will at large informe you of all. God grant you a long and happy life, and me the patience to attend that comfort I hope for from Him, by your gracious meanes, and dayly Prayer for, with all my heart.

Queene ELIZABETH returning her great comfort in Letters, and by the mouth of *Francis Knowles*, and others, promised her assistance, according to the equitie of her cause: but neuertheless she refused her accesse, because shee was commonly taxed with many grosse crimes, and commanded she should be conuayed to *Carlile*, where shee might remaine in greatest security, if her Aduersaries attempted any thing against her, by *Lowder*, Lieutenant Gouernour of the place, and the Gentlemen of the Couutrey. Hauing receiued this answere and refusall, she once againe made her request by Letters, and by the mouth of *Maxwell*, Baron of *Heris*, to this effect:

She Writes againe.

THat *she would admit her in her own presence, to report the iniuries and indignities had been offered her, and to answer those crimes laid to her charge: Intimating to her Maiesty, how it was iust that* Qu. ELIZABETH, *who was so neere vnto her in blood, should giue eare to her in her banishment, and to re-establish her in her Kingdome, against those, who hauing beene expelled for their offences committed against her, by Queene* ELIZABETHS *intercession they were againe restored, and to her owne finall ruine, if the storme were not out of hand preuented. Wherefore shee requested her, that either shee might bee admitted to speake personally to her, and to grant her some ayde, or else to permit and be pleased that she might presently depart out of* England, *to seeke for succour some where else, and that she might not be detained any longer time*

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in the Castle of Carlile, *in that shee came voluntarily into* England, *vpon the confidence shee had in the loue and affection which had so many times beene honourably promised her, by Messengers, Letters, and Remembrances.*

Queene Elizabeth pitties her.

These Letters, and *Heris* words, seemed (for who can diue into the secret thoughts of Princes? and wise men lay them vp in their hearts) to moue Queene ELIZABETH to compassion of a Princesse, her neere Kinswoman, and so deepely distressed, who hauing been surprized by her own Subiects with force, and Armes, committed to prison, brought to extreme danger of her life, condemned, and depriued of her Kingdome, without beeing heard, (although no Iudgement can passe vpon a priuate man, without former hearing) shee was retyred into *England* vnto her, with infallible hopes of finding ayd and succour. And the free offer which this vnfortunate Queene made, to pleade her owne cause in her presence; the charge she tooke vpon her, to conuince her Aduersaries of the same malefacts whereof they accused her, (though most innocent) were to her hopefull and encouraging motiues thereunto.

The priuy Counsell consult of it.

What pitty and commiseration soeuer Queen ELIZABETH had of her, the Councell of *England* deliberated grauely and aduisedly, what in this case was to bee done. They fear'd, that if shee remained any longer in *England*, hauing a perswasiue and mouing tongue, she might drawe many to her partie, who fauoured the Title which she pretended to the Crowne of *England*, who might peraduenture inflame her ambition, and attempt all meanes to maintaine her claime. That forraigne Ambassadours would be present at her Consultations, and the *Scots* would not in this case forsake her, seeing so rich a booty to offer it selfe. Besides, they considered, that the fidelity of her Guard might be doubtfull; and, if shee chanc'd to dye in *England*, though

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though it were of some infirmity or sickneſſe, many ſlanders might be raiſ'd, and ſo the QVEENE ſhould be dayly encumbred with new cares. If ſhe were ſent into *France*, the *Guizes*, her Couſins, would againe ſet on foot the Title whereby ſhe laid claime to the Crowne of *England*. That, what opinion ſoeuer was conceiued of her, ſhe might preuaile greatly in *England*, with ſome, for pretext of Religion, with others, for the probability of her right, as before I told you, and with the moſt part of men, out of their precipitate affection of Nouelties. That the Amity betweene *England* and *Scotland*, ſo behoofefull and beneficiall, would be broken, and the ancient Allyance between *Scotland* and *France* renewed, which would then bee more dangerous then heretofore, becauſe the *Burgundians*, who had no infallible friends but the *Scots*, ſhould bee linckt to the *Engliſh* by a firme Alliance. If ſhee were ſent backe into *Scotland*, thoſe that tooke with the *Engliſh* partie, ſhould thereupon be baniſht, and that of *France* raiſ'd to the publike adminiſtration of gouernment of Affaires, the young Prince expoſed to danger, Religion chang'd, the *French*, and other ſtrangers ſtill retained in *Scotland*, *Ireland* would bee more grieuouſly moleſted by the *Scots* of *Hebrides*, and her ſelfe expoſed to the perill of life within her owne Kingdome. Wherefore the greater part ioyned in opinion, that ſhee was to be retained in *England*, as beeing taken by the Law of Armes, and not to bee releaſt, till ſhee had giuen ouer her preſent claime to the Crowne of *England*, which ſhee tooke vpon her, and anſwered for the death of the Lord *Darley* her husband, who was a naturall Subiect of *England*. For the Counteſſe of *Lenox*, mother to the Lord *Darley*, blubbered all ouer with teares, had, not long before, prefer'd a Petition about her and her husband, to the Queene of *England*, with ſupplication that ſhe might be brought to Iudgement for the murder of her Sonne. But the Queene graciouſly comforting her, admoniſht her, that ſhe would

The Councell reſolues ſhe ſhould be retained in England.

The Counteſſe of Lenox complaines of her.

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not accuſe ſo great a Princeſſe, who was her very neere Kinſwoman, of a crime which could not be prooued by any euident teſtimonies: intimating vnto her, how the times were bad and wicked, and hatred blind, imputing offences oftentimes to the Innocent.

The Baron of Heris intereeds for her.

On the contrary, the Baron of *Heris* was a ſuiter to Qu. ELIZABETH, that ſhe would ſuddenly beleeue nothing to the preiudice of truth, and that Earle *Murray* might not hurrie vp Aſſemblies of Parliament in *Scotland*, to the iniurie and wrong of the Queene, who was expelled, and the abſolute ruine of her good Subiects. But though the Queene of *England* much preſſed this point, Earle *Murray*, the Vice-Roy, ſummoned them ſtill in the Kings name, baniſhed ſome that remained yet behind of her partialitie, and vented the malice hee bare to them, vpon their demeanes and houſes. The Queene of *England* beeing herewith mightily incenſ'd, certified him in expreſſe termes by *Mildemay*, that ſhe could not endure, for a moſt pernicious Preſident to Kings, that the Royall Authoritie of ſacred Maieſtie, ſhould bee eſteemed vile and abiect amongſt the Subiects, and trampled vnder-foot at the will and pleaſure of men turbulent and factious. That howſoeuer they forgot the duety and fidelitie which Subiects owe to their Prince, yet for her part, ſhee could not bee vnmindfull of that pitty and Commiſeration, which obliged her to a Siſter, and a neighbour Qu. Wherefore ſhe wiſht him either to come in perſon, or to ſubſtitute vnderſtanding men, to anſwere thoſe complaints which the Queene of *Scots* would exhibit againſt him and his Confederates, and to yeeld ſome iuſt cauſe and reaſon of his depoſing her. If not, that herſelfe would preſently ſet her at liberty, and employ all her forces for her re-eſtabliſhment. And ſo likewiſe ſhe admoniſhed him, not to ſell her precious habits and ornaments, though the States of the Kingdome had permitted him.

Earle Murray is commanded to yeeld a reaſon of the Queenes depoſition.

Earle

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Earle *Murray* obeyed: there being no other way, to call in queſtion his adminiſtration and gouernement, but thoſe that came out of *England*, and the great Men of the Kingdome refuſing any manner of deputation. Wherefore, he came himſelfe in perſon to the City of *Yorke*, a place appointed for this proceeding, with ſeuen of his moſt inward friends, being Deputies for the Infant-King; that is to ſay, the Earle of *Morton*, the Biſhop of *Orcades*, the Gouernour of *Dunfermlin*, the Baron of *Lindſay*, *Io. Macgill*, and *Henry Barneuay*, accompanied with the Earle of *Lidington*, whom *Murray* drew thither with faire promiſes, in that he durſt not leaue him behinde in the Kingdome, and *George Buchanan*, who was wholly at his deuotion and becke. And the very ſame day came thither the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earle of *Suſſex*, who not long before was conſtituted Preſident of the North, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, a Knight, and one of the Priuy-Councell, who were nominated, to heare, and examine the cauſe, why the Queene of *Scots* was depoſed. The Biſhop of *Roſſe*, the Barons of *Leuingſtone*, and of *Boyd*, the Gouernour of *Kenwinin*, *Iohn Gordon*, and *Iohn Corburne*, appeared there for the Queene of *Scots*, who was wonderfully wroth, that the Queene of *England* would neither ſee nor heare her, hauing commanded that her owne Subiects ſhould ſtand vp againſt her before the Commiſſaries, in that being an abſolute Princeſſe, ſhe ſtood not bound, except ſhe liſted, to make anſwer to her Subiects accuſations, and obiections.

Deputies for the King of Scots:

For the Qu. of Scots.

Being aſſembled on the ſeuenth of October, and read the Commiſſions, both of the one ſide, and the other, *Lidington*, who was there preſent, turning towards the *Scots*, admoniſhed them, with a marueilous free and plaine diſcourſe:

Lidingtons *declaration to the Scots.*

That ſeeing it ſeemed, the Queene *of* England *pretended no other thing by the authority ſhee had conferred*

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vpon the Commissaries, but to staine the honour, and impaire the reputation of the Queene, *the Kings Mother, and to interpose herein her owne censure, as an honourable Arbitratrix: but that they should weigh and well consider, what a perill they exposed themselues vnto, and how they were like to purchase not onely the hatred of the* Scots, *who continued deuoted and affected to the* Queene, *but further the ill-will of other Christian Princes, and of such affinitie as shee had in France, in criminally accusing and hazarding her reputation, in such a publique and iuridicall Tryall before the* Englisſh, *sworne enemies to the Scottish name; and what account could they giue to the King of such a presumptuous and insolent accusation, which could not but redound to the preiudice of* Scotland, *when, being of riper yeeres, hee shall repute both himselfe, his Mother, and countrey hereby dishonoured? And therefore hee thought it very fitting, to let fall this odious accusation of so great a Princesse, except the* Queene *of* England *had contracted with them a mutuall League, offensiue, and defensiue, against those that should in case molest or trouble them. And thus much* (said hee) *out of his loyaltie and dutie, a Scottish Secretarie hath aduertised you of.* Hereupon, looking vpon one another, they remained not vttering one word.

The protestation of the Queene of Scots Deputies.

The Queene of *Scots* Deputies, who had the honour to speake first, before the taking of their Oath, protested, That though the Queene of *Scots* thought good, to haue the cause betweene her Maiesty and her disloyall Subiects, handled before the *Englisſh*, yet neuertheleſſe they conceiued not themselues herein to be vnder the command of any but their owne Princesse, seeing Shee was free and absolute, and ought neither faith nor homage to any other.

The

The *Engliſh*, in like manner, proteſted, How they accepted not of this proteſtation, to the preiudice of any right or prerogatiue, which the Kings of *England* haue heretofore challenged, as Soueraigne Lords of the Kingdome of *Scotland*.

The next day, the Queene of *Scots* Deputies put in their Declaration in writing:

A declaration for the Queene.

HOw *the Earles of* Morton, Mar, *and* Glencarne, *the Barons of* Hume, Lindſay, Reuthen, *and* Sempil, *and others, had rayſed an Armie in the Kings name, againſt the Queene her ſelfe, taken her, vſed her diſgracefully, and clapt her vp in priſon, at Lake-Leuin: They broke open the Mint, carried away all ſorts of Coyne, Gold, and Siluer, Money or no Money, crowned the King her Sonne, who was yet but an Infant: and the Earle of* Murray, *vnder the title of Vice-Roy or Regent, vſurped his power and authority, and ſeyzed on all the wealth, munition, and reuenewes of the Kingdome. Afterwards, they alledged, that the Queene being eſcaped out of Priſon, after ſhee had beene there reſtrayned for the ſpace of tenne dayes, denounced publiquely vpon her oath, That whatſoeuer ſhee had yeelded vnto during her impriſonment, was extorted from her againſt her will, by force, threats, and terrour of death. Notwithſtanding, to prouide for common tranquillitie, ſhee had giuen authoritie to the Earles of* Argathel, Eglenton, Caſſil, *and* Rothſay, *to accord all differences with her Aduerſaries, who, for all this, forbare not with a ſtrong and armed hand to ſeyze on her perſon, as ſhee retyred by priuy wayes towards* Dunbritton: *they ſlew the moſt of her loyall Subiects, and, for thoſe remayning, ſome they carried away priſoners, others they baniſhed, and all this for nothing, but onely in that they had faithfully ſerued*

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ued their Princesse: And that for these inhumane outrages, shee was constrained to repaire into England, *to implore of* Queene ELIZABETH *that ayd and succour, which shee had oftentimes promised her, that so shee might be restored to her Countrie and former dignitie.*

A few dayes after, Earle *Murray*, Vice-Roy, and the Deputies for the Infant-King, (for so they were nominated) put in their Answer: which was;

The answer of the Kings Deputies.

That Lord Darley, *the Kings Father, beeing slaine, Earle* Bothwell, *who was reputed the author of this Murder, had so bewitched the Queenes heart, as hee carried her away by force, remoued her to* Dunbar, *and, after a separation from his owne Wife, married her. That the Nobles of the Kingdome, being moued herewith, they thought they could not discharge a better office, than to punish* Bothwell, *the author of this assassinate: for, all ouer the Country, it was imputed to a generall conspiracy among the principall of the Nobilitie, to restore the Queene to her former libertie, to dissolue this vniust marriage, and to prouide for the young Kings safetie, and the quiet and tranquillitie of the Kingdome. When the matter was so exasperated, as they were readie to come to hand-blowes, the Queene caused* Bothwell *to retire out of the Realme; against the Nobilitie shee thundred out such threats, and threatned such reuenge, as they were enforced to commit her to a guard, while they could finde out, and execute* Bothwell. *But shee, weary of reigning with so infinite many disturbances, had willingly resigned, and transferred ouer the Kingdome to her Sonne, constituting the Earle of* Murray *for Vice-Roy. That hereupon, her Sonne was solemnely consecrated*

crated and crowned King, all confirmed and ratified in Parliament, by the States of the Kingdome. That, by reason of Iuſtice, which was equally miniſtred, the Scottiſh *Common-wealth had recouered ſome vigour, and ſtrength, while ſome particulars, who could not endure the publique repoſe, had, contrary to their oath, cauteloufly releaſed the Queene out of ſafe cuſtodie, and taken vp Armes, violating herein the fidelitie they owe to their King, and though (thankes be to GOD) they obtayned victory ouer them, yet notwithſtanding, with an hoſtile and diſloyall heart, they preſumptuouſly enterprized againſt their Countrey and Prince: and therefore, the Royall Authoritie muſt needes conformably haue beene ſuppreſt by ſuch tumultuous and mutinous Subiects.*

After a reiteration of the former proteſt, the Queene of *Scots* Deputies replyed in theſe words:

The Queens Reply.

THat what Earle Murray *and his Complices alledged, for hauing taken vp Armes againſt the Queene, in that* Bothwell, *whom they accuſed of killing the KING, was in great grace and authoritie about her, could not iuſtly brand them with the marke of diſloyall Subiects, ſeeing there was no euident proofe of his murdering the King; but contrariwiſe, by ſentence of the Peeres, hee was cleared thereof, and this abſolution confirmed by Act of Parliament, with their very approbation and conſent, who at this time accuſe him, and that then perſwaded the Queene to take him for her Husband, as beeing more ſufficient than all others, to ſway and gouerne the Kingdome: they obliged vnto him their fidelitie in Writing, and not ſo much as in words, diſallowed of this marriage, while they had drawne to their partie*

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the Captaine or Gouernour of the Caſtle, and the Maior of Edenborrough. *For, then in the night, which was a very vnfit ſeaſon, in hoſtile manner they aſſayled the Caſtle of* Bothwick, *where the Queene was, and ſhee, retyring her ſelfe, by the fauour of the night, they preſently rayſing an Armie, vnder pretext of her defence, went themſelues into the field, way-layde her, as ſhee went to* Edenborrough, *and aduertized her, by* Grange, *whom they ſent to her, that ſhee ſhould ſhake off* Bothwell, *while hee had appeared in iudgement, and cleared himſelfe: all which ſhee willingly did, to auoid effuſion of bloud. But* Grange, *vnder-hand, admoniſhed* Bothwell *to with-draw himſelfe, promiſing him with oath, that no bodie ſhould purſue him; ſo as hee made away with their owne conſent, and (beeing minded) they might eaſily haue taken him afterwards. But, when they had once gotten the Queene into their hands, for the mannaging of their ambitious deſignes, they made no great reckoning of him: and it is no great wonder, when they beeing the Queenes Subiects, and hauing vowed fidelity to her, ſhee bitterly rebuked them, hauing ſo baſely and vnworthily entreated her Royall Maieſty. Shee freely referred the matter to the whole Eſtates of the Kingdome, and made a declaration thereof vnto them, by* Lidington *her Secretary. But, they would not ſo much as giue any eare vnto it, but conueyed her away ſecretly by night, and empriſoned her at* Lake-Leuin. *In ſaying, that wearied with her Reigne, ſhee reſigned and gaue ouer the Kingdome, is a moſt palpable inuention, becauſe ſhee is neither too-much broken with yeeres, nor of ſuch a feeble and weake conſtitution, but equally vigorous both in bodie and minde, to mannage weightie and great affaires: but moſt certaine it is, that the Earles of* Athol, Tubardine, *and* Lidington, *who were alſo of her*

her Councell, aduized her to seale the drafts of Resignation, to auoyd death, where-with shee was daily threatned: and this was not done with any preiudice eyther to her selfe, or her Heires, because shee was then a prisoner, and imprisonment is a iust feare; *for, according to the opinion of Ciuilians,* a promise made by a prisoner, is of no worth. *Hereunto also she was perswaded by* Throgmorton, *who presented vnto her a draft written with his owne hand; whom shee entreated to informe the Queene of* England, *that shee did it constrained, and contrary to her will. That when* Lindsay *presented to her the Patents, for her to subscribe vnto, hee terrified her with feare and horrour of death, and so by this meanes, enforced her to seale with weeping eyes, not hauing so much as read the Contents. That the Lord of the Castle of* Lake-Leuin, *vnderstanding, and seeing apparantly, that shee had subscribed and sealed against her will, hee would not set to his hand, as also this Resignation was most vniust, because shee had nothing hereby assigned her for her owne behoofe and entertainement, neither grant of libertie, nor assurance of life. That whosoeuer will but equally ballance things, hee cannot but iudge this, to be a weake infringement of Royall Authoritie; because, when the Queene was at libertie, in the presence of many Nobles of the Kingdome, shee declared how shee had done it out of meere constraint. And what they boast to haue effected by Act of Parliament, can no wayes preiudice her Royall prerogatiue, because in this tumultuarie Parliament, there were present but foure Earles, one Bishop, two Abbots, and sixe Barons, though aboue an hundred, betweene Earles, Bishops, and Barons, haue a voyce in the Parliament of* Scotland: *and yet of so small a number, some protested, that what was done, should not redound to the preiudice of the Queene*

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or her Succeſſours, becauſe ſhee was a priſoner. That the Ambaſſadours of France *and* England, *could neuer be certified from her, though they had many times inſtantly vrged it, whether ſhe voluntarily reſigned ouer the Kingdome or no. And ſo farre the Commonwealth hath beene from beeing iuſtly gouerned, vnder the vſurping Vice-Roy; that on the contrary, all manner of impieties neuer bare a greater ſway: for hee hath beene ſeene to demoliſh ſacred buildings, to ruine illuſtrious Families, and to afflict and grinde the faces of the miſerable poore. And therefore, they humbly entreated the Queens Maieſtie of* England, *to be aſſiſting with her beſt fauour, counſell, and ayde, to the Queene her neere Kinſewoman, ſo lamentably oppreſt.*

Thus farre I copied out of the proper Writings of the Commiſſioners.

Theſe matters thus heard, the Commiſſioners enioyning *Murray* to produce and proue with more ſolid reaſons, the occaſion of ſo ſtrange a rigour vſ'd to an abſolute Queene, becauſe all formerly alledged, had no pregnant teſtimonies, but only ambiguous and improbable Letters: and *Lidington* hauing priuily made known, that he himſelf had often counterfaited the Qu. hand: *Murray* would no further proſecute before ſtrangers, the accuſation he had framed againſt his Siſter, except the Queene of *England* promiſed of her part, to take vpon her the Protection of the Infant King, and wholly abandon the Queene of *Scots*. But the Deputies, by vertue of their Delegation, hauing no authoritie to promiſe any ſuch matter, two on both parts were ſent vp to *London*; to whom Queene ELIZABETH made knowne, that ſhee could not yet diſcharge the Subiects of *Scotland* of the offence they had committed againſt their Princeſſe, but notwithſtanding, that ſhee would requeſt her in their behalfe, and alſo heare them, if they could alledge

Murray refuſeth to yeeld an account of the Queenes depoſition.

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alledge any thing for their iuſt excuſe. Earle *Murray*, who preſently followed them, abſolutely refuſed to inſiſt by Accuſation againſt his Siſter, but vpon the conditions hee had mentioned at *Yorke*. The Commiſſioners were preſently called home, and their authority diſanulled; whereof, the Duke, who alwayes fauoured the Queene of *Scots*, was very glad, and thought he had nothing more then to effect, but only to brand her with an eternall infamy, to exclude her, with her young Sonne, from all right of ſucceſſion to the Crowne of *England*, and that hee had auoided two dangers: for, in giuing ſentence againſt her, he feared to ruine her, and violate his owne conſcience; and denouncing Iudgement on her ſide, to vndergoe the vnplacable wrath of his owne Queene, and of all thoſe, who, for Religions ſake, and any other conſideration, were oppoſite to the Queene of *Scots*.

Authoritie of the Commiſsioners reuokt.

The Duke of Norfolke glad.

But when Earle *Murray* ſaw, that the friends ſhee retained in *Scotland*, diſturbed all affaires, and that his preſence was requiſite, he framed his Accuſation in the preſence of the Queene, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the great Seale, the Earle of *Leiceſter*, *Clynton*, Lord Admirall, *Cecill*, and *Sadler*, who by new letters were conſtituted new Commiſſioners; and to proue the Queen of *Scots* culpable of her Husbands murder, hee produced ſome probable and coniecturall Articles, the Depoſitions of ſome Witneſſes, the Acts digeſted in the Aſſemblies of the States, but aboue all, certaine Loue-Letters and verſes, written (as hee affirmed) with the Queenes own hand: as alſo hebrought foorth *Buchanan's* Booke, entituled, [*The Diſcouery*] to be openly read: but the greater number of the Commiſſioners gaue not much credit thereunto, it proceeding from a partiall man, and one that had made ſale of his fidelity. As for the Verſes and Letters, becauſe they had no names, ſubſcriptions, nor dates, and ſo many Impoſtors there be, who can counterfait others hands ſo naturally, as the one can

New Commiſsioners granted.

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can hardly be discerned from the other, Queene ELIZABETH would in no wise affoord them beliefe or credit, though shee were much instigated out of feminine emulation, wherewith that Sex is many times violently transported: remaining satisfied, that these Accusations had imposed vpon the Queene of Scots some reprochfull Aspersions.

The Queene of Scots, wil not submit her cause to their hearing.

Her Deputies hearing that shee was dayly accused by *Murray*, presented themselues to make answere; but shee had now reuoked their authority, which was but Delegatorie, as shee had beene secretly informed by certaine *English* Ciuilians; and this shee might doe by Law, seeing that of the Duke and others had beene so formerly reuoked. Afterwards shee peremptorily refused the new Commissioners, two of whom shee suspected, except the Ambassadours of France and Spaine were ioyned in commission with them, that shee might be admitted to defend her own innocency openly in the presence of the Queen of *England* and them, except *Murray* were restrained, & called to a Triall: auerring how she could conuince him, and proue that he was the author of the Lord *Darleys* murder.

But vpon certaine conditions.

The Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earles of *Arundel*, *Sussex*, *Leicester*, and *Lincolne*, esteeming this to be but iust and equall, Qu. ELIZABETH grew into wonderfull choller, and told them openly, that the Queen of Scots could neuer want an Aduocate, till the Duke of *Norfolke* came short of his life; and shee was contented to impart those crimes, whereof *Murray* imputed her, to euery one of her priuy Councell, and to the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, *Shrewsbury*, *Worcester*, *Huntington*, and *Warwicke*, whom shee conuocated to this end, vnder an oath of silence exhibited, not to damnifie either of the parties. And because *Murray* was called backe into *Scotland*, and 'twas commonly bruted abroad, that *Boyd* attempted to release the Queen of *Scots* of her imprisonment, this Proceeding was deferr'd to some o-

The Proceedings dissolued.

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ther time, Queene ELIZABETH, so farre as seem'd probable, sharply reprehending the insolency of the *Scottish*-men, in deposing their Queene.

Debate about the Gouernment of Scotland.

At that time, *Hamilton*, Duke of *Chastelraut*, came out of *France*, sent vnder-hand by the *Guizes*, to oppose *Murray* in the gouernment and administrations of the Kingdome during the yong King's minority, and maintayned before Queene ELIZABETH, that beeing neereſt of blood to the King, he should be preferred before *Murray*, who was but a Bastard. Contrariwise, *Murray*, and the Kings Ambassadors alleadged, that the gouernment of the Kingdome was not to bee assigned alwaies to those neereſt of blood, but to such, who by a generall consent of the States, were elected and chosen, as most sufficient and capable of that Charge. That it were a most vniust course, to put the King, who was young, into his hands, who by proximity of blood aspiring to the Kingdome, might easily be tempted to violate right, out of a desire to rule and reigne: And how this was greatly to be feared, especially of the *Hamiltons*, who had practised many enmities against the Earles of *Lenox*, the Kings Grandfathers, wickedly slaine his great Grandfather by the Fathers side, expell'd *Mathew*, his Grandfather out of *Scotland*, after he had reduced him to low pouerty; and also of himselfe, who made this motion, who with bitter and implacable hatred, wonderfully molested *Henry*, the Kings Father, and, the more easily to enioy the Kingdome, he married his Maiesties Mother with the King of France. The which when Queen ELIZABETH vnderstood, shee made knowne to *Hamilton*, how his demand was most vniust, and forbade him to depart out of *England*, till Earle *Murray* were returned into *Scotland*.

Murray, a little before his departure, was so subtill, as that secretly by his man *Meluin*, he offered the Duke of *Norfolk* to marry with the Queene of *Scots*, and her he promised to re-establish in her Kingdome, as presently we will declare.

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Murray offers to marry the Duke of Norfolke to the Qu. of Scots.

He diſperſeth rumors againſt her,

Notwithſtanding, to conceale it from Queene ELIZABETH, he cauſ'd a rumor to be ſpred, that ſhee had made ouer her claime of the Kingdome of *England*, to the Duke of *Aniou*, and how this alienation was confirmed at *Rome*: he ſhewed certaine Letters ſhee had written to thoſe of her partie, wherein ſhee blamed Queene ELIZABETH for fayling of her promiſe, and vaunted, that ſhee expected ſuccours otherwiſe then from her. Whether theſe reports were true or fained, I am not able to ſay: But certainely, Queene ELIZABETH was much moued herewith, who could not imagine from whom ſhe ſhould attend theſe new reliefes, becauſe ciuill warre was ſo hotly kindled in *France*, as the Biſhop of *Rhemes*, ſent by the King, entreated her that ſhe would not haue any hand in thoſe affaires, and the Duke of *Alua*, who was come the yeere before into the Low-Countries to ſupplant the Proteſtant Religion, ſtaid ſtill there, by reaſon of the troubles.

The Duke of Norfolke ſuſpected.

But as afterward it proou'd apparant, and as *H. Catene* writ to Cardinall *Alexandrine*, Pope *Pius* 5. not daring to ſend an open Nuncio, had ſuborn'd *R. Ridolpho*, a *Florentine*, who had lyen a long time Factor in *London*, vnderhand to ſtir vp the Papiſts againſt Queen ELIZABETH, as queſtionleſſe he very induſtriouſly performed, and with great ſecreſie. A ſlender, but maruelous weake ſuſpition was raiſ'd of ſome priuie conferences were held at *Yorke*, betweene the Earle of *Lidington*, the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and the Duke of *Norfolke*, who being ſollicited to employ his aduice and care for the ſafety of the afflicted Queen, by the Earle and the Biſhop, who promiſed to marry him to her; with a modeſt anſwere he made refuſall thereof, promiſing neuertheleſſe, that hee would not forſake her in her aduerſities, ſo far as might ſafely ſtand with his honour, and the dutie and fidelity he ought to his Prince. This ſuſpicion was greatly augmented by meanes of *Ligon*, one of the Dukes ſeruants, being a great Papiſt, by reaſon of the dai-

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ly goings and commings he made to *Bolton* Caſtle, which belonged to my Lord *Scroope*, where the Queene of *Scots* was kept by *Francis Knowles*, vnder colour to viſit and ſalute his wife, who was the Dukes Siſter. And though nothing was yet certainely knowne, neuertheleſſe the Queene was remooued from *Bolton*, where a number of Papiſts dwelt neere together on all ſides, to be conducted to *Tudberry*, ſituated in the heart of the Kingdome, and was committed to the keeping of the Earle of *Shrewsburie*.

Queene ELIZABETH was then the more carefull, both of her owne, and of the ſafety of Religion and the Common-wealth, becauſe the *Guizes* in *France*, and the Duke of *Alua* in the *Low-Countries*, had begun to put in execution thoſe Deſſignes they proiected formerly at *Bayon*, touching the vtter extirpation of the Proteſtants Religion. For the Propoſitions of Peace, ſet downe in *France* about the beginning of this yeere, came to nothing: For Edicts were publiſht, whereby the exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion was abſolutely prohibited; they that made profeſſion thereof, depriued of their publike places; the Miniſters commanded to depart the Realme within a prefixt time; they were threatned with warre all ouer, runne vpon in euery place, and cruelties practiſed againſt them: though Queene ELIZABETH vſed many and importunate intreaties by her Ambaſſadour *Seris*, to bring them to a firme and ſolid Peace, perſwading the King not to excite mens ſtomacks by vnſeaſonable courſes, and that he ſhould take heed of them, who by remouing from about him his faithfull Subiects, laboured ſo to breake and diſ-vnite the Forces of *France*, that it might be expoſed as a prey to other Nations. When he made no account of her Entreaties or Remonſtrances, and forbare not to draw out of *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Spaine*, both money and men; to re-enforce Queene ELIZABETH alſo, not to abandon them who ioyned with her in one and the ſame cauſe, ſhe ſent

The third Ciuill-war in France.

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an hundred thousand Crownes, in pieces of gold, cald Angels, with great warlike preparations, to the Protestants, who then professed religiously, that they tooke not vp Armes to make warre vpon the King, but onely to defend themselues; and shee with all humanity entertain'd the *French* that made their refuge into *England*, as also the *Flemmings*, who seeing that the Duke of *Alua* breathed nothing but blood and slaughter, were in great multitudes retired thither, as to an Asyle, and planted by permission, both at *Norwich*, *Glocester*, *Sandwich*, *Maidstone*, and *Southhampton*, to the singular benefit (certainely) of *England*: For they were the first that brought in the Art and knowledge of making those light Stuffes which are called Bayes and Sayes, with other such like of linnen and woolen.

Who did good to England.

But because I must often commemorate the warres of *Flanders*, as linkt and combin'd with the interest & affaires of *England*, I shall not digresse much from my purpose, if I heere relate how they tooke their beginning.

The beginning of the Wars in the Low countries.

When the *Spaniard* would by no prayers nor intreaties mitigate his bloody Edicts against Religion, and those who made profession thereof in the *Low-Countries*, but in stead thereof exercised all manner of cruelty against mens consciences, by the meanes of the *Spanish* Inquisition, prohibited all the Assemblies of the States Prouinciall of the *Low-Countries*, which is the onely and most vsuall remedy for the appeasing and according of their differences: but gouerned the Common-Wealth by Acts digested in *Spaine*, and not by the Councels of the people of the same Countreys; it so happened, that a few of the very scumme of the Vulgar sort, tooke certaine Images in euery place out of the Churches, and tumultuously brake them in pieces, and though this Tumult was as soone appeased as excited, yet following their counsell who desired to impose a yoke on this Nation strongly bent to liberty, and taking occasion

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The Duke of Alua.

from the temerity of some few particulars, he entoyled all the people with a publike Delict of manifest Rebellion; and as if they had then lost all their liberty; to inuade the Gouernment, he sent *Ferdinando Aluarez*, Duke of *Alua*, a cruell and bloody man, who beeing constituted supreme Gouernour, contrary to the ancient customes and immunities of the Countrie, though hee was in no sort a Prince of Blood, raisd a long and fearefull Warre, abridging the Authority of former Iurisdictions, erecting new Tribunals, condemning the Nobility of the Country, by the ministery and prosecution of such as were not their Iudges, putting them to death, placing *Spanish* Garrisons in the Borroughs and Townes, building Citadels, and for each alienation and commotion, drawing by force out of their purses, the tenth part of their immouables, and the twentieth part of their mouable goods.

Moneys sent into the low-Countries detained in England.

At the very selfe-same time it happened, that certaine Marchants of *Genoa* and other parts of *Italy*, sent out of *Spaine* into *Flanders*, a quantity of coine, to haue it put out to vse, in a great Ship of *Biscay*, and foure lesse, which the *Spaniards* tearme *Zabres*, which beeing chased by *Chasteler*, a *French-man*, and defended by *Winter*, an *English-man*, had much adoe to saue themselues, in the Ports of *Plimouth*, *Fawmouth*, and *Southhampton* in *England*. So soone as the Queene was aduertised of it, she commanded all the Magistrates of those Ports, to vse the *Spaniards* very kindly, and to defend their Shipping from the *French*: and *G. D'espes*, Knight of the Order of *Calatraua*, Ambassadour Leager of the King of *Spaine* in *England*, fearing the *French*, obtayned of the Queene, who thought verily that this money had belonged to the *Spaniard*, that new Mandates might bee sent downe, for the defence of these ships against the *French*, who lay in wayte for them: and afterwards hee vsed the meanes to haue this money brought into *England*, and from thence to *Antwerpe* by Sea. But in the meane

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while the *French* had almoſt taken away one of the Ships, which had bin perform'd, but that they were repell'd by the *Engliſh*: And therefore it was thought expedient to land it, for better ſecurity, which was done out of hand. But notwithſtanding it was not all brought on ſhore: for *D'Eſpes* ſuppoſing the Queenes intention to be other then is was, gaue the D. of *Alua* to vnderſtand, how ſhe had ſeized vpon it. While he was in Conſultation with him, *Odet de Chaſtillon* Cardinall, who was retired into thoſe parts by reaſon of the tronbles in *France*, certified the Queene, that this money belonged to certaine Marchants of *Genoa*, and not to the *Spaniard*, and that hee would ſeize on it againſt their wils, to employ it to the ruine of the Proteſtants. And this was the reaſon the Councell made a queſtion whether they ſhould detaine it or no; and the greateſt of them that ſate in Councell were of opinion, that it ſhould bee ſent into the *Low-Countries*, for feare of prouoking the *Spaniard*, who was a great Prince, and ſtood already but hardly affected to *England*. But Queene ELIZABETH, beeing aſſured by two of them to whom it belonged, that the Marchants were onely intereſſed in it, the King of *Spaine* nothing at all, ſhe reſolued to take it vp of the Marchants by way of loane, and giue them caution for it, as Princes many times vſe to doe with ſuch goods as they find in their Ports, and the *Spaniard*, not long before, had done the like. And when the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour ſhewed her the Letters the Duke writ vnto her, for the tranſportation of this money, ſhe told him, ſhe had taken it by loane, and religiouſly proteſted to reſtore it againe, ſo ſoone as ſhe ſhould truely vnderſtand that it belonged to the King of *Spaine*. The very ſame day, which was the twentie ninth of December, the Duke, in hot rage and furie, ſeiz'd on the *Engliſh-mens* goods, all the *Low-Countries* ouer, where he found any, and taking their perſons priſoners, committed them to the guard of his Souldiers. So that euery one may conceiue, by comparing the

The Engliſh mens goods detained and ſeized vpon in the Low-Countries.

the times, that he did this to terrifie the *English*, what satisfaction soeuer the Queene gaue afterwards for the money. But her Maiestie, nothing at all daunted with this, commanded likewise the *Flemmings* goods to be seyzed vpon in *England*, their merchandize and shipping, which was much more than those of the *English*, that the Duke light vpon in *Flanders*: so as he repented too late, that hee had vnseasonably enlarged that wound, which in the beginning might easily haue beene cured.

1568. *The like done to the* Flemmings *in England.*

The last day but one of this present yeere, (pardon mee this short digression, for the memories sake of an honest and vertuous man) who beeing borne in the Countie of *Yorke*, and brought vp at *Cambridge*, was the first of our Nation that refined the Greeke and Latine Tongues, and the puritie of the Stile, with singular commendation for his eloquence. Hee was sometimes a Reader to Queene ELIZABETH, and her Secretarie for the Latine Tongue. And yet notwithstanding, in that he was giuen to play, and Cock-fighting, he both liued and dyed not very rich, leauing behinde him two elegant Bookes, as monuments of his rare wit and vnderstanding, one of which was styled, *Toxophilus*; the other, *Scholarca*. But let vs returne to our Historie.

The death of Roger Askham.

THE TWELFTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1569.

A Proclamation touching goods detained.

THe sixth of Ianuary, there was a Proclamation publiquely read in *London*, concerning goods detayned by the Duke of *Alua*, wherein most of the circumstances I formerly mentioned were expresst, and the fault laide vpon *D'espes*; and another Writing diuulged by him to the contrary, in which hee alledged, That this Proclamation came not out by the Queenes Order, but from the authority of some disaffected to the King of *Spaine*, in the behalfe of the *Flemmish* Rebels: he highly commended the fauour that the Queene had alwaies beene ready

Another declaration against the former Proclamation.

ready to shew to the *Spaniards*, grieued that shee was alienated in her affection for nothing, and much stomacked that no more credit was giuen to him being Ambassadour, and to the Duke of *Aluae's* Letters; as also, hee wondred the Money was detained, considering the Queene, (as hee said) had more reason to furnish the *Spaniard* with money against the Rebels, than to take any from him: and finally, taxed her with offering the first wrong, excused both himselfe, and the Duke of *Alua's* proceedings, and not resting there, he spred abroad infamous Libels, wherein hee offended the Queenes reputation, vnder the title of *Amadis Oriana*.

Practices against Cecil.

Some great men of *England*, among whom was the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earles of *Arundell*, *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, *Pembroke*, *Leyceſter*, and others, laboured to lay the blame of this detention of the Money, vpon *Cecill*, as formerly they did that which was sent to the Protestants in *France*; and in effect, they did so: for they could not digest the great power and authority he had about the Queene: they suspected he fauoured the House of *Suffolke* for the succession to the Crowne, and feared hee would oppose himselfe to their designes. Wherefore, they consulted one with another to impriſon him, at the suggestion of *Throgmorton*, his emulator, who gaue them to vnderstand, that if hee were but once clapt vp, he might easily be ruinated. But some one, whom I cannot name, discouered this proiect to the Queene; and *Cecill*, by the fauour of this Princesse, who bare a very great liking and affection to him, without any difficultie, ouercame those plots that were prepared for him, and at the same instant, cut off another more secret intention they had, which was, to proclaime the Queene of *Scots*, vndoubted next Heire apparant to the Kingdome, after Queene ELIZABETHS death, against a certaine Libell that was written, and published, in the behalfe

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behalfe and fauour of the Earle of *Suffolke*.

The money detayned in England, is demanded.

D'Aſſonuil came at that time from the Duke of *Alua*, to demand the money which was detained; but, hauing no Letters to that effect from the King of *Spaine*, Queene ELIZABETH referred him to her Councell, to whom, at firſt hee was not willing to addreſſe himſelfe. Wherefore he went preſently to them: and when he was heard, about a moneth after hee returned, without doing any thing in the buſineſſe.

Free traffique eſtabliſhed at Hamborrough *for the Engliſh.*

The *Engliſh* Merchants carry their Merchandizes to *Hamborrough* in *Germanie*, as to a place lately ordayned for free traffique. The Duke of *Alua* perceiuing this, prohibited abſolutely all commerce with the *Engliſh*, and keeping all things from being imported or tranſported out of the Low Countries, hee ſuborned certaine Spies, amongſt whom, one *Iohn Storie*, a Doctor of the Ciuill Law, was very ſubtilly induſtrious, who before, had practiſed with *Prinſtal*, an impoſtorous Magician, againſt the life of his owne Prince, and ſent aduertiſements to the Duke of *Alua*, for the inuading of his owne Countrey. But, being purpoſely brought into a Ship, which was reported to haue brought heretical commodities and bookes out of *England*, the Marriners preſently ſetting ſayle, hee was thither conueyed, and afterwards executed, as ſhall be declared in proper place.

Doctor Story *taken.*

The Duke of Alua *enraged againſt the Engliſh.*

The Duke of *Alua* not ſatisfied with this, prohibited all ſhipping to goe out of *Flanders*, who were not armed, and he commanded them to ſeyze on the *Engliſh*, whereſoeuer they met them: and gaue directions that the like ſhould be done in *Spaine*; where, the *Engliſh* Merchants and Saylors goods were confiſcated, themſelues put into the Inquiſition, and condemned to the Gallies. The *Spaniard* alſo, by Letters written to the Count *De Mont-Agond*, Gouernour of *Boetia*, forbade the tranſportation of Oyle, Allum, Sucker, Aromatiques, and all other ſuch like things,

things, into *England*, supposing, that if the *English* wanted these things, they would readily rebell: and so vpon this, he likewise treated with the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earle of *Ormond*, by secret messengers, to the end the latter might hold the Queene play in *Ireland*, and the former in *England*. But they freely discouered his motions, out of the fidelity and loyalty they bare to the Queene. When the inhabitants of the coasts of *England* heard of these things, it is incredible to see with what ioy they made out to Sea, and how resolutely they put in execution their Letters of Mart against the *Spaniards*: so that, to depresse them, Proclamations were faine to be published, prohibiting the buying of any Merchandize of such as came by it by way of reprizall.

Men of war called in.

As the *English* men were denyed traffique in the Low Countries, so were they no lesse debarred the same in *Russia*, as well through the false dealing of Factors, and bad intelligence that past betweene them, as out of the enuy of the *Germanes* and *Russians*: the *Russians* complaining of fraudulent commodities, and that the price of Merchandizes was enhaunsed; and the *Germanes*, of their monopoly and societie. To remedy these euils, *Thomas Randolph* was sent thither the yeere before, who, (though with no liking to the Emperour of *Russia*, because, whereas hee should haue treated of the amity hee desired to entertaine with Queene ELIZABETH, whereof wee spake in the yeere 1567. hee onely employed himselfe carefully in the matter of traffique,) neuertheless obtayned so much by his sollicitations, that the Emperour, for the singular good will he bare to the Queene, and the *English* nation, granted to the Company of *English* residing in *Russia*, immunities from customes, with Commission to sell their commodities ouer all the Countrey where they would, within the extent of his Empire, which is ample and large, and to transport them into *Persia* and *Media*,

Traffique of Russia hindred.

Liberties of the English in Russia.

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by the Caſpian Sea, though Merchants of other Nations were permitted to goe no further than a mile beyond the Citie of *Moſco*: hee allotted them houſes to winde and twiſt their Ship-tacklings, with Wood for their yron-workes: and he receiued the *Engliſh* for OPPRISMEY; that is to ſay, the elect ſeed, and choyce of his people.

Their traffique into Ruſsia:

Wherefore, they began to trauell more confidently ouer all thoſe Countries, and to tranſport their commodities to *Vologda* vpon the *Dwine*, in Veſſels made of one entire peice, drawne by force of arme, againſt the current of the water, by an handiworke gouerned with Oares, and long Piles: & from thence to *Yeraſlaue*, which is ten daies iourney by Land: afterwards into *Germanie*, for 30. dayes and nights trauell, downe the riuer of *Volga*, which is about a mile in breadth, and runnes along a clay ſoyle, ſet with Oakes and *Bouleaux*: and when they had built Boats, they oftentimes croſſed the *Aſtracane*, and the *Caſpian* Sea, that in many places may be waded ouer, and ſo by the Deſarts of *Hercania*, and *Bactriana*, they came to the *Teueres* and *Casbine* Cities of *Perſia*, out of an aſſured confidence they ſhould at laſt open a way and paſſage to *Cathay*. But, the warres that ſuddenly grew betweene the *Turkes* and *Perſians*, and frequent robberies of the *Barbarians*, cut off this commendable deſigne of the *London* Merchants: and, as for the Emperour, he ſent backe *Randolph* with gifts and preſents, and with him *An. Gregoritzki*, an Ambaſſadour, in very honourable equipage certainely for the cuſtome of that Countrey, who was receiued of the *Londoners* with great feſtiuities, and of the Queenes Maieſtie with much honour.

And into Perſia, by the Caſpian Sea.

A Ruſsian Ambaſſador in England.

This Ambaſſadour exhibited a formall Writing in the *Ruſsian* Tongue, and required, that the alliance and amitie might be confirmed in his preſence, in the ſame termes, & a ſecret Letter which hee propounded, tranſlated into the *Ruſsian* Tongue, with all the Letters ſubſcribed with the

Queenes

Queenes Hand, and ſealed with her Seale; and that ſhee ſhould likewiſe ſend an Ambaſſadour into *Ruſsia*, reciprocally to receiue from the hand of the Emperour, priuy Letters, written in the ſame words, which in his preſence ſhould be ſealed with his Seale, and confirmed with a kiſſing of the Croſſe. The Queene agreed to this Alliance, reſeruing onely this Clauſe: Booke 1. 1569.

So farre as that formerly contracted with other Princes, might permit.

That they might ſo ayde one another againſt their common enemies, that nothing be performed vniuſt or vnlawfull: and, by the word of a Chriſtian Princeſſe, in the preſence of the Ambaſſadour, and the moſt honoured of her Priuy-Councell, ſhee promiſed inuiolably, whereof likewiſe hee had Letters ſealed with her owne Priuy-Seale; that if accidentally eyther by his owne Subiects or ſtrangers, he brought to ſuch a poynt, as to forſake his Countrey, ſhe would receiue and entertaine both himſelfe and his children, with al the honour befitting ſo great a Prince; ſhee would aſſigne him a peculiar place for his reſidence, permit him freely to exerciſe his Religion, and to depart at his pleaſure. For theſe things hee earneſtly required in his ſecret Letters. But this was ſo far from ſatisfying this harſh-natur'd and ſauage man, who held for all right and Law, meerely his will & pleaſure: that he, by numerating and ſetting out at large, by Letters, the ſundry benefits and good deedes which hee had done to the *Engliſh* Nation, and reproaching them with ſuch fauours and friendſhips, growes angry, and is irritated againſt Queene ELIZABETH, for not ſending an Ambaſſadour, with his, to take the Oath; blames her Maieſtie, that ſhee made no greater account of her ſelfe; ſaying, ſhee was ouer-much giuen to Merchants affaires, (as much vnworthy to be ſo much reſpected

Alliance of Ruſsia.

The Emperour of Muſcouia, and of Ruſsia, is irritated and inflamed againſt the Engliſh.

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ſpected of a Prince) and ſuſpecting the Marchants to be oppoſite to his deſigne, as being ouer-baſe, vpbraided them in contemptible, deſpitefull and iniurious manner, as ſordid people, who reſpect their owne profit and priuate gaine, more then the Honour and credit of their Soueraignes, threatning them in a moſt barbarous manner, to ſuppreſſe and aboliſh all former Priuiledges by him granted to them. Which neuertheleſſe hee effected not, beeing moderated and appeaſed by the courteous and kind Letters that Qu. ELIZABETH wrote vnto him, which were ſent by *Ienkinſon*: he ſhewed himſelfe all his life time moſt diligent and carefull to pleaſe her Maieſtie, cheriſhing and honouring her as a Siſter, often vrging her to confirme more ſtraitely and firmely that Alliance, and lou'd ſingularly the *Engliſh*, far aboue all other Nations.

Murray appeaſed the friends of the Queene of Scotland.

Murray had then procured a ſafe returne into *Scotland*, propounding vnto the Queene herſelfe and the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the reſt of her friends in *England*, her re-eſtabliſhment in the Kingdome of *Scotland*, who to that end had hindred and kept in awe the *Scots* who ſought to kill him, by ſtraitely charging and prohibiting, not to hinder his comming. Being firſt arriued in *Edenborough*, he ſummon'd all ſuch Nobles as fauoured the Queene, vnder pretence and colour to conſult with them about her re-eſtabliſhment. But the Lord *Hamilton*, Duke of *Chaſtelraut*, (then made Lieutenant of *Scotland* by the Queene) and the Baron of *Heris*, were perſwaded by the Letters of the credulous Qu. But *Murray*, fearing to be deceiued by them, circumuents them, and claps them vp in priſon, not expecting the comming of others, and purſued grieuouſly, in oppreſſing all the fauourers of the Queene with all the rigors of Warre.

Rumors ſpred through-out Scotland againſt Murray.

This Act produceth rumours through all *Scotland*, That *Murray* had agreed and determined with Qu. ELIZABETH that the young King IAMES ſhould be giuen her to be brought

brought vp, and educated in *England*; and that the Castles of *Edenborrough* & *Sterling*, were to be fortified with *English* Garrisons, *Dunbriton* also taken by force for the vse and profit of the *English*, and *Murray* be publisht and declar'd true and lawfull Successour of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, if the King should happen to dye without Issue, and to hold the Kingdome, as Tenent to Queene ELIZABETH. These rumours increased, ran, and were divulg'd in this manner, and through a certaine probability, strook in such fashion, the spirits of men all ouer *Great Brittaine*, that Qu. ELIZABETH thought herselfe obliged to take away and clense all such spots, both for her honour, and *Murray's* sake. To which end, her Maiestie declar'd by a Royall Speech, publisht and set forth in Print, That these things were farre opposite to the Truth, and meerely forged and inuented by such as enuyed the Peace and tranquillitie of both Kingdomes. That since the last departure of *Murray* from *England*, there was not any such thing propounded, nor such Paction past, either by word of mouth, or writing, betweene her Maiesty, or any of her Officers and him, that came to her knowledge. But that the Earle of *Lenox*, Grandfather to the yong King, had prayed her Maiesty that he might be sent into *England*, if hee could not bee secure in *Scotland* from the plots of the wicked. Likewise her Maiestie affirmed, that she held the Compact as false, which was reported to bee betweene *Murray* and the Earle of *Hartford*, to wit, that they had both agreed and resolued together, mutually to helpe and giue assistance one to another, for to enioy the Crowne of both Kingdomes: and to conclude, that it was not her fault, that the affaires and businesses were not ended betweene the Queene of *Scotland* and her Sonne; but rather she still endeuoured that it might be finisht: and though her Maiesty was in a conflict, through feare and inueterate emulation, which neuer dyes betweene Femall Princesses, yet out of the remembrance

Queene Elizabeth is diligent, and endeuours to quench such false rumors.

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brance and recordation of the misery of *Scotland*, and the commiseration of humane frailety, she sincerely laboured to effect it.

She deales by Letters concerning her restoring.

The Queene of *Scots* made an addition to that her pious pitty, and sollicited her with many kind Letters, in which she solemnly protested, that in regard of the kindnesse she had found, and the propinquity of their affinity, she would attempt nothing against her, neither be willing to owe restitution to any other Prince for her re-establishment. This caus'd Queene ELIZABETH, by Letters sent by *Wood*, to deale with *Murray* and other *Scots*, for her re-establishment to her Royall Dignity; or if that could not be granted, that shee might bee permitted to leade a priuate life, and spend her daies at home freely and honourably; which notwithstanding could not any wayes moue *Murray*, hauing brought his busines to perfection.

There was a rumor at this time, amongst those of better sort, that the Duke of *Norfolke* should be linked in *Hymens* bonds with the Queene of *Scots*, the which was desired of many, the Papists expecting by it the aduancement of their religion, & others hoping by that meanes for the welfare of the Common-wealth. Truely, many which saw the Queene remote and farre from marriage, and the forraigne Princes, which were deadly professors to *England*, did settle their eyes and hearts vpon the Queene of *Scots*, as the true and vndoubted heire of *England*; they esteem'd, (for to ground their rest and tranquillity, and to keep thereby the Queene of *Scotland* within the bounds and limits of her Kingdome) it was much more behoofefull and expedient that she should be married with the Duke of *Norfolke*, who was the most Noble, and the greatest Peere of *England*, beloued of the people, educated and brought vp in the Protestants Religion, then to a forraigne Prince, by whose meanes both Kingdomes should be in danger, and the hereditary succession by him apprehended, which they had

had alwayes and from the beginning wisht to be re-vnited in an *English* Prince of the blood, the yong King of *Scotland* happening to dye, whom they propounded to send into *England*, to the end, that as he was the true apparent heire thereof, and being educated and brought vp there by the *English*, he should be to them dearer and more beloued, all scruple of Religion taken away, and Queene ELIZABETH hauing him in her power, were free from all feare and apprehension, both of the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Queene of *Scots*. Moreouer, lest the Duke should attempt any thing against her, but should more dearely affect her, they resolued, that *Margaret*, the only Daughter of the Duke, should bee marryed afterward to the young King of *Scotland*. Amongst these were the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, *Sussex*, *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, and many other Barons: and *Leicester* himselfe, (it being doubtfull whether aiming & intending the destruction of the Duke) thought it fit, first to acquaint the Queene with it, and to commit it to her iudgement & censure, and that she should prescribe and make wholsome Lawes, salutiferous to her selfe, Religion, and the Kingdome. But this, if you please, you may haue written more at large, in the Dukes Confession, and the Commentaries of the Bishop of *Rosse*, which was a great part of this businesse.

The first mention of of this marriage.

When as the Deputies and Arbitrators put in trust with those affaires, had met at *Yorke*, *Lidington*, and the Bishop of *Rosse*, in their Enquirie, acquainted the Duke with the intended Contract, as *Murray* himselfe did also at *Hampton Court*: who in his priuate conference with the Duke and some others, dissembled, and did seeme that he desired and wisht for nothing more, then that all differences being ended in *Scotland*, shee might be restored to her former Dignities, prouided that she should truely and heartily affect her Subiects, as she had done formerly, all iniuries on both sides beeing forgotten, forgiuen, and buryed in obliuion.

Murray's *proposition to the Duke of* Norfolke.

Not-

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Notwithstanding hee feared, that if (as shee desired) shee should marry a man out of *France*, *Spaine*, or *Austria*, shee would reuenge her former iniuries, make an alteration of Religion in *Scotland*, and much damnifie the State of *England*. To preuent all which, he promised his assistance and best endeuours, that she, who formerly had beene married to a Child, an improuident young man, nay more, a furious young man, should now be contracted to the Duke, a man of stayednesse & mature iudgement, the which would conduce (to the welfare of both Kingdomes) the peace of either Prince, and chiefly for the aduancement of Religion, since he, who was so great and worthy in Queen ELIZABETHS estimation, should make friendship betweene the *Scots* and the *English*, and might more easily perswade the Queene of *Scots* to the true Religion which hee had embraced.

Murray also, by the meanes of *Robert Meluin*, imparted this closely to the Queene of *Scots*, and officiously promised his assistance: but the Duke answered, that he could not determine any thing of the marriage, till she could cleare her selfe from her suspected crimes, and wipe off those infamous aspersions: but *Rosse* notwithstanding persisted in his perswasion, and ceast not to draw him (though vnwilling) to it.

Throgmortons counsell.

Not long after, *Nicholas Throgmorton* met the Duke in *Westminster*, who professing himselfe as euery way obliged and bound to performe all dueties of obseruance, said, that he vnderstood that *Leicester* dealt with the Duke concerning the match twixt him and the *Scots*: which seemed strange, and moued admiration in him, since *Leicester* himselfe not long since had beaten the same bush, and gone about it, and friendly aduised the Duke, that hee should put it off to *Leicester*, who formerly had sought the honour of that marriage: but if that could not be done, that he should refuse it, in regard the *Scots* accused her of many crimes:

but

but *Throgmorton* said, that hee wisht that shee might bee ioyned to him in marriage, that it might be prosperous to Religion, and that she might wholly and soly depend and rely vpon Queene ELIZABETH. But I doe premonish you, that if you proceede in this matter, *Leicester* may precede and goe afore you in counsell: for by your owne meanes onely you cannot procure the assent and good will of the Queene.

Propositions of the match, made by Leicester *to the Duke.*

Two dayes after, the Earle of *Leicester* propounded the affaire to the Duke, and receiued of him the answere that *Throgmorton* had forged and inuented afore-hand, and when it came to the crimes, he did moderate them according to the instructions and assurance that he had receiued of *R. Cauendish*; of whom, though suspected yet he recommended him to the Duke, to make vse of his seruice. After this, he acquaints therewith the Earle of *Pembroke*, who giues notice thereof to the Earle of *Arundell*, and they all, with *Throgmorton*, doe write to the Queene of *Scotland*, recommending vnto her Maiestie the Duke of *Norfolke* for her Husband, as likewise *Murray* had formerly done. The Duke himselfe also writes, and witnesseth his loue vnto her, offering her Maiestie louingly his humblest seruice: and from that time he still communicated vnto them all such Letters as past betwixt them. As for them, they had ordinary and familiar discourses with the Bishop of *Rosse*, concerning the meanes whereby they could effectuate and bring this marriage to passe; and the twentieth of *May*, 1558. a Proposition was made to the Queene of *Scotland* by *Cauendish:* These ensuing Articles were written by the owne hand of the Earle of *Leicester*:

The Articles of marriage propounded to the Queene of Scotland.

THat she should not vndertake any thing in the succession of the Kingdome of England, preiudicious to Queene ELIZABETH, or the issue her Maiestie might that haue; she should passe

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an offensiue and defensiue League 'twixt their two Crownes. That she should settle and firmely establish the true Protestants Religion in Scotland. *That she should receiue to her mercy, all such* Scots *as then were against her: she should reuoke the assignation that she had giuen of the Kingdome of* England, *to the Duke of* Aniou, *and that shee should take to her Husband some of the* English *Nobility, and namely, the Duke of* Norfolke.

She agreed them in some manner.

And they promised her, that in case her Maiestie should conclude and agree the Articles, to re-establish her anew in her Kingdome, with all possible speed as could bee, and to confirme her in the succession of the Crowne of *England*. The Queene of *Scots* accorded them presently, except that concerning the Allyance, shee excus'd her selfe, as not able to answere to it, except shee had first consulted with the *French* King: and concerning the assignation of the Kingdome of *England*, she protested that she had neuer made any, yet neuertheless shee would labour (if they should desire it) that the Duke of *Aniou* should renounce it: Admonishing them, to procure aboue all things, the will and consent of Queene ELIZABETH, for feare the affaire should turne, and be preiudiciall both to herselfe and the Duke of *Nolfolke*, as shee had formerly experimented in the match with the Lord *Darley*, priuately contracted without Queene ELIZABETHS consent. Yet they neuertheless esteemed fit, first to sound the will and affection of many Noble-men, who for the most part gaue their voice and consent, prouided, their Queene also to grant hers: and likewise the Kings of *France* and *Spaine* were not against it; but they onely had an apprehension of *Murray*: and forasmuch as he had beene the first to propound this affaire, promising to employ himselfe therein with all his might, he should bee the first now to hinder it.

They

They yet notwithstanding were all of a mind, that *Lidington*, who then was lookt for, should first sound the intention and disposition of Queene ELIZABETH. In the meane while the Duke declares to the Lord Baron of *Lumley*, all that was done and past in this businesse; and with much adoe could hee obtaine from the Earle of *Leicester*, leaue to take further consultation and aduice of his other friends: he neuertheless made *Cecill* acquainted with it, the Earle of *Pembroke* consenting thereunto.

A design to free the Qu. of Scotland.

At the same time, the Lord *Dacray* resolued in himselfe to steale away the Queen of *Scotland*, who at that time was prisoner at *Winfield* in the County of *Derby*, vnder the keeping of the Earle of *Shrewsburie*. The Earle of *Northumberland*, who was of his counsell, gaue notice thereof to the Duke of *Norfolke*, who forbade to doe it, fearing they went about to marry her to the *Spaniard*, being then vpon hope to obtaine the loue and consent of Queene ELIZABETH.

Notice is giuen thereof to Queene Elizabeth.

The rumors and pretence of this match, arriued presently to Queene ELIZABETHS eare, beeing told her by some of those craftie and curious courtizans, who smell and find out soonest the secrets of Louers. The Duke knowing it, labours with his vtmost power, to make a proposition thereof to the Queen, and to that end employed therein the Earle of *Leicester*, the Earle of *Pembroke*, and *Throgmorton*, putting it off, and deferring it from day to day, as if he expected a fitter time and opportunity. But *Cecill* seeing the said Duke perplexed in his mind, counselled him himselfe to declare the businesse to the Queene, for to take sooner away all scruple. But the Earle of *Leicester*, contrary to that opinion, is against it, promising him to propound the same to her Maiestie, when she should walke abroad in the fields. But whilest that hee by such sweete courtesies deferred the affaire from time to time, Queene ELIZABETH beeing at *Farnham*, causeth the Duke to

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approch neere vnto her Table, and with a most graue and serious smile, warned him,

That hee who was repos'd, and rested himselfe vpon a Cushion, should take heed, and looke to himselfe.

The Earle of Leicester *reueales the whole busines to the Queen at Tichfield.*

And finally, the Earle of *Leicester* beeing at *Tichfield*, found himselfe ill, (or else he counterfaited the sicke) and being visited and graciously comforted by the Queene, he was seized with such feare, that her Maiestie could easily discerne it, beholding his blood and vitall sences to shrinke in himselfe: which was the cause, that after he had asked pardon, and implored forgiuenesse with sighs and teares of the Queene, he declared vnto her all the businesse from the beginning.

She rebukes the Duke of Norfolke.

In that very same time, the Queen tooke the Duke aside into a Gallery, where she rebuked him sharpely, for hauing sought the Queen of *Scotland* in marriage without her leaue and permission, commanding him to free himselfe of it, for the fidelity and loyalty sake which hee ought to beare vnto his Soueraigne. The Duke most willingly promised the same, as if he had despised the match; and fear'd not to assure, that his reuennues and commings in heere in *England*, were not whit lesse to those of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, then miserably exhausted by the Warre; and that when he was in the Tenis-Court of his Palace at *Norwich*, he seemed in some fashion to be equall, and not inferiour to some Kings. But in a short space, this courage begunne to grow weake and flexible, discerning by the aspect and speech of the Queene, that her Maiestie was irritated against him, and that her anger rather augmented then diminished, also that many Noble-men withdrew themselues by little & little from his familiarity, saluting him but with much adoe, and breaking off in haste their discourses: At this, the Duke tooke his iourney to *London*, without leaue, and

The Duke parts from the Court without leaue.

and vpon the way, tooke his lodging at the Earle of *Pembroke*'s house, who counselled him to be cheerefull, to hope well, and gaue him solace and consolation in his affliction. That very day, Queene ELIZABETH moued with anger, refused to set at liberty the prisoned Queene, to the *Scottish* Ambassadour, who implored it of her Maiestie, and commanded that she should behaue herselfe peaceably, or else she should see shortly, those vpon whom she most relyed, cut off and beheaded.

Cecill findes out the matter.

Now, when as the rumor of the match had more increased, and the fame of it was euery where diuulged, and the Ambassadour of the *French* King, (more by the perswasion of some *English* than the command of his Prince, as it afterwards appeared) did earnestly labour, and vehemently vrge, that the Queene of *Scots* might haue her libertie; new suspicions were generally raysed, and *Cecill*, who was alwaies diligently carefull, and studying for the well-fare of Religion, was desirous to finde out the matter; he dealt therefore with *Sussex* by Letters, who was then President of the North Countries, and a deare friend to the Duke, that if so be he vnderstood any thing concerning the Dukes marriage, he should certifie the Queene of it; what he answered, I am vncertaine. And when it appeared that the Duke had priuate conference at *Hampton-Court* with *Murray*, the Vice-Roy of *Scotland*, *George Carie*, the sonne of the Lord of *Hunsden*, was sent to enquire if the Duke had imparted any thing to him concerning the marriage.

The Duke of Norfolke goes into Norfolke.

In the meane time, the Duke affrighted with the false rumor of the rebellion and insurrection in the North, and being certified of *Leicester*, that he should be committed to prison, went into *Norfolke*, till his friends at Court (as they promised) had stilled the storme, and he pacified the offended minde of the Queene with submissiue supplicatiue Letters.

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When hee found no comfort amongſt his owne, and *Heiden*, *Cornwallis*, and other of his traine, perſwaded him, that if he were guilty, ſhould flye to the Queenes mercy, he was almoſt diſtracted with ſorrow.

Feare cauſed in the Court through Norfolke.

In the meane time, the Court was ſollicited and poſſeſt with feare, leſt hee ſhould haue made Rebellion: which if hee did, they report it was determined to cut off the Queen of *Scots*.

But hee, out of his innate goodneſſe, and a moſt pious conſcience, had not offended againſt any Law of her Maieſtie (that Statute made in the Reigne of HENRY the Eighth, which prohibited the marrying any of the children of the Kings Siſter, Brother, or Aunt, without the conſent and knowledge of the King, being aboliſhed and nullified by EDVVARD the Sixth) and alſo out of a feare that they ſhould vſe the Queene of *Scots* more hardly, ſends Letters to his friends at Court; in which, he certified that he went into the Countrey for feare of impriſonment, that through time and abſence, he might finde a remedy againſt ill reports and defamations, which the Court was ready to intertaine: hee moſt ſubmiſſiuely intreateth pardon, and forthwith prepareth to goe to the Court.

He returnes to the Court.

In his returne, hee being at Saint *Albons*, *Owen*, the Earle of *Arundels* man, was ſent priuately to him from *Throgmorton* and *Lumley*, who formerly had beene in cuſtody, aduiſing him, that hee ſhould take all the blame on himſelfe, and not lay any fault on *Leiceſter* or others, leſt he ſhould turne them from being friends, to enemies. There *Edward Fitz-Gerald*, brother to the Earle of *Kildare*, Lieutenant of the Penſioners, went before, drew him from thence, and brought him to *Burnham*, about three miles from *Windſor*, where the Queene was: to whom, foure dayes after, the Abbot of *Dunfermline* deliuered Letters in the behalfe of *Murray*, importing, how the Duke had ſecretly treated with him in the Royall Mannor of *Hampton-Court*,

Murray diſcouers the buſineſſe.

ton-Court, to procure his fauour to this marriage; on the contrary, greatly menacing him in caſe he did refuſe. That to auoyd the dangerous practice of one *Norton*, who watcht to kill him, at his returne, he gaue his promiſe to the Duke; That the Duke aſſured him, neither *Norton*, nor any other, ſhould attempt any thing againſt his life: and a little while after, being ſollicited by Letters written in Cypher, to giue conſent to this marriage, he gaue him to vnderſtand by *Boyd*, that he would neuer abandon the Queene of *Scots*: and moreouer, how her Maieſties owne Officers had in ſome ſort perſwaded the Vice-Roy, that Queene ELIZABETH gaue alſo her liking and approbation to this marriage, and putting the ſame Queene of *Scots* in hope, that ſhee ſhould ſucceed to the Kingdome of *England*. Renowned Queene ELIZABETH perceiuing alſo very euidently, that to draw ſome great men of *England* to her partie, ſhee gaue them expreſly to vnderſtand, how ſhe was taking a courſe for the Queenes Maieſties ſecuritie, and the infallible ſafety of the whole Kingdome.

The Duke, who ſubtilly held correſpondency by Letters with the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, *Leiceſter*, and *Throgmorton*, cauſing them to be priuily conueyed in bottles of Beere, being at the ſame time ſtrictly examined about the poynt of this marriage, after his confeſſion of the greateſt part, and a bitter checke giuen him for departing the Court without leaue, and being further accuſed of Innouation, was ſent to the Tower of *London*, vnder the guard of *Neuill*, a Knight of the Golden Order. Two dayes after, the Biſhop of *Roſſe* was likewiſe examined, and *Ridolph*, that Florentine Councellor, of whom, both hee and others made familiar and common vſe, committed in keeping to Sir *Francis Walſingham*: the Earle of *Pembroke* commanded to betake himſelfe to his Houſe, and reſerued to a priuate examination. But, by reaſon of his Nobility, and old age, it was agreed, that by reaſon himſelfe could not write, his

The Duke is impriſoned.

And others.

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Their Complices craue pardon.

his Confeſſion ſhould not be taken in writing. After this, ſome great men were prohibited the Court, as Complices, who exhibited their petitions, and demanded pardon, when they had acknowledged, that they were conſenting with the Duke to this marriage, which *Murray* had formerly propounded: yet after ſuch a manner, as the Queene of *Scots*, the Duke, and all the others were aduertized, how the matter was firſt imparted to the Queenes Maieſtie of *England*, before any treatie of it. The Earles of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland* being Confederates in this deſſigne, made in like manner their ſubmiſſions to the Earle of *Suſſex*, then Gouernour in the North parts, whom they intreated to ſollicite the Queene for them. Many Libels were in like manner diſperſed againſt this marriage, the Queene of *Scots*, and the right and title, whereby ſhe layde claime to the Crowne of *England*, as next heire apparant, with ſuch ſhameleſſe inſolency, as the Queene reſolued to ſend out prohibitions, by a ſeuere Proclamation to the contrary, and playing at hood-winke with the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, ſhe appointed him to anſwere them, as hee did by another Booke, intituled, *Morgan Philips*, wherein hee maintained the honour of the Queene of *Scots*, her right of ſucceſſion, and that the Kingdome might be ſwayed and gouerned by women, as this poynt was alſo called in queſtion. But ſince, he ingeniouſly confeſt in his Commentaries, that his reaſons he ſet downe, about her right of ſucceſſion, he drew out of Sir *Anthony Brownes* bookes, chiefe Iuſtice of the common Pleas, and of *Carrell*, both very vnderſtanding Gentlemen in the common Lawes of *England*.

Libels againſt this marriage.

pin Vi- comes Eng- d, and y?

In thoſe daies, there came from the Duke of *Alua*, *Chapin Vitelli*, Marquis of *Ceton*, with Letters from the *Spaniard*, (who ſeemed to haue cleane loſt his writing) vnder pretext to accord ſome differences about commerce, but really to obſerue the iſſue of this rebellion, which was preſently

sently to be raised, and to command the Souldiers priuily to march downe into *Flanders*, according to the Duke of *Alua's* promise, who likewise sent for his fore-runner, *Le Mot*, Gouernour of *Dunkerke*, apparelled like a Mariner, that he might the better discouer and sound the Ports, as himselfe since hath auerred. But when it appeared, how this Marquis was onely substituted by the Duke of *Alua*, who was the principall partie himselfe, wherein the other was but a meere Lieutenant, a doubt was made whether they should treatie with him, as an Ambassadour. Notwithstanding all this, the Queenes Maiestie made knowne that she would acknowledge him for the Ambassadour of *Spaine*. But when he made shew of no further Commission, than to re-demand some moneys detained, the Queene affecting peace, aduised him to procure a larger Commission for the ordering of affaires: while hee stayd, and attended the same, the rumor of that Rebellion to be excited in the North Countrey, was daily augmented.

Rebellion in the North.

To relate the matter more originally, there ran a great fame and brute of this Rebellion, about the beginning of Autumne, which at the first being contemned, it presently strengthned and encreased, by reason of the frequent meetings of the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, and some others: so that the Earle of *Sussex*, then Gouernour, and Deputie of the North, cited them before him, and interrogated them precisely, about these reports and rumors. They could not deny, but they had heard of it, marry so, they were in no wise guiltie or culpable, with many and deepe protestations, offering to lose their liues in the Queenes seruice, against any Rebels whatsoeuer: and thus he sent them backe to their owne houses, with authoritie to enquire and search out the authors of this report, which neuertheless daily so augmented, as her Maiestie, conceiuing that nothing was rashly to bee credited of so great men, so commanded them by the Lord of *Sussex*, to

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repaire presently to *London*, for the remouing of all suspition. Notwithstanding, my Lord of *Sussex*, I know not for what drift or policy, enioyned them to come and meet him, as if he meant to consult with them about some occasions of that Prouince. At the first they drew backe, but presently after, expresly refused to repaire thither. This ministred occasion to the Queenes Maiestie, to command them by peremptory Letters which shee writ, and caused to be conueyed with all expedition, that laying apart all delayes and excuses, they should incontinently appeare in her Royall presence; and this onely to terrifie and absolutely diuert them from entring into this Rebellion, or at least, that they might precipitantly vndertake the same, before they rallied their forces, or that the matter grew to any maturitie. For they relyed vpon some secret succours, which the *Scots* Leaguers, and the Duke of *Alua* were to land at the Port of *Herripoole*, within the Bishopricke of *Dunelme*, as afterwards it was manifested.

So soone as the Earle of *Northumberland* had read these Letters, being of a tractable nature, guiltie in his owne conscience, deepely affected to the Romane Religion, and excited to choller, by reason that out of the prerogatiue Royall in Mynes, a rith Copper Myne found in his owne grounds was taken from him, wherein hee thought himselfe to be wronged: but neuertheleſſe, fed with notable hopes of the Queenes clemency, hee was in a wonderfull perplexitie, whether he should flye, or openly rebell. His Friends and seruants being now prepared for a reuolt, and seeing him floating in these ambiguities, came vpon him a certaine night on a suddaine, and headlongly and continually beating into his eares, how *Oswell*, *Vlstrop*, and *Vaughan*, his enemies, were arriued with a troupe of armed men, ready to take him prisoner, they vrged, entreated, and coniured him, that he would not forsake himselfe, his friends, and the Religion of his fore-fathers, assuring him,

him, how the Catholiques were then in armes all *England* ouer, to re-eſtabliſh the Romane Religion: and to ſtirre vp the multitude, they tumultuarily ſounded a Larum bell in all the Countrie Townes and Villages, though 'twas not yet time to attempt any ſuch matter. Affrighted, hee preſently ſtart out of his Bed in the Chamber, retyred to a Gallerie, which looked into a Parke neere to *Topcliffe*, and the night following, he went to *Blanſpeth*, to the Earle of *Weſtmerlands* Houſe, where many were aſſembled, who knew not what the matter was.

For to amaſſe, and draw together an ignorant multitude, they commanded ſome to take vp armes for the Queenes defence: others were made beleeue, that all the great men of *England* conſpired with them, to re-erect the Romane Religion: otherſome they told, how they were enforced to take vp armes, for preuention that the ancient Nobility of *England* might not be trampled vnder foot by late ſtart-ups, and their Countrey yeelded as a prey to ſtrangers. This carried them violently into a manifeſt Rebellion, and they were the firſt, who diſturbed the publique peace of this Kingdome, which had continued vnſhaken for the terme of eleuen yeeres, vnder the happy Reigne of Queene ELIZABETH, they being boldly and powerfully incited hereunto by *Nicholas Morton*, a Prieſt, ſent from the Pope, to denounce Queene ELIZABETH for an Heretike, and therefore depriued of all power and gouernement. Suddenly likewiſe, they diuulge by a publique Manifeſtation, That they tooke vp armes to no other end, but to ſet vp againe the Religion of their Anceſtors, to remoue from about the Queenes bad Councellors, to reſtore the Duke and ſome other great Men, who were diſmiſſed of their places and dignities, to former libertie and grace. But as for the Queenes Maieſtie, they would attempt nothing againſt her, but vowed, that both then, and at all times, they would perſeuer and continue her moſt obedient Subiects.

Pretext of the Rebels.

They runne violently into a Rebellion.

Their declaration.

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They write to the Papiſts.

ieets. They writ alſo to the Papiſts, diſperſed throughout the whole Kingdome, to ioyne their forces together. But, in ſtead of cohering to them, the moſt part ſent to the Queene, both their Letters, and the Bearers: All the particular men of the Kingdome, and the Duke of *Norfolke* himſelfe, both their ſeruice and meanes, and to be employed againſt them. So that, vpon this occaſion, ſhee made a iuſt triall of her Subiects ſingular and vnſpotted fidelitie, and of Gods rare clemency and protection, for which ſhee gaue him great and vnfaigned thankes.

They rent, and tread vnder-foot the Bible.

The Rebels went preſently to *Durham*, the next Epiſcopall See, where they rent and trampled vnder foot, the ſacred Bibles, and Bookes of the *Liturgie*, written in the *Engliſh* Tongue, as they light vpon them in the Churches. Afterwards, they celebrated Maſſe, whereſoere they went; they leuied and brought into the field many men, vnder flying colours, wherein were painted in ſome, the fiue wounds of our Lord; in others, the Challice of the Euchariſt; *Robert Norton*, a venerable and graue Gentleman, who was old and bald, carried the Croſſe, with the Colonell enſigne: they came by ſmall dayes marches, to *Chifordmore*, which is not farre from *Wetherbie*, where, making a generall muſter of their Army, vpon the two and twentieth day of their Rebellion, they could make no more but ſixe hundred Horſe, and foure thouſand foot: and when they heard that the Queene of *Scots*, (for whoſe releaſement out of impriſoment, they had principally taken vp armes) was conducted from *Tudberie*, to *Couentrey*, a ſtrong Citie, and committed to the guard and cuſtodie of the Earles of *Shrewsburie*, and *Huntington*: that the Earle of *Suſſex* of the one ſide of them, had raiſed a mightie Armie, to ſet vpon them: that Sir *George Bowes* lay at their backes, with choſen and maine troupes, and had fortified *Bernard-Caſtell*: and how the Earle of *Cumberland* and the Lord *Scrope* had manned and ſecured *Carlile*, and dayly

Their Colours.

Their number.

leuied

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leuied more forces, they retired from those quarters, and returning speedily, in a manner the same way they came, they came before *Rabie*, which is the principall house and seate of the Earles of *Westmerland*; from whence departing, they straitly beleaguerd *Bernard* Castle, which in a short time yeelded to them for want of prouision & victuall, and Sir *George Bowes*, with *Robert Bowes* his brother, and all the Souldiers of the Garison, issued out with their Armes.

They returne.

They take Bernard Castle.

They were formerly proclaimed Traitors, by sound of Trumpet. The same very day, my Lord of *Sussex*, accompanied with the Earle of *Rutland*, & the Lords of *Hunsdon*, *Euers*, and *Willowbie* of *Parham*, marched against them with seuen thousand men. When they saw they were come to *Ackland*, being terrified and daunted, they fell to flight, and fell backe toward *Hexham*, which place also leauing speedily, they crossed along by vnbeaten paths, that so they might creepe couertly vnder the hedges, and came to the Castle of *Nawortb*; where, vnderstanding that the Earle of *Warwicke* and the Lord *Clynton* Vice-Admirall, followed close at their heeles, with twelue thousand men, drawne out of the South parts of *England*; the two Earles fled into the neerest parts of *Scotland*, with a few men, vnknowne to the rest, where the Earle of *Northumberland* obscured himselfe for a while, about *Harclaw*, in the little countrey *Hamlets*, amongst the *Grymes*, most notable Theeues, who deliuered him afterwards into the Earle of *Murray*'s hands. The Earle of *Westmerland* found some meanes to hide himselfe about *Carry Furnhurst*, and *Bucklie*, and at last scapt into *Flanders*, with some other *English* in his company, where he liu'd a long, but a poore life, vpon a small Pension which the King of *Spaine* allowed him. The rest saued themselues, some by flight, some by lurking in holes and dennes. For example and terrour, sixe inferiour Magistrates were hanged at *Durham*, and others,

They fly.

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among which, one *Plumtree* a Prieſt, was a man of greateſt note. There were formerly executed at *Yorke*, *Digbie*, *Falthrope*, *Biſhop*, and *Pouenham*. And certaine moneths after, *Chriſtopher* and *Thomas Nortons*, brethren, were put to death at *London*, and ſome others in other places.

Some are put to death.

The reſt are baniſht,

After this, the moſt apparāt & notable Rebels, were condemned of high Treaſon, and baniſht, as namely, the Earles of *North.* & *Weſtm.* the Counteſſe of *North.* the Daughter to the Earle of *Wigorne*, *Edward Dacres* of *Morton*, *Iohn Neuill* of *Leuerſerg*, *Io. Swineborne*, *Tho. Marquenfield*, *Egre. Ratcliffe*, brother to the Earle of *Suſſex*, *Char. Neuill*, *Ro. Norton* of *Nortonconniers*, *Chriſt. Marmaduke*, and *Thomas* of the Family of the *Nortons*, *Ro.* and *Na. Tempeſts*, *George Stafford*, and about ſome fortie others of Noble and worthie Houſes, whoſe conuiction and baniſhment was confirmed by the whole houſe of Parliament, and pardon granted to ſome, who had no Eſtates, nor euer went out of the Kingdome. And thus the flame of this Rebellion was in a ſhort time quencht, *Chiapine Vitelli*, who was priuie to it, as I told you before, openly admiring the ſame in the preſence of her Maieſtie, and many great men of the Kingdome, but (no doubt) inwardly greeuing this Rebellion was ſo eaſily and ſuddenly ſuppreſt, and that ſo his owne comming into *England* tooke ſo little effect.

A new Rebellion.

From the combuſtions of this Rebellion, thus couered and extinguiſht, as out of the aſhes of that former fire, a little flame began to kindle at *Naworth* in *Cumberland*, neere to the Valley of *Seuerus*, which was raiſed by *Lau. Dacres*, ſecond ſonne to *Geor.* Lord *Dacres* of *Gileſland*. This man, after the death of the young Lord *Dacres* his Nephew, becauſe he was the ſonne of his elder Brother, being angry that ſo large a Patrimonie ſhould by Law diſcend vnto his Neeces, whom the Duke of *Norfolke* their Father in law had betrothed to his three ſonnes, hee commenced ſuite againſt them: but perceiuing that it would

come

come to no prosperous issue on his side, hee secretly combin'd with the Rebels, and attempted to carry away the Queene of *Scots*, but all in vaine. But the Rebels being defeated sooner then he expected, and proclaimed Traitors openly, whilest himselfe lay in Court, after he had obtained the fauour to kisse the Queenes hands, hee promised to employ himselfe with his whole power against them; wherevpon he was sent home to his own house. But when he was in the way (as was discouered afterwards) hee imparted vnto them his dessignes by messengers, which renew'd their spirit and courage, making them many promises in the behalfe of diuers Ambassadours to strange Princes; and amongst others, perswading them, that with such men as he would raise in the Queenes name, he would kill the Lord *Scroope*, Gouernour of the West Borders, and the Bishop of *Carlile*. But not being able to effect it, he followed the Earles who were fled with Letters recõmendatorie to the *Scots*, surprized *Gristock* Castle, and other houses belonging to the *Dacres*, fortifyed the Castle of *Naworth*, as if he had some right and interest in it, and vnder pretext of defending his owne goods, and opposing the Rebels, hee got together three thousand theeues of the borders, and others, who stood best affected to the *Dacres*, much esteemed and respected in those quarters.

The Lord of *Hunsdon*, with the most expert Souldiers of the Garrison of *Barwicke*, went into the Field against them, who trusting to no fortifications, went still forward, and with an Armie rang'd in Triangular forme, and flanker'd with Horse, they attended them, neere to a little Riuer called *Gelt*, where (questionlesse) they had a sound fight, both for the one part and the other; and *Leonard*, though he was lame, came short of nothing required in a valiant and resolute Captaine. But when the greatest part of his men were slaine, he left the Victory to my Lord of *Hunsdon*, not greatly pleasing to him, and so retired into the

The Rebells are defeated.

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the neereſt places of *Scotland*, from w hence, not long after, he croſt ouer into *Flanders*, where hee died poore at *Louaine*; ſo that the curſes impoſed vpon him by his dying Father, prooued true. The Lord of *Hunſdon* commended the keeping of thoſe Caſtles taken from the Rebells, to the Duke of *Norfolks* men, and the Queenes Maieſtie by a publike Proclamation, granted a generall pardon to all the multitude which he had excited to Rebellion.

Qu. Elizabeth lends ſuccours to the reformed Churches in France.

Though this Rebellion raiſd many tumults and diſturbances within her Kingdome, yet would not her Maieſtie neglect the Proteſtants in *France*, their State beeing at that time wretched and deplorable: For the Princes of the ſame Religion hauing much importuned her to defend the common cauſe, ſhe furniſht the Queen of *Nauarre* with money, vpon ſome Iewels and other ornaments, and permitted *Hen. Champernoune*, Brother by the Fathers ſide to *Gawyn*, who married the Earle of *Mountgomeries* Daughter, to conduct into *France* a Company of an hundred Noble voluntary Gentlemen, vnder one *Guydon*, who had written on it this Motto,

La vertu me donne fin.

Among whom, were *Phil. Butſhed*, *Fr. Barkley*, and *Gualter Raleigh*, who was but yong, and tooke his firſt ſay and taſte of the wars. The K. of *France* conceiu'd, that either to draw vp, or at leaſt to diuert to ſome other employments, the great wealth of *England*, which was abundantly diſburs'd in ayde and ſuccour of the Proteſtants; he reſolued to kindle a new warre againſt *England*, by aſſiſting the *Scots*, who kept the Caſtle of *Dunbriton* for the Queene of *Scotland*. In which Seruice, *Monſieur de Martigues* was employed, a Souldier who then liued in the very prime of his Reputation; but he being ſlaine with an *Harquebuzada* at the ſiege of *S. Iean d' Angeli*, this Proiect vaniſht, & tooke no effect.

Ireland

Booke 1. 1569.

Ireland in those times, was no more free from Rebellion: For *Ed.* and *Phil. Butler*, brothers to the Earle of *Ormond*, who had iniuriously entreated their neighbours in *Munster*, refused to obey the Lawes, molested true Subiects with Pillories and wastel, and colleagued themselues with *Ioh. Fitz-Morris* of the house of *Desmond*, *Macartimore Fitz-Edmond*, Steward of *Imoquell*, and others who had negotiated with the Pope and the King of *Spaine*, to re-establish the Romane Religion in *Ireland*, and to suppresse Queene ELIZABETH: For which cause they were denounced Rebels against the State, and Sir *Pe. Carne* continually galled them with light Skirmishes, wherein Fortune was variable. Neuertheless, hauing made an head of many *Galloglasses*, they beleaguerd *Kilkennie*, and commanded the Inhabitants to deliuer into their hands the wife of *Warham* of *Saint-Leiger*: but being repelled by the Garrison, who issued out vpon them, they miserably forraged and wasted the whole Countrey round about. The more to excite and spread the flame of this sedition, *Iohn Mendoza* came secretly in the behalfe of the *Spaniard*; and out of *England*, to extinguish it, the Earle of *Ormond*, who perswaded his Brothers to submit themselues, who were neuertheless imprisoned. But the Earle obtained of the Queen, through his continuall and dayly intercession, that their Triall and Iudgement might be desired, and not be brought to the rigour of the Law, though their crimes and offences had deserued it: the which he tooke grieuously, not beeing able to endure, that at their occasion, such infamie should be vpon their most Noble and illustrious house, so neere allyed to Queene ELIZABETH, who reioyced and glorified so often, that the Nobility of that House had euer beene pure, and their blood vntainted. But the Lord Deputie pursuing liuely the remainder of that Rebellion, dissipated it in a very short space of time.

Some Troubles were also moued and stirred vp in *Vlster*

Booke 1. 1569.

by *Turlogh-Leinich*, who, through inconſtancie, embraced ſometimes warre, and ſometimes peace; according to the headſtrong deſire & raſh pleaſure of his Followers, Officers and Seruants. But he was kept in awe & within the bounds of duety, not ſo much by the *Engliſh* Garriſons, as by the *Hebrideans*, who of thoſe poore and meagre Iſlands, ſeized vpon his earthly poſſeſſions. Againſt whoſe incurſions, there was ſent out of *England* a great deale of money, to fortifie and ſtrengthen the Sea-Coaſt: but in vaine, out of a misfortune, common as well to *England* as *Ireland*, where, for the moſt part, men intrude themſelues, and are admitted into thoſe publike places, who baſely reſpecting their owne priuate gaine, doe neglect the publike weale, and generall commodity of the Kingdome.

* *
*

The end of the Firſt Book of the Annals and Hiſtory of that mighty Empreſſe, Queene ELIZABETH, *of moſt happy and bleſſed memory.*

THE

THE HISTORIE OF THE MOST HIGH, MIGHTY, AND Euer-glorious *Empresse*, ELIZABETH, *Inuincible Queene of* England, Ireland, &c. *True* Defendresse of the Faith, of immortall Renowne, *and neuer-dying Fame and Memory.*

OR,

ANNALES OF ALL SVCH REMARKable things as happned during her blest Raigne ouer her Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*; as also such Acts as past betwixt her MAIESTY *and* Scotland, France, Spaine, Italy, Germany, *and the* Netherlands.

The second Booke.

Faithfully translated out of the *French*, and publisht in *English*, with the KINGS leaue and Authority, granted by his most Excellent *Maiestie* to ABRAHAM DARCIE.

To my Noble and wel-deseruing Friend,

Mr.

A	dmire I would, but dare not, lest that I
B	e thought to flatter, speaking VERITY.
R	eason bids attribute to worth its due,
A	nd he detracts, that spares to speake what's true:
H	ow shall I shunne (if shunne the Truth to shame)
A	Parasites, or a Detractors name?
M	uch care I not, yet this much dare I say,
D	ARSSIE, thou hast done well, deseru'st thy pay,
A	Guerdon due to thy laborious Pen,
R	aising ELIZA's Royall Fame agen:
S	uch as thy worke, such honour as is due,
S	hall to thy well-deseruing Pen accrue:
H	n making vulgar now this matchlesse Story,
E	*ngland* shall euer eternize thy glory.

THOMAS GASNALL.

THE

To the worthy fauourers of *Vertue, and iudicious louers* of LEARNING,

HENRY [b] GRAY, Lord *Ruthin*, Baron of *Weisford*, and *Hastings*, &c. Earle of *Kent*.
AND
To the highly-borne Lady, ELIZABETH, his gracious *Countesse*.

OLIVER [a] SAINT-IOHN, Baron of *Bletso*, Lord SAINT-IOHN.
AND
To his Noble Sisters, The Lady *Dorothy*, Countesse of *Bath*, & the Honourable Maide, *Katherine* St-IOHN.

Anno 1523. *Richard* [b] *Gray*, Lord *Ruthin*, &c Earle of *Kent*, Knight of the Garter, dying without issue, and hauing greatly wasted his Estate, his Brother, Sir *Henry Gray* of *Wrest*, refused to take vpon him the Title of Earle of *Kent*; and likewise after his death, his Sonne, *Henry Gray*, Esquire, did the like. But his Grand-child, *Reynald Gray*, Esquire, was, by the Noble bounty and infinite goodnesse of Queene ELIZABETH aduanced to the honour of the said Earledome of *Kent*, *Anno* 1572. which (for want of competent meanes to maintaine the same honourably) was before vacant and discontinued for the space of 48. yeeres. He married *Susanna Berty*, the daughter of *Katherine*, Ducheſſe of *Suffolke*, & dyed without Issue, *Anno* 1572. and was buried by his Grandfather, Sir *Henry Gray*, in Saint. *Gyles* Church without *Cripple-gate*, in *London*; leauing for heyre his brother, who succeeded him in the Earledome, and was Vncle to this honourable Earle now liuing, &c.

This Noble Baron [a] & Ladies Grandfather, was (for his worthy merits, & for the eminent Nobility, & sincere integrity of the vertuous Family of the *St. Iohns*, his Ancestors) created L. *St. Iohn*, Baron of *Bletso*, By Qu. ELIZA.

To the Right Honourable, Sir *Foulke* * *Greuill*, Lord *Brooke*, Barō of *Beauchamps-Court*, Gentleman of the Kings Bed-Chamber, and one of his Maiesties priuie Councell.

To the Right Generous, truely vertuous, and euery way Nobly accompliſht, Sir *Pereiuall* * *Hart*, of *Lullingstone*, in the County of *Kent*, Knight.

This * worthy Nobleman was, for his graue wisdom, one of Queen *Elizabeth's* Bedchamber, and for his generous valour, knighted by her Maiestie at *Killingworth*. He was also Treasurer of the Royall Nauy, Secretary of her Maiesties Honourable Councell for the Marches of Wales.

This * worthy Knight was for his excellent parts, & Noble vertues, honored with the dignity of Knighthood, by Queene ELIZABETH.

ALthough a * Hiſtory (Right Noble & Illustrious) bee most dangerous, and no lesse troublesome to write, yet there is nothing more commodious, beneficial &

*There is great differēce and diuersitie, tending to the manner of describing Stories: First, there is Chronology, Chronicles, Ephemerides, Epitomies, Rhopsodies, Abridgment, Hiſtory, and *ANNALS*.

Chronologie hath two conditions, both particular and necessary: called by the Greekes, *Alathea*, and *Apathia*, which is the truth of things set forth without any passion.

The Chronicle aymes at the originall of matters, and to seeke the immemoriall Time, from the first antiquity and foundation of peoples and Nations, as *Herodote* for Greece, *Titus Liuius*, for the Latine, *Le maire* in the illustrations of the Gauls, Mr. *Speed* for England, and others.

The Ephemerides describes that which hath been said or done betwixt two persons.

salutiferous to men, sith it is *The testimony of Time*, *The light of Truth*, and *The preseruer of Life*; suffering scarce no mens Names to dye, nor their renownes to be buried in obliuion: for by the recordation of the deedes which they haue enacted in Times past, they are committed to future Times, eternized to the perpetuall honour of immortall fame, and neuer-dying glory: Nay more, they seeme as *Alexander*, *Scipio*, *Pompey*, *Iulius Cæsar*, *Charles the Great*, and diuers other whose memory is fresh and euer-liuing: nothing else, but the eternall monuments of *Annals* deliuered *Hercules*, and freed other worthy men, (who liued well and singularly profitable to their Countrey) from fading and perishing, though dead and forgotten: It was this therefore which caused Princes, and other great men to desire nothing more, then that their worthy

worthy deedes and noble acts iudiciously performed in time of *Peace*, as well as generously in *Warre*, should be carefully written, and so propagated to all posterities by some learned *Historiographer*: as appeareth by *Alexander the Great*, who when a messenger came to him, exulting with ioy, and running with a chearefull countenance fully to relate the prosperous successe of his fortunate affaires, made him this answere, *What greater and better newes can you participate and vnfold vnto mee, vnlesse by certifying mee that* Homer *is liuing?* Intimating thereby, that all the glory of his Heroicke actions, were like to wither and be forgotten, except some such a one as *Homer* was, should reuiue, to sing worthily his Encomiums, & sound his Praises and Victories with the shrill sounding Trumpet of Fame.

Neuertheless, confessing my selfe vnable

Rhapsodis and *Epittomes* are short obseruations of History.

Annalls and History is different from all those, for they describe all the memorable deedes and particular actions that hapned yeerely, and from time to time: such as *Xenophon* was in Greece, *Salust* among the Latins, *Froissard* in France, and Mr. *William Cambden* in England, and so diuers others.

The seuerall and yeerely acts must be described without any passion or affection.

vnable (though much desirous to doe you that seruice, I haue vndertooke the translation of the Heroick *Annals* of that euer blessed Queene *Elizabeth* of most happy memory, by which I aime at the preseruation of her glory, * and to the perpetuall honor of your names, vnder whose honorable banner, I haue sought to shelter these my poore labours: To shew aswel the dutiful seruice of a poore Stranger to these Kingdomes in generall, as his humble and sincere affection to all your Honours in particular. The worthines of the Subiect, makes me not doubt of your noble acceptance, & inuites mee to bring my Oblation to the Temple of your Vertues; where, after vnfeigned Prayers for your Honours perpetuall happinesse, as well spirituall as temporall, I, with the lowest step of dutie, take my leaue; vowing euer to remaine

Your Honours humblest deuoted obseruant,

ABRAHAM DARCIE.

* Such courtesie from your Honours will ingraue your worth in the Temple of Eternity, making your names thereby immortall, sith it is onely this or such like seruice, that can make you liue againe in your graue, keepe your noble fame fresh, and your happy memory from fading, sith it wil cause your ashes to bring forth Laurell, and Palme flourish and spring out of your Tombes, when the base ignorant contemners of learning, (which doe abound in this iron age) will wither and fade: they seeme now only to liue on earth, but to warre against Vertues; much like vnto wormes in Libraries, to destroy and deuour learning, which they should cherish.

THE HISTORIE OF THE MOST High, Mighty, and Inuincible Princesse, Queene ELIZABETH, of most happy and neuer-dying memory:

OR ANNALES

Of all the most remarkable things that happened during her blessed Raigne ouer the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, &c.

The 13. yeere of her Raigne, Anno 1570.

REbellion being then extinct in *England*, the Earle of *Murray*, Vice-roy of *Scotland*, with much care and policie, perswaded and industriously laboured that the Queene of *Scots* might bee resigned and deliuered into his hands; proffering to that effect hostages and pledges: withall, the better to incite a condiscending to this his demand, hee promised

The Earle of Murray demands that the Qu. of Scotland might be put into his hands.

Booke 2.

1570.

miſed that the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland* ſhould be immediately deliuered backe. In the meane time, he wrought with ſuch diligence, that the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, as an Author, Fauourer, and Aſſiſter of the Rebels, was committed into the ſafe guard and cuſtody of the Biſhop of *London*. And further to oblige Queene ELIZABETH by ſome ſpeciall ſeruice, he powerfully entred with an Armie vpon the frontier Prouinces of *England*, there to ſeeke out the *Engliſh* Rebells; but apprehending ſome fewe of ſmall note, in the concluſion finds out the Earle of *Northumberland* (whom he found hidden and diſguiſed among a company of Out-lawes and Fugitiues) by the meanes of his Oaſt that diſcouered him: The Vice-Roy much reioycing in his Noble Prize, ſent him as Priſoner to *Lake-Leuin*, ſafely there to be kept in guard, whileſt he perſiſting in his reuenge, with much rigour afflicted the inhabitants of thoſe Frontier parts.

He purſueth the Engliſh Rebells.

But vnfortunately retyring himſelfe to a Towne called *Limnuch* (which vulgarly paſſeth by the name of *Lithquo*) there reſoluing with himſelfe, after ſo many weariſome trauails, and exceſſiue iournies, to giue a quiet repoſe to his ouer-charged ſpirits; the neuer-changing doome of heauen had there ſet downe the period of his dayes: for, riding through the Streetes, little ſuſpecting the diſaſter that attended him, he was ſuddenly ſlaine by the ſtroke of a bullet vnder his nauell, ſent from the fatall hand of the Lord *Hamilton*, who by preſent flight ſaued himſelfe in *France*, where he remained certaine yeeres, oftentimes proteſting, that the ſtrength of his patience no longer able to hold out againſt the many inſolent iniuries done him by the Earle, he made his owne hands the author of his owne reuenge: For the Vice-Roy knowing him to be one of the Queenes partiſans, baniſhed him, and afterwards impriſoned him, and by many threats and menaces of ſeuere puniſhment, conſtrained him to releaſe to one of his Tenants, a little Countrie

The Earle of Murray is ſuddenly kild

Countrie Farme, which befell to him by reaſon of his wife that became lunaticke. Theſe inforſt him to ſuch rage, that hauing by ſome ſtrange meanes broke his priſon, hee committed this murder. Booke 2. 1570.

After this exploit, liuing in *France*, he was there reputed to be a very fit and ready inſtrument for ſuch actions: yet could he neuer be perſwaded or procured to doe the like to the Admirall *Coligni*; often anſwering, that he had himſelfe taken vengeance of his owne iuſt griefes and iniuries (of which he repented himſelfe) yet neither reward nor intreaties ſhould any way preuaile ſo much with him, as to be the inſtrument of anothers reuenge.

Diuers opinions are had of him.

The rumor of this murder being ſtraight diuulged and ſpred ouer *Great-Britaine*, there aroſe various opinions, and diuers ſtrange iudgements vpon the ſame; and among other ſurmizes, his mothers dreame was then recalled to memory, of a Lyon and a Dragon combating in her wombe, after ſhe had beene priuately knowne by *Iames* the Fifth. Diuers were the opinions and cenſures of moſt men, but eſpecially of thoſe of ſounder iudgement and apprehenſion, according to their diuers affections: of ſome he was much commended, becauſe he was very ſtudious for the expelling of the Romiſh Recuſants out of *Scotland*, for ſo carefully preſeruing the King, being yet an Infant, and likewiſe for his great and liberall bounty to men of learning; and aboue all, to *Buchanan*: on the contrary part, hee was of other-ſome greatly condemned, becauſe he, vnder the colour and couerture of Religion, enricht himſelfe and his friends with the ſpoiles of the Church; and with a moſt iniurious ingratitude, inſulted and tyrannized ouer the imbecillity of his Siſters weake Sexe, hauing before obliged him to her by many benefits. And of theſe, ſome would preſage, through their ſuſpicious coniectures, grounded vpon the miſchieuous inclination which is incident to moſt baſtards; That that man would not ſpare the

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Sonne, that had bereaued the Mother of her Kingdome. The Queen of *Scots* expreſt much ſorrow for him, becauſe ſuch a violent and vnexpected death had ſnatcht him away before (as ſhe ſaid) he had by ſerious repentance expiated the multiplicity of the ſinnes hee had committed againſt God, his Countrey, and his Prince. But foraſmuch as hee greatly fauoured ſuch *Engliſh* as were affected to the Duke of *Norfolke*, hee was thought and accuſed to bee a faigned and diſſembling Politician.

The Scots & Rebels make incurſions vpon England.

The next ſucceeding night to this murder, *T. Carrey* of *Fernihurſt*, and *Walter* a Scottiſh-man of *Buchlui*, two of the hardieſt and valianteſt of thoſe Frontiers, and ſo much affected to the Queene of *Scots*, that for their deuout following of her faction and party, they ſuffered baniſhment, with the confiſcation of their goods, breathing forth defiance and vengeance againſt the Queene of *England*, becauſe the Vice-Roy in her fauour, had ſo cruelly afflicted the Frontier inhabitants; they violated the peace, and by force entred into *England* with a rout of *Scottiſh* and ſome *Engliſh* Rebells, conſuming and deuaſting with ſword and fire, the neighbouring Countries, as though they would haue made them deſolate like Deſarts: whereupon *T. Randolph* was incontinently diſpatcht into *Scotland*, there, in a publike Aſſembly of the Lords of the Realme, to giue notice of this iniurious outrage: And if by reaſon of the manifold troubles wherewith *Scotland* was at that preſent incumbred, they could not repreſſe the diſturbers of the Peace, the Queene would reuenge and right herſelfe by force of Armes, of that inſolent affront which ſhe had receiued; without any way indamaging others, ſaue thoſe that had deſeruedly incurred her vengeance. To this was only anſwered, That as yet there was no Vice-Roy choſen or deſigned amongſt them: Neuertheleſſe, that the iniuries done to the Frontier inhabitants might bee redreſſed, a command was giuen to the Lord of *Suſſex*, to leauie a competent

petent Armie, and march againſt the Lords of *Buchlui* and of *Fernihurſt*, to purſue and chaſe with deſerued rigour, onely thoſe that with the rebellious *Engliſh* had ouer-run & pillaged thoſe of the Frontiers. Now the Earles of *Huntley* and *Argathel*, that had all this while laboured in the behalfe of the Queene of *Scots* hearing of his approach, ſent vnto him one *Trebon*, to demand a Truce, and that they might obtaine ſo long reſpit, vntill they ſhould acquaint Queene ELIZABETH with their affaires. But they perceiuing that they could by no meanes wreſt him from his deſſignes, they began firſt to vſe threatnings, thinking to deterre him, but that not preuailing, they were enforſt to vſe ſubmiſſiue intreaties, that he would become an arbitratour for the aboliſhing of certaine ordinances which had beene created in *Scotland*, ſome two yeeres before.

The Engliſh take reuenge thereof.

Neuertheleſſe, *Suſſex* about the midſt of *Aprill*, entred into *Scotland* with the Baron of *Hunſdon*, *Drury*, Marſhall of *Barwicke*, and the *Engliſh* Armie: where they burned through the whole Countrey of *Tiuiſdale*, the houſes and villages of *Buchlui* and *Carrey*, ouerthrew and deſtroyed their countrey, and vtterly ruinated *Fernihurſt* and *Craling*, two of the principal Forts of *T. Carrey*. At the ſame inſtant, the Lord *Scroope* likewiſe entred vpon the Eaſt parts of *Scotland*, laying deſolate on euery ſide, through the Earledome of *Anaudale*, the poſſeſſions of *Ionſton*, & others that had in like maner fauoured the *Engliſh* Rebells, ſuch was his expedition at his firſt cõming, that there were 300. houſes conſumed by fire, & 50. Forts at leaſt laid leuell with the earth.

They ſuccoured thoſe in Scotland that were of the Kings partie.

A few dayes after, the Lord of *Suſſex* entred further into *Scotland*, with the Baron of *Hunſdon*, where they beſieged the Caſtle of *Hume*, which was the chiefe refuge of the *Engliſh* Rebels which yeelded vp as ſoone as the great Artillery, were planted againſt it. But there were found in it but two of the Rebells, which they cauſed preſently to be hanged; and placing a Garriſon in it, *Drury* was forth-

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forth-with commanded to batter downe *Fast-Castle*, which was also a prime Fortresse of the Baron of *Hume*, which likewise without resistance was yeelded vp.

The *English* Rebells then retired into the heart of *Scotland*, associated with diuers other Rebels, there with fire and sword they threatned the Frontier inhabitants of *England*, and those in like manner of *Scotland*, that were of the Queenes partie: the Lord of *Sussex* againe sent forth *Drury*, who returned within seuen dayes with 1200. foote, and 400. horse. *Drury* receiued from *Collingham*, certaine hostages for the Earles of *Angus*, of *Morton*, of *Mar*, of *Glencarne*, and for the Barons of *Reuuen*, and of *Lindsay*, who with diuers others had recalled the *English*. Then *Sussex* himselfe, accompanied with *G. Carrey*, *P. Manours*, *R. Constable*, which hee had honoured with the order of Knighthood with *Druray*, *A. Bowes*, *G. Knolles*, *T. Brichwell*, *R. Gam*, *Elrington*, *Carnill*, with other Captaines and Commanders in the Armie, marching toward *Edenborrough*, ioyned his forces with those Earles, and the Duke of *Lenox*, then newly returned from *England*, who before was suspected to be of the partie with the Duke of *Norfolke* and the Queene of *Scots*. Thus marching through *Limnuch* towards *Glasco*, where the Lord of *Hamilton*, Duke of *Chastelraut* had retired himselfe, and from thence towards the Castle *Hamilton*, which, after they had mightily battered with the Cannon, and almost beaten it downe, was yeelded vp in a small space. Then were the houses of the *Hamiltons*, with their stately and magnificent buildings, defaced and consumed with remorceleſſe fire, ransacking their demaines of *Cluisdale*, and at their chiefe Mannour house, situated neere *Limnuch*.

They take the Castle of Hamilton.

Thus the *Hamiltons* with the rest, that tooke part with the deposed Queene, beeing extirpated and put to flight, the Lords of *Scotland*, and those of the Kings part, beeing ready to assemble about the election of a new Vice-Roy, they

they sent to demand counsell of Queene ELIZABETH, who sent them this answer: That because she would not preiudicate against the Queene of *Scots* (her cause not as yet being iudged of) she would not intermeddle with that election. Vpon which answere, they chose *Lenox* first of all *Inter-Roy*, and presently after *Vice-Roy*, the Queene of *England* not any way gaine-saying it; because she knew well, that he was naturally addicted to loue the King his Nephew, and was also assured that he was well affected to the *English* by reason of the many benefits receiued from them, and would alwaies be at her deuotion, in respect that his wife remained in her power.

The Earle of Lenox is establisht Vice-Roy of Scotland.

In the meane time that the Queene thus fauoured the Kings party in *Scotland*, the *Spaniard* failed not in any point towards the imprisoned Queene; but at the motion of the Lord of *Hamilton*, Rector of the Church at *Dunbar*, sent vnder the hands of the Gouernour of *Flanders*, certaine prouision for warre, as a certaine quantitie of powder, with seuen Peeces of great Cannon, and some small summes of money, to the Earle of *Huntley*, Gouernour for the Queene in the North parts of *Scotland*. Wherevpon the Earle of *Huntley*, the Duke of *Chastelraut*, and the Earle of *Argathell*, by a common aduice and consent, with the approbation of the Queene of *Scots*, whose Lieutenants they were, did send this Ambasie to the Duke of *Alua*, by the Baron of *Setone*, who thus in the Dukes presence proposed his message in these termes:

The King of Spaine giues succours against those who were of the Kings side.

The Lord Setone his Ambassage to the Duke of Alua.

THat he was sent from a Realme, which, by the treacheries of rebellious Subiects, was depriued of its publike peace, and a most gracious Princesse; and that the tenour of his Ambasie was, to demand and entreat assistance and succours, to recouer her from a miserable Captiuity, being detayned in a strange Land, and the Realme from the oppression of strangers: That

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That the Scottish Rebells might not be suffered to trafique in the Spanish Confines, and that there might bee deliuered to the Queene the tenne thousand Crownes that were assigned vnto her: shewing also, that shee did wholly cast her selfe into the hands of the King of Spaine, well knowing that he did alwaies harbour in his heart a sincere loue to true honour, iustice, and piety; obiects most worthy and fitting for a Catholike Prince; and employed for Intercessor the Duke D'Alua, who she knew would endeuour himselfe to accomplish his desires. That he propounded not to the King of Spaine any profit or commodity that might redound to him, beeing a thing vnworthy of so great a Maiesty, but onely offers to him from an vnfaigned heart, the perpetuall amity and humble seruice of his most Illustrious Queene, and her most warlike Countrey-men, the Scots. That the Glory of Charles the Fifth, his Father, would for euer liue eternized, for re-establishing the Duke of Ferrara, and the Mahumetan King in their first dignity. But if hee should re-establish the Queene, being a constant Professor of the true Catholique religion, and an absolute Princesse, of the consanguinity and alliance of the greatest Princes of Christendome, and an vndoubted Heire to two flourishing Kingdomes, it would bee to him an euer-liuing glory, and an incomparable argument of most Christian piety. That in so doeing, hee should not onely binde France, Denmarke, Lorraine, the Guizes, S. Peter, and all Christendome to his loue, but also make his fame equally celebrated with his Fathers, nay, euen surpasse him farre, in relieuing and re-establishing by his example, Princesses that are iniustly and treacherously deposed from their lawfull Thrones: That being himselfe the greatest Monarch in Christendome, and hauing vnder his command and obeisance farre distant Countreys, which might giue occasion

with

with great eaſe of ſuch and ſo inſolent arrogance, yet getting by this meanes intereſt in all Princes, they may with more eaſe be ſuppreſt; That this pernicious example of depoſing Kings, was neuer left vnreuenged; That he ſhould be a moſt excellent and fruitfull modell of rare Iuſtice, and that if he ſhould re-eſtabliſh her that flieth and ſueth to him for ſuccour, hee ſhould tye in moſt faſt bands of Amity and Alliance to himſelfe, a Queene Dowager of France, *abſolute of* Scotland, *and moſt certaine Heire to* England; *with her the* Scottiſh *Nation, which ſince* Charles *the Great, haue manifeſted themſelues to all the world moſt firme, conſtant, and faithfull in their Alliance with* France. *And furthermore, that now occaſion was offered him, to reuenge the many iniuries which hee had receiued from the Queene of* England, *that aideth and fauoureth the Rebels of the* Netherlands, *that hath vniuſtly ſeized vpon his Coine, and the goods of his Subiects, and alſo euill-intreated and abuſed his Ambaſſadours. That to ſit ſtill any longer, and ſee the* Scottiſh *Nation fall vnder the ſubiection of the* Engliſh, *would be a lazie ſlumber, and abſurd ſottiſhnes. That through the increaſe of power and domeſticke ſtrength which that Woman hath acquired, ſhee will at laſt proue terrible to her neighbours, and as ſhe is of a Maſculine courage, and of a ſexe couetous of command, ſhee may eaſily finde a meanes to entangle the King of* Spaine *in a long and troubleſome warre. But if ſhee were preuented in this, ſhe might eaſily be kept vnder her proper feare. That there are but a very few in* Scotland *that will oppoſe the impriſoned Queene. That all the Catholikes, and the greateſt part of the Nobles, are fauourers of her cauſe. That ſhe hath all the Ports & Hauens in her power, and that the Pope would not ſpare the very goods of the Church, to maintaine a warre ſo iuſt and holy. And*

 that

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that it meerely depended vpon the Catholike King, who was to muster his forces, and shew his power in so iust, pious and salutiferous a cause, and that all the Catholikes of Great Brittaine *expected from him onely, in this occasion, either their comfort or vtter ruine.*

The answere of the Duke of Alua.

To this the Duke of *Alua* answered, that he was ready, and addrest himselfe to the King of *Spaine* for the aduancement of this affaire, but could not deny traffique with the *Scottish* Rebels, because that might infringe the liberty of *Flanders*; promised to supply them for the most part with money. In the meane time, *Setone*, the deeper to oblige the King of *Spaine* and the Duke of *Alua*, passing ouer to the *Flemmings* Confederats in disguised manner, procured by soothing flatteries, feastings, and other-like meanes of corruption, the *Scottish* Companies vnder them, to reuolt, and as he was ready to be questioned about it, and in great danger of his life, saued himselfe with much adoe, vnder the Duke of *Alua*, who promised to furnish him with ten thousand Souldiers for sixe moneths: but in vaine, in regard they were so full of troubles in *Flanders*, that they could not transport any Souldiers for *Scotland*.

The Bishop of Rosse is set at liberty.

Whiles these things were a doing, the Bishop of *Rosse*, who had meritoriously laboured the affaires of the Queene of *Scotland*, in *England*, and had beene committed to the custodie of the Bishop of *London*, about a secret practice of Rebellion, being now set at liberty, brought it so to passe, that the King of *France*, by his Ambassadour *De Monluc*, laboured most earnestly with Queene ELIZABETH for the re-establishment of the Queene of *Scotland*, complayning that she was more strictly handled then formerly, vnder the custodie of the Earle of *Huntington*, her sworne enemie and emulator, who (as well as she) had secret aimes to the Kingdome of *England*. The Ambassadour of *Spaine* also at the sollicitation of the Bishop of *Rosse*, prest that

Laboured the liberty of the Queene of Scots.

point

point very hard, in the name and behalfe of his King. But the Queene, after ſhee had ſeriouſly reuolued the cunning deuices that they all practiſed to free the Queene of *Scots*, and had couertly giuen out, that ſhe was ioyned with them in the Rebellion lately appearing, anſwered him,

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THat it was an inconſiderate and dangerous folly, to free one that ſo apparantly aſpired by ill practice to the Crowne of England. *That ſhe had need more ſtraightly then ordinary to looke vnto her, and diſcharge ſome of her Seruants, whom ſhe had (for the moſt part) choſen for her own proper deſſignes, and to giue for an aſſiſtant to the Earle of* Shrewsbury, *whom ſhe had appointed for her Keeper, who began to ſuſpect the loyaltie of theſe people, the Earle of* Huntington, *whom ſhe neuer knew to haue any title to the Kingdome, but onely out of ſome relation to her in affinity: and that neuertheleſſe, ſhe had diſcharged him long ſithence; promiſeth to omit no meanes of agreement with the* Scots, *and proteſteth to proſecute no iniuries receiued by her. That ſhe euer hoped, that the King of* France, *the King of* Spaine, *and the* Queen *of* Scotland, *would not take it in ill part, that ſhe onely prouided for the peace and ſafety of her ſelfe & her ſubiects, ſince nature, reaſon, and the honour of her Royall Name, did of right require the ſame at her hands: And that if any of them knew any way more expedient to preuent that imminent menacing danger, ſhee would not onely heare, but moſt willingly embrace it.*

They conſult about the freedome of the Queene of Scotland.

After this, they ſate in Councell often heereupon at the Court, whether it were beſt to ſend the Queen of *Scotland* backe into her Countrie, or retain her ſtil in *England*, and how they might beſt prouide for the ſafegard both of the Queene, and their Religion. Whiles they were conſulting

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sulting hereabout, *William Herbert*, Earle of *Pembroke*, happened to dye, being issue to *Richard*, son to *R. Herbert* the eldest Earle of *Pembroke*, being in the Climactericall yeere of his age, as if he had presaged what mischiefe should befal him, if hee had longer liued: leauing behinde him three children, *Henry*, *Edward*, and *Anne*. Hee was buried in S. *Pauls* Church, with stately and honourable Rites, and a most glorious Tombe erected for him; a Noble person, who out of his owne meanes raisd a Fortune to himselfe: For he so wrought into the fauour of HENRY the Eighth, that he made him one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber, and by his owne prudence increased his meanes, especially after the King had married *Katherine Parre*, his wiues Sister. And vnder EDVVARD the Sixth, hee procured (whiles the Court was distracted in seuerall factions) to be of the Order of Saint *George*, Knight of the Garter, the honour to be the Kings Squire, the Title of Baron *Herbert* of *Cardiffe*, and the dignity of the Earle of *Pembroke*. He was Generall, vnder Queene MARY, of her Troopes she sent against *Wyat*, and for the *English* Armie at S. *Quintin*, President of Wales, twice Gouernour of *Calais*: vnder Queene ELIZABETH, he was constituted Steward of her houshold, whose fauour he lost for a time, in regard that hee was the first moouer of the match betweene the Duke of *Norfolke* and the Queene of *Scotland*, notwithstanding his intention and will were no way ill affected therein, and failed narrowly a little before his death, of being questioned vpon certaine euidences at large dilated, and presumptions secretly found out.

Hitherto Pope *Pius* the Fifth had laid a foundation of abstruse & darke conspiracies for Queen ELIZABETH, and the yeere before, she hauing no warning thereof, nor cited by a Bull declaratorie, priuily sends forth an Anathema, and excites Rebellion, and causeth the said Bull to be fixed to the Palace Gates of the Bishop of *London*, in these words.

THE

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THE SENTENCE

Declaratory of the Holy Father Pope *Pius* the Fifth, against ELIZABETH the *pretended* Queene *of England, and those Here-*tiques adhering to her:

And finally, all such as obey her, to be insnared in the same.

PIVS, Bishop, a seruant of the seruants of GOD, for the future memory of the businesse.

HEe that rules in the Heauens aboue, and to whom all power is giuen both in Heauen and Earth, gaue vnto one onely vpon Earth, viz. *to* Peter, *the chiefest amongst the Apostles, and to the* Pope *of Rome*, Peters *Successor, a holy, Catholique, and Apostolique Church, (without which there is no Saluation) to gouerne it in the fulnesse of power. And this he ordayned as chiefe aboue all Nations and Kingdomes, to pull downe, destroy, dissever, cast off, plant, and erect: to combine in the vnitie of spirit, his faithfull people, connext toge-*

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ther through mutuall charitie, and present them whole and sound to his Sauiour. Which charge, Wee, who through the grace of GOD, are thereunto called, submitting our selues to the gouernement of the same Church, cease not with all our best labours and indeuours, to preserue this vnitie and Catholique Religion, which hee, (who was the Author thereof) so suffered to be incumbred, for the triall of the faith of his, and for our correction. But the number of the vngodly is so great in power, that there is not a corner left vpon the whole Earth now vntainted with their wicked Doctrines. Amongst which, ELIZABETH, *pretended* Queene *of England, is, aboue all, the shelter and refuge of Error, and most noysome enemies. It is She, who after shee had possessed the Kingdome, vsurping (monster-like) the place of the chiefe Soueraigne of the Church in England, and the principall iurisdiction and authoritie thereof, hath throwne into miserable ruine the whole Kingdome, when it was euen brought to the Catholique faith, and began to bring forth good fruits. For, shee with a powerfull hand prohibiteth the exercise of the true Religion (which was heretofore ouerthrowne by* HENRY *the Eighth, the forsaker thereof, and afterwards repayred with the helpe of this See, by* MARIE, *lawfull* Queene *of England, of famous memorie) and embraceth the Heresies of obscure perons; the Royall Councell once composed of the English Nobilitie, shee hath broken off, oppresseth such as made profession of, and exercised the Catholique Religion, reestablished the wicked Ministers and Preachers of impietie, abolished the sacrifice of the Masse, Prayers, Fastings, the diuiding of the Meates, the Celibate, and all Catholique Ceremonies, sent Bookes ouer her whole Kingdome, containing manifest Heresies, commended to her Subiects the prophane Mysteries and Institutions*

which

which shee had receiued, and obserued from the decree of Caluin, *displaced the Bishops, Rectors, and Catholique Priests from their Churches and Benefices, and disposed of them to Heretiques, and is bold to take vpon her to iudge and determine Ecclesiasticall affaires; forbade the Prelates, the Clergie, and people, to acknowledge the Roman Church, or obserue her Commandements, and canonicall duties; inforced diuers to sweare obedience to her detestable Ordinances, to renounce the authoritie due to the Roman dignitie, and acknowledge her the onely Soueraigne ouer temporall and spirituall things; imposed penalties and taxes vpon such as were refractory to her Iniunctions; inflicted punishments vpon those who persisted in the vnitie of the faith and obedience, imprisoned the Prelates and Gouernours of the Catholique Churches; where diuers being, with a tedious languishing and sorrow, miserably finished their vnhappy dayes. All which things beeing thus euident and apparant to all Nations, and so manifestly proued by the graue testimony of diuers, that there is no place left for any excuse, defence, or tergiuersation: Wee, perceiuing that these impieties and mischiefes doe still multiply one by another, and that the persecution of the faithfull, and the affliction of the Church doth daily increase, and waxe more heauy and grieuous, and finding that her heart is so obstinate and obdurate, that she hath not onely despised the wholesome Prayers and admonitions which the Christian Princes haue made for her better health and conuersion, but that shee hath denyed passage to the Nuncio's, who, for this end, were sent from this siege into England; and being compelled to beare the armes of Iustice against her, Wee cannot moderate the punishment that Wee are bound to inflict vpon her, whose Ancestors merited so well of the Christian Common-wealth. Being then supported by His Authoritie, who*

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who hath placed Vs vpon this Soueraigne Throne of Iuſtice, howſoeuer incapable of ſo great a charge, out of the fulneſſe of our Apoſtolicall power, doe pronounce and declare the ſaid ELIZABETH *an Heretique, and fauourer of Heretiques, and thoſe who adhere vnto her in the foreſaid things, haue incurred the Sentence of Anathema, and are cut off from the vnitie of the bodie of Chriſt. That ſhee is depriued of the right which ſhee pretends to the foreſaid Kingdome, and of all and euery Seigniorie, Royaltie, and priuiledge thereof: and the Peeres, Subiects, and People of the ſayde Kingdome, and all others vpon what termes ſoeuer ſworne vnto her, freed from their Oath, and from all manner of dutie, fidelitie, and obedience: As Wee doe free them by the authoritie of theſe Preſents, and exclude the ſaid* ELIZABETH *from the right which ſhee pretendeth to the ſaid Kingdome, and the reſt before mentioned. Commanding moreouer, & enioyning all, and euery the Nobles, as Subiects, people, and others whatſoeuer, that they ſhall not once dare to obey her, or any her directions, Lawes, or Commandements, binding vnder the ſame Curſe, thoſe who doe any thing to the contrary. And foraſmuch as it may ſeeme difficult for them to obſerue theſe Preſents in euery place where they haue occaſion for them, Our will is, that Copies hereof being written by ſome publique Notarie, and ſealed with the Seale of ſome Eccleſiaſticall Prelate, or of his Court, ſhall be of as good effect through the whole World, as theſe Preſents might doe, if they were exhibited and repreſented.* Giuen at *Rome*, at S. *Peters*, the 5. of March, in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Sauiour 1569. and of our Pont. the 5.

Cæſar Glorianus.

This

This caused new iealousies to increase, that some Monster was a breeding: also, it manifested a new Rebellion presently begun in *Norfolke*, which neuertheless was assoone extinct as kindled. Certaine of the Nobles of *Norfolke*, to free the Duke, whom all the World did with an especiall loue affect, practised a designe of collecting a great number of people together, at the instant as they were flocking to a Faire at *Harleston*, vnder colour of expulsing the *Flemmings* out of *England*, who to escape the tyranny of the Duke of *Alua*, were fled into this Country in great numbers. Some of them being apprehended, were brought to iudgement, and condemned of high-Treason: ELIZABETH, neuertheless, to testifie her clemency, would suffer but onely three to be punished, amongst whom, *I. Throgmorton* was most remarkeable, who being examined by the Iudge, would answer nothing, but being brought to execution, cleared the rest, and acknowledged himselfe the principall author and perswader thereof.

Rebellion in Norfolke assoone ended as begun.

I. Felton, who stucke vp the Popes Bull vpon the Bishop of *Londons* Gate, making no great difficultie of retyring, and sauing himselfe, was presently taken, and brought to iudgement, and confessing boldly the deede, howsoeuer no way acknowledging it as a fault, was hanged hard by the place where hee had stucke vp the Bul, affecting a vaine kinde of shew of a glorious Martyr. For the rest, the modester sort of Papists misliked this Bull, because no lawfull admonition had preceded, & that She had formerly granted to them free exercise of their Religion in their particular Houses with securitie; or such as made no scruple of conscience to bee present at the Seruice in the English Church, fore-seeing a huge weight of dangers thereby to hang ouer their heads, continued euer after firme in their due obedience, perceiuing that the neighbour Princes, and Catholique Prouinces, neglected not the Queene, notwithstanding this Bul, but seemed to contemne it as a vain sound of words.

Felton punished for sticking vp the Popes Bull.

The Papists reproue the Bull.

The greatest part cõtemne this Bull.

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The ſame day that *Felton* was arraigned, the Duke acknowledging his errour to proceed from inconſideration, teſtified his repentance ſo farre, that hee did not onely ſeeme to diſclaim any thought of marriage with the Queen of *Scotland*, but that his eares abhorred the remembrance of it, and promiſed vnder his hand, neuer to thinke further of attayning it, was freed out of the Tower of *London*, (where the plague was already begun) and ſent to his owne Houſe, to the great ioy of euery one, to be vnder the free cuſtodie of *Henry Neuill*. Neither truely could they plead againſt him by right of her Maieſties Law, from the 25. yeere of *Edward* the Third, as *Cecill* aduertiſeth, who out of the affection he bare vnto him, laboured to eſpouſe him to another Wife, to the end to put by his thought of compaſſing the other, and to prouide for the publique peace. But, after a few daies, many things that hee ſuſpected, diſcouered themſelues: and their faith, who were of his moſt ſecret counſell, either with hope, or by corruption, was broken.

Cecill aduiſeth him to marry.

Diuers are impriſoned.

The times then were full of ſuſpitions and conſpiracies. For *T.* and *Ed. Stanley*, the two youngeſt ſonnes of the Earle of *Darbie*, by the Duke of *Norfolkes* Daughter, *Gerrard*, *Rolſton*, *Hall*, and others of the Countie of *Darbie*, conſpired to free the Queene of *Scotland* out of priſon; but *Rolſtons* Sonne, who was one of the company of the Gentlemen guarders, diſcouered the conſpiracy, and the reſt were impriſoned, except *Hall*, who ſaued himſelfe at the Ile of Man, and from thence was ſent ouer to *Dunbritton*, with re-commendation to the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, where hee was afterwards taken at the ſurprize of the Caſtle: and laſtly, put to death at *London*. The Biſhop of *Roſſe* himſelfe, being lately in cuſtodie, and ſet at libertie, is againe committed to the cuſtodie of the Biſhop of *London*, for intertaining clandeſtine conferences with the Earle of *Southampton*, a moſt deuoted man to the Romiſh Religion. In

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In the meane time, *Sussex*, accompanied with the Lord *Scroope*, with Companies of Souldiers being gone againe into *Scotland*, burn'd the Villages in the Valley of *Annandale*, ruined the Castle of *Annandale*, which belonged to *Heris*, and the Castle of *Caer-Laueroc*, belonging to *Maxwell*, who had made some pillaging incursiõs into *England*, and brought them to such distresse who continued on the Queene of *Scotlands* side, that the Duke of *Chastelraut*, and the Earles of *Huntley* and *Argathell*, send them a promise in writing sealed vnder their hands, obliging themselues thereby no longer to maintaine warres, and to abandon the *English* Rebels. This being done, hee forthwith returned, and for their valour Knighted *Hastings*, *Russell*, *Browne*, *Hilton*, *Stapleton*, and *Musgraue*, and himselfe afterwards, for his approued wisdome and vertue, was admitted to be of the Queenes Priuy Councell.

Sussex chosen a Priuy-Councellor.

ELIZABETH, hauing her thoughts full of doubts, with various suspitions, by reason of this Bull, and *Norfolkes* conspiracy, sent vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, being then at *Chetteſworth*, in the Countie of *Darbie*, *Cecil*, and *Walter Mildmay*, who, in regard the waters were risen aboue measure, it being in the Moneth of October, came thither with much difficultie, to consult with her about the most conuenient meanes how to compound the variance in *Scotland*, for the restoring of her to her former estate, to secure ELIZABETH, and prouide for the safetie of her young Sonne. Shee could say nothing, but deplore her afflicted condition, and complayned of the fraudulent deuices of Count *Murray*, iustified the Duke of *Norfolke*, and reposed all her hope on the courtesie of ELIZABETH, vnderstanding that shee had the generall gouernement of the affaires of *Scotland*, as well as of *England*. They propounded vnto her, that to conclude a certaine peace betweene the two Kingdomes, she ought to oblige her selfe, to confirme the Treatie of *Edenborrough*, and disclaime

Treaty with the Queene of Scotland.

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the title and right which shee pretended to *England*, so long as ELIZABETH, or any issue of her body should liue. Not to renew or entertaine any alliance with any Prince whatsoeuer, against *England*; Not to admit any forreine troupes into *Scotland*, nor hold any Councell with the *English* or *Irish*, without notice first giuen to ELIZABETH; To send backe the *English* Fugitiues and Rebels, to satisfie the dammages done vpon the Frontiers; To make search, according to the Law, of the Murder aswell of *Darley* her Husband, as of *Murray*, and deliuer her Sonne into *England* for a pledge; Not to contract her selfe in marriage with any *English* man, without acquainting the Queene of *England*, nor with any other, contrary to the Ordinances of *Scotland*; That the *Scots* might not goe for *Ireland*, without leaue of the Queene of *England*; That for the performance of these things, the Queene, and the Commissioners appointed for the same, shall thereto set their hands and Seales; Six Hostages, whom the Queene of *England* would nominate, should be sent into *England*; That if the Queene of *Scotland*, or any other by her procurement, attempted any thing against her, she should in that respect alone, be cut off from all right which shee might claime in *England*; That the Castles of *Hume*, and *Fast-Castle*, were held from the *English* for three yeeres space; That shee should deliuer into their hands certaine Forts in the Countrey of *Galloway*, or *Cantire*, to the end that the Borderers on that coast might not inuade *Ireland*: And lastly, that the State of *Scotland* should confirme al these things by Act of Parliament.

To these things, her selfe suddenly with great dexteritie and wisdome, made answere: neuertheless referred it to be answered more fully by the Bishop of *Rosse* her Ambassadour in *England*, *Alexander Gordon*, Bishop of *Galloway*, and to the Baron *Leuinstone*, deputed by Her, lieutenants of *Scotland*; who afterwards allowing some of these Articles,

ticles, and reiecting others, made answer, as here followeth:

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The Answer to the proposition of the English.

THat it was reasonable to confirme the Treatie of Edenborrough, *and renounce the title of* England, *during the life of* ELIZABETH; *but as concerning the ancient alliance of* France, *it was to be considered, that if they did not intertaine that still, the* Queene *should lose her dowrie, the* 100. *armed Men, and the* 124. *Souldiers of the Scottish Guard, being Archers, the Merchants, Schollers, and many who are to haue inheritance, their pensions and immunities which they enioy, shall be cast out, and depriued of them, and of the loue and assistance of a most puissant Nation: which things, if the English did not amply satisfie, the* Queene *of Scotland could in no manner renounce this alliance. But that shee would not entertaine any forraigne souldiers, vnlesse such rebellion might happen, which could not be suppressed by the strength of the Countrey. That she would haue no intelligence, or keepe correspondancie with any of the* English, *to the preiudice of* England, *prouided that the* Q. *of* England *on the other side intertayned none with the Scots, to the preiudice of* Scotland. *That if there were any English Rebels, and Fugitiues in Scotland, they might demand them of the Scottish Rebels who were for the more part neere as they, to examine by deputies the dammages which they had receiued, and make inquiry, according to the Lawes of* Scotland, *of the death of* Darley *and* Murray. *That shee could not deliuer the King in pledge, in regard hee was in their custodie, who vnder his name coloured the Rebellion against the Queene. That it was a strange innouation, that a free Princesse should receiue Lawes from a stranger-Prince, or his Subiects, for her marriage. That the Scots should*

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not paſſe into Ireland, *to any preiudice of the Queene of* England, *prouided that the* Iriſh *were by a reciprocall Law obliged not to paſſe into* Scotland. *Agreed for confirmation of the ſecuritie, to giue ſuch pledges as the Queene of* England *ſhould nominate, the Duke of* Chaſtelraut, *and the Earles of* Huntley, Argathell, *and of* Athole *excepted. Furthermore, it ſhall be in their power to exclude the Queene of* Scots *from all right of Succeſſion in* England, *if ſhee ſhould goe about to doe any thing contrary to the right and authoritie of the Queene of* England, *ſo that the Queene of* England *would be bound in the like penaltie, if ſhee ſhould doe any thing againſt the power and priuiledge of the Queene of* Scotland. *They demand that reſtitution be made of* Caſtle-Hume, *and* Faſt-Caſtle, *to the* Baron *of* Hume, *being the Lord to whom by right they appertaine, and the* Engliſh *to hold them no longer. To deliuer vp the Forts in* Galloway *and* Cantire, *were to no other end, but to miniſter a new occaſion of warre.*

They cannot agree.

When theſe things could in no wiſe bee agreed vpon, neither any Commiſſioners came from the Vice-Roy of *Scotland*, in the meane while it was divulged all abroad, that the Pope, the King of *France*, and the Duke *D'Alua*, was importunately ſought vnto for ayde, to ſet the Queene of *Scotland* at libertie; and the *Engliſh* Rebels, the Earle of *Weſtmerland*, and the Counteſſe of *Northumberland*, and others (whom the Pope had ſupplyed with 12. thouſand Crownes by the Biſhop of *Roſſe*) were come backe out of *Scotland*; It is cleare that this Treaty brought forth nothing: but that ELIZABETH, (euen as one choſen by conſent to ſit at the Sterne of all *Great-Brittaine*, commands by her owne authority, that the Aſſembly of the States of *Scotland* ſhould be prorogued, and Truce often talked

talked of. The Commanders doe grieuously vexe and torment all parts of *Scotland*.

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The Bishop of Rosse requires helpe to free the Queene of Scots.

Rosse sends the Articles of this Treaty to the Pope, to *France*, and to *Spaine*, and certified that the Queene must necessarily consent vnto them, vnlesse their succour and counsell came in time to relieue her, which he vehemently craued, but in vaine. For indeed their heads were possessed with other affaires; *Spaine* was preparing to marry *Anne* of *Austria*, daughter to *Maximilian* the Emperour, his Niece by the sister-side, who at the same time departed from *Zealand*, to goe for *Spaine*. To whom, ELIZABETH, for a chiefe testification of honour and loue to the House of *Austria*, sent *Charles Howard* with a warlike fleete, and choyce Nobilitie, to conduct her thither through the English Sea.

The twelfth yeere of ELIZABETHS reigne beeing now happily finished, in which the Papists expected, according to the prediction of their Diuines, the euent of a golden day, as they said; all good people were iovfull, and happy, and with a delightfull ioy began to celebrate the seuenteenth day of Nouember, (being the day of her comming to the Crowne) with Prayers and Thankes-giuing, which were performed in the Churches, vowes were multiplied, ringing of Bells, Carrolls, Turneyes, and publique solemne ioy euery-where. And this hath continued euer sithence she liued, in testimony of the loue and obedience that her Subiects did beare her.

The death of the Earle of Cumberland.

In the middest of these things, dyed *H. Clifford*, Earle of *Cumberland*, the Second of the name, *Henries* Sonne, whom HENRY the Eighth had raysed to the honour of an Earle, in the yeere 1525. being otherwise of a very noble and ancient House, and hauing gotten a great increase of honour by marriages, which he contracted with the heires of *Vescy* and *Viponts* or *Vieux-ponts*, who had beene anciently hereditary Vicounts of *Westmerland*, who by his first Wife begot

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begot *Eleanor*, the second daughter of *C. Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolke*, and of *Mary*, Sister to HENRY the Eighth, *Margaret*, who was married to *Henrie* the Earle of *Darbies* Son, of much hope, and with great pompe, beeing the onely heire of that House. But hauing by his second Wife, *Anne Dacrey*, two Sonnes, who were successiuely heires to their fathers honour, this hope vanished.

The death of Throgmorton.

There dyed also *N. Throgmorton*, of whom I haue often spoken, the fourth Son of *G. Throgmorton*, the Golden Knight, and of *Katherine*, daughter of *N. Baron* of *Vaux*; a man of great experience, of solid iudgement, and of a singular dexteritie of spirit, who, stirring many things vnder the reigne of MARY, with great difficultie, by his prudence and eloquence, saued his life: afterwards vnder ELIZABETH, hee was imployed in many Ambassies, wherein he got much honour, vntill, for the gaining of the Earle of *Leicesters* fauour, hee opposed *Cecill*, who was his Emulator, for thereby hee could attaine but to very small meanes, and triuiall preferments, as chiefe Butler of *England*, and Treasurer of the Queens Chamber. Being at Supper in the Earle of *Leicesters* House, and eating sallads, hee was suddenly taken with an inflammation of the Liuer, as some haue affirmed, or with a Catarre, as others say, and not without iealousie of being poysoned, whereof hee dyed in a good time, both for himselfe and his, being then in great danger both of losing his life and goods, beeing a man of a stirring and working spirit.

Rebillion in Ireland quenched before they saw the day.

In *Ireland*, *Connogher O-Brien*, Earle of *Twomond*, not able to endure *Edward Fitton*, Gouernour of *Connaught*, who began to gouerne the Prouince something more seuerely, and to take away from the great Ones, and chiefe of the Countrey, all hope of polling the Subiects of *Ireland*, had secretly plotted Rebellion with others, but it was preuented by a happy chance. For, hauing appointed the day to take armes, comes in *Fitton*, who knew nothing, and courteously

courteouſly aduertiſed the Earle, that he would lodge the morrow following with him, with certaine of his friends. The Earles conſcience accuſing him, and beeing poſſeſt with a ſtrange feare, (an ill ſigne in doubtfull things) thinking that he was now diſcouered, and that the Gouernour came to him rather like an enemy then a gueſt, retired himſelfe forth-with into *France*, leauing them all in doubt what was become of him. The Conſpirators, fearing that he was gone into *England* to diſcouer the plot, continued in obedience, whereof he vnderſtanding, ſhewed himſelfe wiſe at laſt, and hauing confeſt all the buſines to *Norris*, then Ambaſſadour in *France*, imployed him to mediate Queene ELIZABETHS fauour, with whom he found ſuch Grace, that he was reſtored againe to his Eſtate.

Stukeley flieth out of Ireland.

But *Stukeley*, an Engliſhman, a riotous Prodigall, and vaine-glorious fellow, who after he had conſumed all his eſtate, retired into *Ireland*, hauing loſt all hope of getting the Marſhall-ſhip of *Wexford*, and perceiuing himſelfe to be deſpiſed of euery one, and being vnable to raiſe any commotion, after belching vp moſt vnworthy reproches of his Princeſſe, who had done him many fauours, ſlipped ouer into *Italie*, to Pope *Pius* the fifth, and by his flattering tongue, inſinuated beyond all credit into the fauour of this pernicious old man, who breathed out the ruine of Queene ELIZABETH, making great brags, and promiſing that with three thouſand *Italians*, he would driue all the *Engliſh* out of *Ireland*, and burne the *Engliſh* Fleet; which he afterward villainouſly attempted, but to his owne ruine, as hereafter we will ſhew.

THE FOVRETEENTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

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IN the firſt moneth of the yeere, Queene ELIZABETH entring into *London* in Royall State, viſited that faire Cloiſter called the *Bourſe*, which *T. Greſham*, Knight, a Citizen, and a Marchant Royall of *London*, had cauſed to be built for the vſe of Marchants, and by the voice of a Cryer, and with ſound of Trumpets in dedicating thereof, named it

The royall Exchange.

The Royall Exchange.

A few dayes after, howſoeuer She were very ſparing in the diſpoſing of Honours, hauing made in twelue yeeres ſpace, not aboue foure Barons, ſhe ſolemnly graced *William Cecill* with the Title of Baron of *Burghley*, hauing on Barons Robes, and with theſe formall words,

The creation of Baron Burghley.

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The manner of creating Barons.

AS well in regard of the long ſeruice which he hath done in the time of our Progenitors, the Kings of England, *as alſo for the faithfull and agreeable obedience, which he hath alwaies and in diuers waies teſtified vnto vs from the beginning of our Raigne, not ceaſing dayly, not onely in our great and waighty affaires to afford vs counſell, but generally in all deſignes concerning the Kingdome; as alſo in reſpect of his vigilancy, valour, prudence, dexterity, integrity of life, fore-knowledge, care, and fidelity: out of our ſpeciall fauour, certaine teſtimony, and meere motion, we haue created, eſtabliſht, and raiſed him to the ſtate, dignity, and honour of Baron* Burghley, *and haue impoſed vpon him, and giuen and granted vnto him the name, ſtile, and title of Baron of* Burghley, *to haue and to hold the ſame foreuer, to him and the heires males which ſhall be borne from his body.*

Of whom I haue already freely ſpoken, and will againe make mention, as well as of others whom ſhee hath raiſed to the ſtate of Barons, becauſe it is amongſt the moſt ample degrees of Honour. For the Barons of the Parliaments of *England*, are borne Peeres, and great Councellors of the Kingdome, and enioy diuers immunities and Priuiledges, which are not to be mentioned in this place, but I haue noted elſe-where.

A little after, *Ridolph*, a *Florentine*, who had vſed trading for fifteene yeeres ſpace in *London*, deliuered ſecretly vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, Letters from the Pope, importing promiſes to imploy himſelfe for the aduancement of the Catholique Religion, and Himſelfe willed her to giue credit in all things to *Ridolph*, and to learne from him, who was then going for *Italy*, what meanes might be beſt for the re-eſtabliſhing of the Catholique Religion, and appeaſing of the miſchiefs in *England*. *Ridolph* alſo ſollicited the

Letters from the Pope to the Queene of Scotland.

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Queene, by the ſeuerall Letters which he wrote vnto her, to aduiſe herevpon with the Duke of *Norfolke* & his friends, and to recommend it to them. But ſhee deferred the returne of any anſwer, vntill ſhe might perceiue how the Treaty which was already begun, would take effect, notwithſtanding the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, and the Duke of *Alua* had written to her to the ſame purpoſe. For the Earle of *Morton*, *Petcarne*, Abbot of *Dunfermelin*, and *I. Macgill*, were come to treat about the affaires of *Scotland*, in the Kings name, and hauing receiued command from Queene ELIZABETH, more cleerely to vnfold the cauſes of the Queenes depoſing, and to proue them to be iuſt, exhibited a prolix Cõmentarie, by which, with an inſolent freedome, and vehemencie of words, they ſtrained themſelues to proue by ancient and moderne examples, ſearcht out of all places, that according to the ancient right of *Scotland*, the people of *Scotland* were vnder the King, and that by the authority of *Caluin*, the Magiſtrates were appointed to bridle their vnrulie appetites, and had authority to puniſh wicked Kings by impriſonment, & depoſe them from their Kingdomes; and vaine-gloriouſly boaſted to haue ſhewed the Queen courteſie, in permitting her to ſubſtitute her Sonne in her place, and appoint him Tutors. That it was not in reſpect of her innocency, that ſhee ſubſiſted, but out of the mercy of her people, with diuers other things, which factious ſpirits are accuſtomed to alledge againſt Royall Maieſty. Queene ELIZABETH not able with any patience to read this, ſecretly condemned it, as iniurious to Kings; and as for the Deputies, ſhe anſwered them, that ſhe could not yet perceiue any iuſt cauſe why they ſhould ſo vexe and trouble their Queen, and therfore wiſht that they would rather ſeeke out ſome meanes to quench the diſcord in *Scotland*.

Edict of the Scots againſt the authority Royall.

Condemned by the Qu. of England.

In the proſecution whereof, it was propounded in the houſe of *Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the great Seale, to the Biſhops

shops of *Rosse* and *Galloway*, and to Baron *Lesiston*, Deputies for the Queene of *Scotland*, that for the safety of the Kingdome and Queene of *England*, and the Nobles of *Scotland* who were of the Kings part, that the Duke of *Chastelraut*, the Earles of *Huntley* and *Argathell*, of *Hume*, of *Seris*, and another Baron ought to be giuen in pledge, and the Castles of *Dunbriton*, and *Hume* deliuered for three yeeres vnto the *English*, before the Queene could be set at liberty. To which they answered,

The demãds of the English for the freedome of the Qu. of Scotland.

THat it need not be doubted, that the Queene of Scotland, *who had voluntarily put herselfe vnder the Protection and guard of the Queene of* England, *would willingly giue contentment in any thing which might conueniently be done. But to deliuer such great persons in pledge, with such Forts, were nothing lesse then in depriuing a miserable Queene of the helpe of her faithfullest friends, and her strongest places of defence, to be exposed as a prey vnto her aduersaries.*

But they offered to giue in pledge the two said Earles, and two Barons: And as for the Forts, they said, that according to their Couenants with France, they could not giue them to the *English*, that they could not grant them also to the *French*. *But*, said Bacon, *the whole Kingdome of* Scotland, *the Prince, the Peeres, and the Forts, are not sufficient security for the Queene, and the most flourishing Kingdome of* England: *and therefore, what security soeuer the Scots might propose, the Queene of* Scotland *ought not to be set at liberty.*

The English refuse the offers of the Scots.

Hereupon the *Scots* forthwith began to coniecture, and spake openly, that now they fully perceiued, that the *English* had resolued to hold their Queene perpetually in *England*, and by the same meanes interrupt the Treaty, sithence they stood so stiffly in demanding such security, as *Scotland*

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could not any maner of way performe. Howsoeuer, the other Councellours of *England* protested to desire nothing more then the freedome of the Queene of *Scotland*, prouided, that they gaue good and sufficient security; and in this nature they treated hereupon, and to haue the King, with *Morton* and his Companions. Who plainely answered, that they had no power nor authority to treat, whether they ought to receiue the Queene into Scotland, or deliuer the King. But her Deputies reiected such flying off, as friuolous, iudging that *those who were the authors of deposing her, had power sufficient to free her, without asking the other Conspirators, sithence the fault of one, equally polluteth all the Confederates. As for the Prince, who was yet scarce fiue yeeres of age, he could giue no power at all. And as for the Vice-Roy, that he had left all his affaires to the pleasure of Queene* ELIZABETH: *They prayed them, either to bring in the others who were sworne, into consultation, or to proceed without them vpon equall conditions.*

Alteration among the Scots.

But Queene ELIZABETH knowing well, that they could conclude of nothing for her security, or for the King and Queen of *Scotland*, if th'one and th'other consented not, thought it reasonable, that the States of *Scotland*, who ought forth-with to assemble, should make choice of certaine men, who might labour the mediation of the peace. Whereupon the Bishop of *Rosse* and his Colleagues openly complayned, that certaine Councellors of *England* had abused the vnderstanding of their Queene, and the patience of the Queene of *Scotland*, deceiued the Stranger Princes, and soothed the *Scots* with a preiudiciall hope; the Queene of *Scotland* her selfe being full of indignation and griefe, to see such delayes, called home the Bishop of *Galloway*, & Count *Leuiston*, & notwithstanding that Qu. ELIZABETH had commanded the Bishop of *Rosse*, to depart from *London*, she countermanded him to continue still there, which was not without ielousie to those who

Complaints of the Scots against the English.

were

were of her part in *Scotland*, who determined to take vp Armes, and giue no more credit to thoſe hurtfull truces, and aſſembles.

For whileſt they treated of theſe things in *England*, they receiued great dammages in the puniſhments of many, and murdering of others, the taking of *Dunbrittō*, ſituated neere *Glotte* or *Cluide*, vpon an arme of the ſea, beeing the ſtrongeſt and beſt fortified Caſtle in all *Scotland*: *I. Hamilton*, Arch-biſhop of S. *Andrews*, brother to the Duke of *Chaſtelraut*, was hanged, as a confederate of murdering the King, without being brought, according to the cuſtome of the Countrey, to Iudgement, onely vpon the teſtimony of a prieſt, who iuſtified, that vpon taking confeſſion of the aſſaſſinates of the King, he heard them ſay that he was of the confederacie.

The Queene being priſoner, could no longer harbour in her heart what ſhee had a long time concealed, perceiuing herſelfe out of all hope, plunged in a deepe ſorrow, that of all her ſeruants they had left her but onely 10. and a prieſt, to doe her ſeruice, and that all meanes both for her health and liberty (being euer moſt charitable) ſeemed to bee taken away. She ſent thereupon ſecretly vnto the Duke of *Norfolke* a forme of her deſſignes, which ſhee had written long before, and certaine amorous Letters, written in a particular Character only betweene them two, with other Letters, to perſwade him ſtill to rely vpon the Pope and the *Spaniard*, by *Ridolph*, whom ſhee recommended vnto him, as one moſt affectionate to his ſeruice, and very neceſſary to be employed in his Affaires.

A remembrance ſent from the Q. of Scotland to the Duke of Norfolke.

But *Higford*, the Dukes Secretary, who copied out this remembrance, and thoſe Letters in the vſuall Character, being commanded to throw them into the fire, hid them ſecretly vnder the mats in the Dukes Chamber, for ſome further Deſſigne, as it ſeemeth. This *Ridolph* being one day in the Dukes preſence, ſpake, and made *Barker* often iterate the ſame.

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THat he had obſerued, that there was as well among the Nobles as meaner ſort in England, *three ſorts who ſtudied noueltics; ſome were ſuch as had flouriſhed vnder the authority of* MARIE, *and were then but few in number; others, who beeing zealous of the Romane Religion, fretted that they were not permitted the free exerciſe thereof: others, who being tranſported with a new hope, grieued at their preſent fortune, who to enterprize any thing that would be propounded vnto them, wanted nothing but a Leader of ſome Noble Race, money, and forraigne aſſiſtance. That there could not be found one more illuſtrious, and capable in ſuch reſpect, then the Duke, who had the generall fauour of the people, and that it ſtood with reaſon, that he ſhould reuenge the iniuries done him, in that they had ſo long kept him priſoner, againſt the Lawes of the Countrie, and that they had not called him to the Aſſembly of Parliament, ſithence hee had his place and voice, as beeing chiefe amongſt all the Peeres, & Earle Marſhall of the Kingdome of* England.

And with the greater efficacie to perſwade him to theſe things, ſhewed him a Catalogue of the Nobles, who had deuoted both themſelues and their fortunes to his ſeruice, if hee vndertooke this; aſſured him, that for forraigne helpe, the Pope would be at all the charges of the Warre, prouided that the Catholike Religion might bee aduanced, hauing to this end diſburſed the yeere before a hundred thouſand Crownes, when the *Bull* was publiſht, of which he himſelfe had diſtributed to the Engliſh Fugitiues 12000. promiſed, that the *Spaniard* (prouoked by the iniuries of the Engliſh) would ſend him for aide 4000. horſe, and 6000. foot, which might very conueniently be brought in about the beginning of ſummer, at *Harwich*, a Port in *Eſſex*, at whoſe approch, the Duke had a great number of ſtrong

strong ships; and without suspicion, because about the same instant, the Duke *Medinæ-Cæli* was to come into *Flanders* with a great Fleet. Concluded lastly, that this might be supposed to be a meanes to free the Duke from all suspicion of attempting the Kingdome, and to prouide for the safety of the Queene of *England*; prouided that she embraced, or at least-wise tolerated the *Romane* religion, and consented that the Queene of *Scotland* should marry the Duke.

The Duke conceiuing these things somewhat probable, gaue eare vnto him, but neuertheless refused to subscribe the Letters of Credit, which were offered him by *Ridolph* being vpon departure, and would not harken to the counsel which the Bishop of *Rosse* suggested to him by *Barker*, after he had often reuolued it in his minde;

The counsell of the Bishop of Rosse.

TO seize vpon the Queene on the suddaine, with a number of choise Gentlemen, & to disturbe the Parliament being then assembled. And that this might easily be done, considering the opportunity of times, since this Assembly afforded him so many Gentlemē at his deuotion, which could not be conuented in any other place without suspition. That he had iust cause to be mooued hereunto, in regard they had kept him so long prisoner, against the Lawes of the Countrey, and that they would not admit him to the Parliament, and that they had sought out most seuere Lawes against the Papists. And by pregnant examples, sithence Castriot *in* Italy, *and others in all Countreyes, hauing inopinately enterprized waighty affaires, haue happily succeeded in them. And if not long since, fiue Gentlemen of Scotland were able to breake off the Parliament, by which* Murray *was to be banished, and bring the Queene vnder their power; they might by the same meanes, and as easily, if they would lay hold of the occasion offered*

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vnto them) seyze vpon Qu. ELIZABETH, *accomplish the marriage of the Qu. of Scotland, and prouide in England for the Catholique Religion, without any great noyse or need of forreine assistance.*

The attempts of others.

The Duke, who of his naturall good inclination was far from offending, reiected this counsell from his heart, as most pernitious and dangerous. But now *H. Percy* offered the Bishop to imploy himselfe about the deliuerance of the Queene of *Scotland* from prison, prouided that *Grange*, and *Carre Farnihurst*, should receiue him at his entrance into *Scotland*, and that the Earle of *Northumberland*, (his Brother) who was prisoner, should be set free. Howsoeuer, being suspected, because of his great familiaritie with Baron *Burghley*, and for that hee so long deferred the enterprise, they gaue as little credit to this counsell, as to that of *Powels* of *Stanford*, one of the company of the Gentlemen of the Guard, and to that of *Owen*, one of the vassals of the Earle of *Arundell*, who should haue vndertaken this, but the Bishop of *Rosse* perceiuing they were vnable to effect it, being men of no note, hindered them. As for other businesses which were closely done in these passages, wee will omit, vntill the light discouer them.

A great Earth-quake.

Whiles all these things were secretly handled in *London*, there happened a most feareful Earth-quake in the Easterne parts about the Countie of *Hereford*, neere the Towne of *Kinaston*. For, vpon the twelfth of March, about sixe of the clocke in the euening, the Earth opened, and a Mountaine with a Rocke vpon which it was situated, after a hideous noyse, and strange crash, that it was heard by the Neighbours a great wayes off, raised vp it selfe, as if it had wakened out of a profound sleepe, and forsaking his deepe bed below, mounted vp into an higher place, carrying with it the Trees which were rooted thereupon, the Shepheards Tents, and the Flockes of Sheepe feeding thereon. Some Trees were almost quite couered with Earth, as if they had

but

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but newly taken root there. It left in the place from whence it departed, an ouerture of fortie foot wide, and 80. elles long: the whole field was twenty Akers or thereabouts. It ouerthrew a little Chappell neere vnto it, carryed from the East into the West, an Yew-tree which was planted in the Church-yard; and, with its violence, draue vp before it high-wayes, with Shepheards Caues, with Plants and Trees which were thereon. It made mountaines leuell, and arable grounds mountainous, as if then they had took their beginnings. And thus from Saturday at night, vntill Munday noone next following, it rested not, till at last, as if it were then tyred with the long way, and wearied with its weighty burthen.

A little before, there was celebrated in *France* at *Mesires sur Meuse*, the marriage betweene *Charles* the Fourth King of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of *Austrich*, the Daughter of *Maximilian* the Emperour, with great and royall pompe. *Elizabeth*, to testifie her ioy with honour, according to the entyre affection shee bore vnto the Emperour, whom she honoured as her father, and to shew her loue vnto the King of *France* her Neighbour and Confederate, and for her owne honour, sent into *France T. Sackuil*, Baron of *Buckhurst*, who, according to his owne worth, and his Princes dignitie, was magnificently intertained. Hee was accompanied with *Guido Caulcancius*, a *Florentine*, a man of great experience, with whom the Queene-Mother of *France*, mannaging the affaires of her and her children, openly treated of a match betweene ELIZABETH, and *Henry* the Duke of *Aniou* her Sonne, and gaue him withall certaine Articles to present vnto ELIZABETH: and after that, the King of *France* made earnest suit for his Brother by *Mauluoisie* his Ambassadour ordinary, *La Motte*, *F. Archant*, and *de Foix*, who bestowed a whole yeere in solliciting ELIZABETH, sometimes all together, and otherwhiles seuerally. This marriage did something fortifie

The Ambassage of Baron Buckhurst.

A proposition of a match betweene Elizabeth, and the Duke of Aniou.

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The hopes which they conceiued.

tifie their hope, that the Romane Religion had taken no firme root in the Dukes heart, as well in reſpect of his tender yeeres, as being educated vnder *Carualet*, who was much inclining to the Proteſtants Religion: the hopes which they had by little and little to win him to the profeſſion of it, and the ſuppoſitions of the benefits which this marriage might bring to the reformed Religion: hee being a young Prince, and of a warlike diſpoſition, might, by vniting the Forces of *Germany* and *England*, bring the refractory Papiſts to obedience, eſtabliſh a perpetual league of peace betweene *England* and *France*, and interrupt the deſignes of the Queene of *Scotland*, the King of *Spaine*, the Pope, and the *Iriſh* Rebels, ſithence hee might ioyne vnto the Crowne of *England*, the Dukedomes of *Aniou*, *Burbonnions*, and *Auuergnia*, yeelding great Reuenues: And it appeared that hee might adde greater things hereunto. Laſtly, if this match were refuſed, neuer would there be a more honourable match offered.

Articles of marriage.

After diuers debatings, the *French* propounded three Articles: the firſt of which concerned the crowning of the Duke: the ſecond, the gouernement of the Kingdome ioyntly with Queene ELIZABETH: the third, the toleration of their Religion: To which, anſwer was made;

The Anſwer.

THat the Queene could not agree, without the conſent of the State of the Kingdome, that hee ſhould be crowned after the marriage was accompliſhed, but that ſhe would willingly conſent (if the States thought good) that vpon termes of marriage, he ſhould be graced with the matrimoniall Crowne, (ſo She termed it) *without doing any preiudice to her Maieſtie, nor to her Heires and Succeſſors: And that ſhe would not fayle to make him diſcerne a moſt ample honour when hee was once her Husband. As for the common gouernment, ſhee thought it not vnfit, to take*

for

for a Companion, and Coadiutor in a coniunct administration, him whom shee had honoured with the title of a King, and her Husband. And as for the toleration of the Religion which hee profest, that shee could not giue her consent thereto for certaine causes, which (as I haue collected them out of the Letters of Queene ELIZABETH, were these:) *That howsoeuer the externall reuerence of Religion might bee tolerated between the Subiects of the same Kingdome vnder diuers manners and formes, neuertheles, this strange forme, most repugnant of all, which should bee betweene the* Queene, *the head of her People, and her husband, seemed not onely dangerous, but of all most auerse and disagreeing.* That She desired the King of France, and the Queene, his Mother, *equally to weigh in euen Ballance, the perill which she should vnder-goe, and on the other side, the honour of the Duke of* Aniou: *And that in tolerating his religion, she violated the Lawes establisht in her Kingdome, beget a distaste in her good Subiects, & lightened the heart of the wicked, all which she verily should vndergoe for the honour of the Duke.*

But the *French-men* vrged, that if she liued without exercise of Religion, shee seemed to haue none at all, and that she would not for her Honour bee accounted an Atheist. She on the contrary replyed:

THat if she did but husbandize those seedes of pure Religion which were in him, and receiue increase thereof, he should see within a short time, that it would redound greatly to his Honour.

In the end they came so farre, that if the Duke would assist with the Queene in the celebration of Diuine Seruice,

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and not refuse to heare and learne the Doctrine of the Protestants, She would condiscend, that neither hee nor his people should be constrained to vse the Ceremonies and Fashions accustomed in the *English* Church, nor molested if they vsed other Ceremonies, not vtterly repugnant to the Word of God, prouided that they vsed them in priuate places, and that they ministred no occasion to the *English* of violating their Lawes establisht. *De Foix*, vpon these words, *To the Word of God*, pausèd a little. Queene ELIZABETH, to giue them content, commanded that in stead of those words, they should put in, *To the Church of GOD*; but the one pleasing no more then the other, he desired that *To the Catholike Church* might be put in. Queen ELIZABETH would no way assent thereunto: and hereupon this matter began to waxe colder by little and little.

To what end this marriage was proposed.

Some are perswaded, that this Match was not seriously vndertooke by the King of *France*, and the Queene, his Mother, but onely to the end that the remembrance of a match contracted with a Protestant Princesse, might bee a testimonie vnto the Protestants, of their sincere meaning vnto them, and to preuent the match which they suspected to be treated of with the King of *Nauar*, whom the King of *France* would haue married to his Sister. The like opinion was of Queene ELIZABETH in *England*, and that shee had not treated of this marriage, but to cause the King of *France*, his Mother, and Brothers, to shew themselues more fauourable to the Protestants in *France*, breake off the hopes of the Queene of Scotland, and the plots which the *Spaniard* and the *Irish* practised against *England*, by the negotiation of the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, and to auoid the Thunderbolts of the Pope, by the interposition of the *French*: For about this time, the Earle of *Leicester*, who saw more cleerely into the deepest thoughts of Queene ELIZABETH then any other, wrote vnto *Walsingham*, Ambassadour in *France*,

That

THat the Queene had a desire to marry, but that she was not very hot vpon it; and that she was of opinion, that it was more necessary then her desire was to effect it: & moreouer, that when the Duke of Aniou *went from the Article concerning the toleration of Religion, which Queen* ELIZABETH *would with such caution haue bound him to, that he no longer persisted in his suite.*

They hasten the mariage of the Qu. of Scotland.

As the *French* tooke care and paine to make vp this Match, certaine of the *English* laboured no lesse, to aduance that betweene the Queene of *Scotland* and the Duke of *Norfolke*, which through their wicked counsels they had againe reuiued, contrary to his promise, which first of all was discouered by these meanes.

Ridolph the *Florentine*, who we told you was sent vnto forraigne Nations, about the affaires of the Queene of *Scotland*, had declared vnto *Charles Bayliffe*, a *Flemming*, one of his houshold seruants, all that he had laboured with the Duke of *Alua*, and put into his hands a packet of Letters, written in counterfait Characters to her, to the Ambassadour of *Spaine*, to the Duke of *Norfolke*, to the Bishop of *Rosse*, and to Baron *Lumley*, which hee carried with him, notwithstanding the Bishop commanded him to leaue it with the Gouernour of *Callais* to keepe. But hee had no sooner landed at *Douer*, but hee was apprehended and imprisoned, and the Packet sent to the Lord *Cobham*, Gouernour of the Cinque Ports: The Bishop, who first of all knew it, wrought so quickly and craftily with *Cobham*, who was partly of counsell in the dessignes of the Duke, that he deliuered him this Packet, and another in stead thereof was sent to the Queenes Councell, wherein were old-dated Letters, tending to small purposes, and aduertised *Bayliffe* thereof, who being brought into question, neuertheless confessed something of what had past, and

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and amongst the rest, that this Packet had past through the Bishops hands, who beeing aduertised thereof, forthwith sent away *Cuthert* his Secretary, to disperse amongst his friends the counterfait Characters, and all that might doe hurt; so as when *Sussex*, *Burghley*, *Mildmay*, and *Sadler* came to search his house, they could finde nothing at all, nor get any thing out of him by examination, he standing vpon it, that an Ambassadour ought not to giue an account of his dealings to any but his Prince. He was notwithstanding committed for two daies after to the Bishop of *Ely*, and a little while after that, carried to the Isle of *Ely*: *Stanley* and *Gerard*, Knights, and *Rolston*, of whom I haue spoken, were clapt vp in the Tower of *London*, and *Howard*, who aspired to the Arch-bishoprike of *Yorke*, was deliuered vpon suspicion to the custody of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.

The Bishop of Rosse and others committed.

The Queene of *Scots*, hauing about this time sent a certaine summe of money to the Ambassadour of *France*, to be conueyed to those that were of her partie in *Scotland*, the Ambassadour deliuered it to *Barker* and *Higford*, who aduising with the Duke, put it into the hands of one *Browne* of the Towne of *Shrewsburie*, a seruant to the Duke, to be deliuered in *Scotland* to Baron *Heris*, by *Banister* and *Lowder*; *Browne* beeing a crafty fellow, perceiuing by the weight, that in stead of Siluer they had giuen him Gold, deliuered it ouer to the Councell of State. Hereby the wiser sort began to obserue, that the Duke had already begun to trespasse against her Maiesty, in lending ayde to *Heris*, and to the *Scots* her professed enemies, who had forraged the Frontier Inhabitants of *England*. And hereupon *Higford* was committed to prison, who presently confessed all the businesse concerning the money, and shewed where the Letters and other writings were, and the secret Characters, and the remembrances and instructions of the Qu. of *Scotland*, of which I haue spoken, hidden vnder Mats and Tiles, importing,

Money sent into Scotland.

That

THat the French *approued of the intended meeting with the* Scots, *but that the Proposition of marriage of the Duke of* Aniou *with Queen* ELIZABETH, *was to no other end, but onely the better to colour the assistance performed to the Queene of* Scotland, *for her re-establishment. That they secretly preuented any contract with* Iohn *of* Austria, *but fauoured the other with the Duke of* Norfolke *very much, for the hatred they bore to the* Spaniard. *That the Duke of* Alua *did so farre disproue the Designe of sending the Queene backe into* Scotland, *that it would certainely be the ruine of her selfe, and of the Catholique Religion through all Great Brittaine; because, shee being returned, must of necessity, either hazzard the danger of beeing besieged, or try her fortune of the warres against the Rebels, who by the aide of the English, might easily bring her vnder their power, before such time that any Forraigne forces could arriue. That being then in no safety in* Scotland, *and no hope to be expected from* France, *so pestred with inteſtine warres, he thought it more expedient to procure ayde from the* Spaniard, *who had made an offer of marriage with* Iohn *of* Austria, *which notwithstanding she neuer intended, sithence she had promised, by meanes of the Duke of* Norfolke, *to re-establish the Romane Religion in* Great Britaine: *And moreouer, to send her Sonne out of* Scotland *into* Spaine, *where he might be safely preserued, and instructed from his Infancy in the Romane Religion, and by this meanes, all pretence taken from the Scots, who shaddowed their rebellion vnder colour of him: and lastly, for the effecting of these businesses, presently to dispatch away* Ridolph, *with caution, first, to conceale these things especially from the* French.

The Councell hauing receiued these instructi-

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ons, the Letters whereof I spake, and other dispatches from the Pope: and *Barker* who was surprized, hauing confest all these particulars, they commanded *Sadler*, with a Company of armed men, to goe vnto the Dukes house in *London*, which was then at *Charter-House*. Two dayes after, the Duke, who was altogether ignorant that those people had confessed any thing, and confident that those Letters and Remembrances were burned in the fire, beeing questioned, denyed all that they had confest: and thereupon was brought backe the seuenteenth day of *September*, by *Sadler*, *Smith*, *Neuill*, and *Wilson*, (to the great griefe of the people) vnto the Tower of *London*, from whence he was but the yeere before deliuered. Afterwards they imprisoned *Banister*, a Lawyer, whose counsell the Duke had taken and followed; after that, the Earles of *Arundell*, and *Southampton*, *Baron Lumley*, and *Cobham*, and *Thomas* his brother, *Percy*, *Lowder*, *Powell*, and *Godier*, who all declared what they knew, in hope of pardon.

Assoone as the Councell had produced their Confessions in the Dukes presence, the Queene of *Scotland* and the Bishop of *Rosse*'s Letters, with the said Remembrance, hee was very much deiected, & considering this remembrance, and those Letters, which through a weake credulity he supposed to bee burned, he sighed, and brake out into these words;

I Haue beene betrayed and vndone by mine owne people, in fayling to distrust, which is the onely sinnewe of Wisedome.

But he humbly besought the Councell to mediate the Queenes fauour in his behalfe, promising to conceale nothing of what he knew, and seriously protested, that he neuer approued of any thing, which was to the preiudice of the Qu. or Kingdome. But on the contrary, from the very

ry bottome of his heart, condemned the designe of seizing vpon the Queenes person, or the Towre of *London*, and the setting at liberty of the Queene of *Scotland*: and that hee neuer harboured a thought so much of bringing forraigne Troupes into *Great Brittaine*, but only to suppresse certaine of the *Scots*, rebelling against the Queen. Being this day examined vpon 50. Articles or thereabouts, hee answered without dissimulation. After that, they penned the substance of the whole businesse, in the *Star-Chamber*, before a great Assembly of Noble-men, in presence of the Lord Maior and Shiriffes of the Citie of *London*, & from thence, in the Palace of *London*, in view of all the inhabitants, by *G. Fleetwood*, Recorder of the Citie.

And forasmuch as by all these confessions, especially by the Dukes, the Bishop of *Rosse* was conuicted as Author of these Plots: they seriously consulted what was best to bee done: For (as they doe ordinarily that haue such charges) he conceiued, that it was lawfull for him to vse any meanes for the aduancement of the affaires of his Princesse; and that by the oath and inuiolable right of an Ambassadour, he was not bound to acknowledge the authority of any other: and relying hereupon, exposed himselfe to the liberty of diuers turbulent Actions, kindling of seditions, and taking counsell in the night with the Earle of *Southampton*, and afterwards inclining to the *English* Fugitiues in *Flanders*, the Duke of *Alua*, the *Spaniard*, and the Pope, about the inuasion of *England*. They proposed hereupon vnto *Lewes*, *Dale*, *Drury*, *Aubrey*, and *Iones*, men of sound iudgement in the Ciuill-Lawes. In the first place,

WHether an Ambassadour mouing sedition against the Prince vnto whom he is sent, may enioy the priuiledge of an Ambassadour, or not? and whether he be not subiect to punishment as an Enemy?

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To which they anſwered, that by the Common Lawe of Nations, and Ciuill-Law of the *Romanes*, ſuch an Ambaſſadour was falne from all priuiledge, and was ſubiect to puniſhment, as an enemy.

WHether a Miniſter or Agent of a depoſed Prince, another being crowned in his place, ought to haue the priuiledge of an Ambaſſadour?

They anſwered, that if ſuch a Prince be lawfully depoſed, his Miniſter cannot challenge the priuiledge of an Ambaſſadour, foraſmuch as none but abſolute Princes, which haue ſoueraigne power, can conſtitute Ambaſſadours. In the third place,

WHether a Prince being come into another Kingdome, and kept in hold, may haue his Agent? and if this Agent ought to be accounted an Ambaſſadour, or not?

They anſwere, That a Prince may prohibit an Ambaſſadour to enter into his Kingdome, and command him out of his Kingdome, if he doth not containe himſelfe within the limits preſcribed to Ambaſſadours, but in the meane time he ought to enioy the priuiledge of an Ambaſſadour, for the authority of his Ambaſſie.

Vpon the anſwers of theſe Ciuill-Lawiers, the Biſhop of *Roſſe* being called backe from the Iſle of *Ely*, and ſharply reprooued, the Councell denounced him not to be acknowledged an Ambaſſadour, but to be puniſhed as a pernicious Malefactor. To which he anſwered;

THat he beeing Ambaſſadour to an abſolute Queene, vniuſtly depoſed, had, according to his duty, laboured

red for the libertie of his Princesse, and for the good of both the Kingdomes: that hee was come into England with ample authoritie, vnder publique testimony, which hee exhibited, and that the sacred Rites of Ambassadours ought not by any meanes to be violated.

Whereupon, *Burghley* grauely shewes him, that neither the Rites of the Ambassies, nor publique Letters of Credit, are of validitie for Ambassadours which offend against the publique faith, but are subiect to penall actions, and that otherwise it should be permitted to wicked Ambassadours to attempt against the life of Princes, vnpunished. He on the contrary, opinatiuely maintained, that the authority of Ambassadours had neuer beene violated by way of Rite, but onely by way of fact (to vse his owne words) and boldly admonisheth them not to deale with him more sharpely then the *English* Ambassadours had beene dealt with, *Thregmorton* in *France*, *Randolph* and *Tamworth* in *Scotland*, who had apparantly excited and nourished rebellions, and were acquitted vpon command to depart within a certaine time. They began to presse him vpon the witnesse of some English-men: he gently intreated them not to doe it, because (saith hee) that a receiued custome doth establish it selfe for a Law:

He declines from the English witnesses.

An Englishman ought not to beare witnesse against a Scottishman, nor a Scottishman against an Englishman.

After some arguings hereupon, whether such custome tooke place elsewhere then vpon the Frontiers of both the Kingdomes, and whether *English* Ambassadours had stirred Rebellion or no; *Rosse* is carried to the Tower of *London*, where being straitly kept, within a few dayes hee briefly made answere to all the interrogatories, with this caution, that his answeres might not be preiudicious to any. And first, he excused the Queene of *Scots*, (who being

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ing prisoner, and in the prime of her age) seeking to escape by any meanes, ELIZABETH hauing excluded all from seeing her, and barred her from all hope of libertie, and openly supported all her aduersaries: afterwards excuseth the Duke, that hee had not treated marriage with her, but by the aduice of many that were of Queen ELIZABETHS Councell, nor could he relinquish her, although he had vnder his owne hand-writing promised to doe it, forasmuch as before that promise, a former promise of marriage had passed betweene them: And finally, excuseth himselfe, that being Ambassadour and Minister, could not without blame leaue the duety of his charge, and be wanting to his Princesse in her afflictions, and that he had propounded the seyzing of the person of Queene ELIZABETH, to no other end, but to try whether the Duke had a minde prepared to doe a mischieuous act: and verily hee craftily extenuated the offences of the rest, and would neuer discouer the names of the Nobles which offered themselues to the Dukes seruice, for the seyzing of the Queenes person; onely confessed, that by the commandement of the Queene of *Scots*, he consulted with the Earles of *Arundel*, *Lumley*, and *Throgmorton*, and by *Lumley*, and the Vicount of *Mountagne*, becausse that he was to deliuer into the hands of the *English*, the Castles which were in *Scotland*, the Hostages, and the King of *Scots*, to renounce the title to *England*, and the *English* Rebels. But for this matter, enough is spoken of this yeere; and the particularities of it, may be drawne from the Dukes confession, and the memoriall sent to the Queen of *Scots*, written by the Bishop of *Rosse's* own hand.

At the same time, *Mathew*, Earle of *Lenox*, Vice-Roy of *Scotland*, and great Grand-father to the King, hauing appoynted the assembly of States at *Sterlin*, and thinking to be safe there, was surprized by the Lords of the contrary faction, which met together by the Queenes authoritie

at

at *Edenborrough*, and hauing yeelded himselfe to *Dauid Spencer*, who laboured very hard to protect him, was slaine with him by *Bell* and *Cauder*, after hauing with much trouble and paines ruled the Kingdome for the King his Nephew, the space of foureteene moneths, more or lesse: at what time *France* tooke the Queenes side, and Queen ELIZABETH the Kings, not so much to get their friends the victory, as to keepe them from being ouercome. Queen ELIZABETH hoped that the young King should haue beene deliuered into her hands, and the *French* thought that *Dunbriton* and *Edenborrough* should be giuen them: whereupon some *Scottish* Merchants were very much troubled, and traffique in *France* was denyed them, which drew a great partie to the Queenes side, in hope thereby to haue freedome of trade there againe. In *Lenox* his place, by the common consent of the people, *Iohn Areskin*, Earle of *Marre*, was elected Vice-Roy, a man of a calme spirit, and a great louer of his Countrie, who beeing no lesse afflicted with the turbulent counsels of his friends, then by the insultings of his aduersaries, for very griefe dyed, when hee had gouerned thirteene moneths.

1571. *Lenox Vice-Roy of Scotland is slain.*

The Earle of Marre is elected Vice-Roy.

The iniquitie of these times, and the loue which the people of *England* bore to their Queene and Countrey, drew the States to *Westminster*, where they made a Law to preuent the plots of the seditious, by which it was ordayned by ancient authoritie:

Lawes against disturbers.

THat if any did attempt to ruine or hurt the Queene, to make warre, or excite others to doe it in any part of her dominions: or affirme that shee had no right to the Kingdome, but that it were more iustly due to another; or said, that shee was an Heretique, a Schismatique, or Infidell; that shee did vsurpe the right from another that was liuing; or that the Lawes and Statutes were not of power to define and tye

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tye the right of Succeſsion, It ſhould be Crimen læſæ Maieſtatis. *If any one during the life of* Queene ELIZABETH, *ſhould expreſly affirme either by writing or Booke printed, that any one is or ought to bee the Queenes Heire or Succeſſour, except the naturall Line which ſhould proceede from her owne body; or that ſhould publiſh, print, or ſell Bookes written vpon this Subiect, he, and his maintainers, for the firſt time ſhould ſuffer a whole yeeres impriſonment, and loſe halfe their goods, but returning to the ſame offence againe, they incurred the penaltie of a* Præmunire; *which is, loſe of all goods, and impriſonment during life.*

This ſeemed grieuous vnto ſome, which thought that the tranquillity of the Kingdome ought to be ſtrengthened by the deſignation of an Heire, but it was beyond beliefe, what ieſts the maliciouſly-curious made of this clauſe, [*Naturally begotten of her body*,] becauſe the Ciuill Law calls thoſe Children naturall, which are borne out of marriage, and that nature onely, and not the honeſty of wedlocke begot them: and the Engliſh Law, [*Legitimate*,] thoſe that are lawfully begotten. And I remember being then young, to haue heard it ſpoken aloud, that this word was preſt into this Law by *Leiceſter*, that ſome baſtard-ſonne of his ſhould thruſt in as one of neereſt kinne to Queene ELIZABETH.

Lawes againſt Papiſts.

It was alſo ordained, that thoſe who had by any Bull or writing from the Pope, reconciled any to the Church of *Rome*, ſhould vndergoe the puniſhment of *Crimen læſæ Maieſtatis*. Thoſe who ſuſtaine the Reconcilers or bringers into *England* of *Agnus Dei's*, *Graines*, *Crucifixes*, or any other things conſecrated by the Pope of *Rome*, ſhould loſe all their goods, and indure perpetuall impriſonment: and thoſe that ſhall conceale and not detect theſe Reconcilers,

lers, were holden guiltie of Miſpriſion of Treaſon. Furthermore, thoſe goods and lands, which were conuicted for Rebellion in the North, beeing in the poſſeſſion of *Iames Pilkinton*, Biſhop of *Durham*, who challenged Regall power betweene the Riuers of *Teiſe* and *Tyne*, were adiudged to the Queene and her Succeſſours, becauſe ſhe had with great coſt deliuered both the Biſhop and the Biſhopricke from Rebels, yet ſo, as that in time to come it ſhall not be preiudiciall to the Regall rite of that Church of *Durham*. It was alſo ordained, that to meete with the inſolencies of ſuch as were deuoted to the Pope, and deſpiſing the authority of the Lawes, and their obedience to their Princeſſe, who day by day with-drew themſelues into forraine Countries, without the Queenes licence, (hoping in time with a great number, and to innouate ſomething) they ſhould returne within a certaine time, and make their ſubmiſſions, and that the fraudulent conueyances which they had made, ſhould be burnt. So much for the Papiſts.

On the other ſide, by wholſome Lawes they ſuppreſſed as well the couetouſneſſe of certaine of the Clergie, who, as if they had beene borne onely to themſelues, with a notorious malice to their Succeſſours, waſted the goods of the Church, and let out the Lands for many yeeres, as the impudencie of others, who, with a deſire to innouate, oppoſed themſelues to Articles of the Synod of *London*, for the aboliſhing of Schiſme, in the yeere 1562. It was likewiſe againe propounded, that if the Queene of *Scots* ſhould againe offend the Lawes of *England*, ſhe might be proceeded againſt, as if ſhe were a Peeres Wife of the Realme of *England*. But the Queene by her authority, hindered that from being made a Law.

In the beginning of *Iune*, the Parliament being ready to be diſmiſſed, they ſate vpon *Iohn Story*, a Doctor of Law, and Spie to the Duke of *Alua*, of whom I haue made

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mention in the yeere 1569. to know whether *Iohn Storie* being an Engliſh-man, ſhould be found guilty *Læſæ Maieſtatis*, for hauing conferred with a ſtranger-Prince in *Brabant*, for the inuading of his Countrey, and ſhewing the meanes to doe it. The learned'ſt ſort in the Law did affirme, that hee might be accuſed *Læſæ Maieſtatis*. Whereupon hee was called vnto iudgement, for hauing conſpired againſt the life of his Princeſſe with one *Preſtoll*, a man much addicted to magicke, and in giuing thankes at the Table, alwayes curſed her, and the King of *Scotland*, to the fiends of Hell, and demonſtrated to the Duke of *Alua's* Secretary the meanes to inuade *England*, to make *Ireland* reuolt, and at the ſame time to bring the *Scots* into *England*. He refuſed to ſubmit himſelfe to be iudged by the Lawes of *England*, maintayning, that being a ſworne Subiect not to Queene ELIZABETH, but to the King of *Spaine*, the Iudges of *England* had no power ouer him. But hee was condemned according to the forme of *(Nihil dicit)* becauſe no man can free himſelfe from the Lawes of the Countrey where he is borne, nor renounce his naturall Countrey nor his Prince, and ſuffered as a Traytor.

Iohn Storie condemned to dye.

Differences appeaſed betweene the Engliſh and the Portugals. Guienne.

There was then for certaine yeeres, controuerſie betweene the *Portugals* and the *Engliſh*, during the commerce betweene them and the *Moores* for pure Gold, from the yeere 1552. in that part of *Africa* called *Guienne*, and others who had firſt diſcouered thoſe Coaſts, hindered as much as they could by force of armes, ſo as they fought ſometimes by Sea, and detained Ships on both ſides. But *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugall*, being newly come to age, to make a peace, ſent *Francis Gerard* into *England*, who made a Couenant with the Queene almoſt in theſe very words:

THat a perfect amitie may be made, and free commerce had on both ſides, the one ſhall not attempt

any

any thing to the preiudice of the other, nor lend succour to their enemies, Rebels, or Traytors; the Merchandize, Moneyes, and Ships, which are vnder arreſt, to be reſtored. And Queene ELIZABETH, *to gratifie the King of* Portugal, *prohibiteth the* Engliſh *to vſe any Nauigation in the Seas, or to the Lands which the* Portugals *had conquered. And that if they ſhould doe otherwiſe, it ſhould be vpon their owne perill, if the* Portugals *ſhould depriue them both of goods and liues: The Kingdomes of* Portugal *and* Argarbe, *alſo the Iles of* Azores *and* Madera *excepted, in which, free Nauigation was permitted.*

The Marquis of Northampton dyes.

This yere, *W. Parre*, Marquis of *Northampton*, being very old, peaceably departed this life, a man much conuerſant and well read in the delectable ſtudies of Muſicke, and intertainement of Louers, and other courtly iucundities, who was firſt raiſed to the dignitie of Baron *Parre* of *Kendal*, afterwards he married *Anne Bourchier*, ſole daughter & heire to the Earle of *Eſſex*, at the ſame time when the King married his ſiſter; and afterwards by EDVVARD made Marquis of *Northampton*; vnder the reigne of MARIE, hee was condemned of High-Treaſon, for taking armes on the behalfe of *Iane Greyſ*, who was brought in by ſubornation to be Queene, but was ſhortly after pardoned, and reſtored to his inheritance, as he was afterwards to his honours by Queene ELIZABETH. He had no Children, but left to be his heire, *Henrie Herbert*, Earle of *Pembroke*, his other Siſters Sonne.

The death of Biſhop Iewell.

Iohn Iewell, a man of an excellent ſpirit and exquiſit learning in Theologie, and of great pietie, died the ſame yeere, being hardly fiftie yeeres of age, deſcended of good Parents in *Deuonſhire*, and commendably brought vp in *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford*, who, in Queene MARIES reigne was baniſhed into *Germanie*,

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and afterwards by Queene ELIZABETH beeing made Bishop of *Salisburie*, put forth, in the yeere 1562. an *Apologie for the English Church*, and most learnedly defended the Protestants Religion against *Harding* who was falne from it, in two Volumes in our owne Tongue, which are now translated into the Latine.

Affaires of Ireland.

Ireland at that time was quiet enough: for *Iohn Perot*, President of *Mounster* had so ransacked *Iohn Fitz-Morris*, who had pillaged *Kilmalocke*, that hee was constrained to hide himselfe in Caues, and in the end, as wee shall relate hereafter, brought to begge pardon with humble submission. *Sidney*, Deputie of *Ireland*, returning into *England*, *Fitz-William*, who had married his Sister, succeeded in his place.

William Fitzwilliam Deputy of Ireland.

THE

THE FIFTEENTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1572.

THe beginning of a new yeere, brought forth a new Tragicall ſpectacle to the Inhabitants of *London*; for in the Palace of *Weſtminſter* a Scaffold was erected, from the one end to the other, with a Tribunall vpon it, and ſeates on either ſide, the like had not bin ſeene for eighteene yeeres before. Thither, vpon the ſixteenth day of *Ianuary*, was *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*, conducted betweene *Owen Hopton*, Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*, and *Peter Carew*, Knight, before whom was borne the fatall Axe, with the edge forward; vpon the Tribunall was ſeated *George Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, conſtituted Lord high Steward of *England* for that day; vpon either ſide of him were placed the Nobles appointed Commiſſioners, which we call Peeres, to

Thomas, Duke of Norfolke is preſented before the Nobles and Peeres, and arraigned in Weſtminſter Hall.

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Peeres of the Kingdome.

to wit, *Reynold Gray*, Earle of *Kent*, *Tho. Ratcliffe*, Earle of *Sussex*, *Henry Hastings*, Earle of *Huntington*, *Francis Russell*, Earle of *Bedford*, *Henry Herbert*, Earle of *Pembroke*, *Edw. Seimor*, Earle of *Hartford*, *Ambrose Dudley*, Earle of *Warwicke*, *Robert Dudley*, Earle of *Leicester*, *Walt. Deuereux*, Viscount of *Hereford*, *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Admirall, *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Chamberlaine, *William Cecill*, Lord *Burghley*, Secretarie, *Arthur* Lord *Gray*, of *Wilton*, *Iea. Blount*, Lord *Mountioy*, *Will.* Lord *Sands*, *Tho.* Lord *Wentworth*, *William* Lord *Bourrowes*, *Lewes* Lord *Mordant*, *Iohn Pawlet*, Lord *S. Iohn* of *Basing*, *Robert* Lord *Rich*, *Roger* Lord *North*, *Edm. Bruges*, Lord *Chandos*, *Oliuer* Lord *S. Iohn* of *Bletso*, *Tho. Sackuill*, Lord *Buckhurst*, and *Will. West*, Lord *De-la-Ware*.

The maner of his arraignement.

Silence being commanded, the Commission was read, importing the power giuen to the Iudge. Then *Carter*, chiefe King of Heralds, deliuered into his hands a white wand, which he presently after deliuered to the Groome Porter, who standing by, did hold it erected the whole time of the Court. Silence againe commanded, the Lieutenant of the Tower, was bidden to bring forth his charge, and present the Duke before the Seat of Iustice, who foorth-with appeared, on either side were the Lieutenants of the Tower, and *Peter Carew*, next of all, he that carried the Axe, the edge thereof turned from the Duke.

Silence the third time proclaimed, the Clerke appointed for the Acts of Iudgement, thus spake to the Duke,

> *Thomas, Duke of* Norfolke, *late of* Kenninghale, *in the County of* Norfolke, *hold vp thy hand.*

When he had holden vp his hand, the said Clerke read aloud the Crimes of which he was accused, that is to say, That in the eleuenth yeere of Queene ELIZABETH, and afterwards, the Duke hath treacherously held counsell to depose the Queene from her Kingdome, to take away

her

her life, and to inuade the Realme by rayſing of warre, and bringing in troupes of Strangers. That notwithſtanding he had certaine knowledge, that *Mary*, late Queene of *Scots*, had arrogated to herſelfe the Crowne of *England*, with the Title and Armes thereof, yet hath he treated (vnknowne to the Queene) of a marriage betwixt them, and contrary to the promiſe vnder his hand and Seale, hath lent vnto her certaine large ſummes of money. That hee had aſſiſted and ſuccoured the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Weſtmerland*, *Marquenfield*, and others, notwithſtanding that hee had good notice, that they had raiſed Rebellion againſt the Queene, and were chaſed into *Scotland*. That in the thirteenth yeere of the Queenes Reigne, by Letters, he demanded ſuccours of the Pope, *Pius Quintus*, ſworne Enemy to the Queene, of the *Spaniard*, and Duke *D' Alua*, to ſet the Queene of *Scots* at liberty, and re-eſtabliſh the Romane religion in *England*. Finally, that hee had relieued and aided *Heris* a *Scottiſh-man*, and others, enemies to her Maieſtie in *Scotland*. Theſe Articles being read, the Clerke demanded of the D. if he were guilty of theſe accuſations.

The chiefe points of his accuſation.

Whereupon the Duke deſired (if the Law would permit it) that he might haue an Aduocate to defend his cauſe: to which *Catelin* the Chiefe Iuſtice anſwered, that it might not be allowed.

The Duke demandeth an Aduocate to plead his cauſe.

THen it is meet, ſaid he, *that I ſubmit to the ſentences of the Iudges; but the matter is full of ambiguities; neither did I knowe within theſe foure and twenty houres, that I was to come to Iudgement, and ſo was vnprepared of Bookes. I ſee now well that I muſt enter into combate for my life without Armes. I haue heard neuertheleſſe, that in the reigne of* HENRY *the ſeuenth, in a cauſe of* Læſæ Maieſtatis, Humphrey Stafford *had an aduocate aſſigned him.*

To which *Dier* Chiefe Iuſtice of the Common-Pleas, anſwered,

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anſwered, that *Stafford* (indeed) had an Aduocate allowed him, to pleade for him concerning the right of *Azile*, from whence by force he was taken, but for the crime of *Læſæ Maieſtatis*, without any aſſiſtance, hee pleaded his cauſe himſelfe.

THen, *this day* (replyes the Duke) *muſt I my ſelfe plead for my life, goods, my Children, and for what counteruailes all theſe, mine Honour: but let that Honour paſſe; if I innocently periſh, GOD will not let it paſſe vnreuenged. Yet this one thing let me be permitted to queſtion; whether that enumeration of crimes will hold true in euery point, and to what point I muſt make anſwere?* Catelin made reply, Since the cauſes are true, this enumeration alſo muſt be eſteemed true. *I deſire to bee inſtructed* (ſaith the Duke) *whether euery of theſe bee crimes of* Læſæ Maieſtatis? *For I haue heard related, that in the cauſe of the Lord* Scroope, *vnder the Reigne of* Henry *the* 4. But as he would haue proceeded, the Clerke interrupted him, ſpeaking with a loud voice,

THomas, *Duke of* Norfolke, *art thou guilty of theſe crimes, or no?* The Duke denyed. Then he was further demanded, *How wilt thou be tried?* He anſwered, *I commit my cauſe to God and to theſe Peeres. The odiouſneſſe of theſe crimes amazeth mee, but the Royall clemency of her Maieſtie, from which (beſides what I haue receiued, I can expect no more) much refreſheth me. But of you (my Lord Iudge) let me requeſt thus much, that I may bee iuſtly dealt withall, and that my memory, which is indeede but weake, may not bee too much oppreſſed with a confuſed variety of matters. I confeſſe my ſelfe happy, hauing you my Peeres for Iudges, and with much willingneſſe would*

would commit my life to the integrity of the most of you. I was assured in mine owne innocency, and therefore sought no way to fly. Yet I cannot but ingenuously confesse, that I haue beene wanting in my duty towards the Queene, but neuer did I any thing which might touch or offend so Royall a Maiestie. I beseech you then, that those higher matters may not bee commixt equally with those of Læsæ Maiestatis.

Then *Barham*, the Queenes Serieant at Law, began; Those Crimes (saith hee) of *Læsæ Maiestatis*, of which you thus expostulate, are these. You haue complotted to depriue the Queene both of Kingdome and life, you haue consulted of a marriage with the late Queene of *Scotland*, you haue inuited forraigne powers to inuade the Realme, you haue succoured Rebels, and haue sent ayde to those *Scots* which were the Queenes Enemies. The Duke interposeth, saying;

BArham, doe not (I pray you) exasperate the matter with words, in obiecting against me the marriage, and other things which fall not amongst the offences of high Treason.

Barham, turning to the Peeres, vrgeth this: He (quoth he) that will marry a wife that layeth claime to a Kingdome, doth likewise affect the same Kingdome. For the Duke had enterprized the same, being amongst the Commissioners at *Yorke*, appointed for the hearing of the Queen of *Scots* Cause, being at that time bound by his oath, equally to ballance the accusations and defences of either part.

The Duke replyeth,

There be diuers parts contained in that cause, which are not crimes of Læsæ Maiestatis.

But the Lord high Steward commanded the Duke not

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to ſtray ſo farre from the purpoſe by digreſſions: whereupon (*Barham* clamorouſly inſiſting) he acknowledged that the Queene of *Scots* had laid claime to the Crowne of *England*, but had long time ſince deſiſted. *Barham* on the contrary demonſtrated, that ſhee had not as yet deſiſted, becauſe ſhe had not yet renounced the right which ſhe pretended: hee furthermore grieuouſly accuſed the Duke, that he inſtructed the Deputies of the Queene of *Scots* what to anſwere, according as it appeared in the Confeſſion of the Biſhop of *Roſſe*. The Duke confeſſed, that *Lidington* had made a motion to him of the marriage, but he refuſed the ſame, neither gaue he any inſtructions, but deſired that *Roſſe* might be produced in preſence.

After this, *Barham* amply proſecuteth many things of the marriage, which haue beene ſpoken of, with an intent to prooue that the Duke had an affection to the Kingdome, and inſiſteth with often-repeated Interrogatories. What other thing could the Duke propound to himſelfe, whileſt (without the Queens knowledge) he determined to marry the Queene of *Scots*, being a woman without meanes or Kingdome (her Sonne being eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome) then that by her he hoped to enioy the Crowne of *England*, and ſo conſequently depriue the Queene both of rule and life?

The ſecond Article of his accuſation.

> *You haue* (quoth the Duke) *lowdly repeated theſe things, to conuince me of enterprizing the depoſing and ruine of the Queene.*

To come to the point (ſayes *Barham*) it is ſufficiently knowne, that you haue conſulted about the ſurprizing of the Tower of *London*, which is the ſtrongeſt place in the Realme, whereby it is neceſſarily manifeſt, that you had then plotted the ruine of the Queene, ſeeing that Rule is impatient of competitors. The Duke denieth not, hat one *Hopton* ſuggeſted him to the ſurprizing of the Tower of *London*,

London, but he vtterly reiected it. Why then (quoth *Barham*) did you aske counsell of the Earle of *Pembroke* concerning the same, who disswaded you from it.

Barham proceedeth, and vrgeth, that when the Queene of *England* had demanded that the young King of *Scotland*, certaine Castles, and the rebellious *English* which were in *Scotland*, should be deliuered into her hands: The Duke had vnder-hand aduised the *Scots*, not to consent thereunto. He likewise accused him, that hee endeuoured to free the Queene of *Scots* out of prison; and that, after hee had religiously promised by his hand-writing, not to meddle with her in any kind of busines.

One *Candish* was then produced for a witnesse, who deposed, that the Duke had constantly resolued of the marriage, and had asked him, if (after the death of Queen ELIZABETH, he might draw his Vncle to his partie. These the Duke altogether denyed, reiecting his testimony, as of a poore and abiect fellow. After this it was demonstrated, that the Duke had secretly sent a Seruant to the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, to aduertise them, not to stir in the Rebellion, because he thought it would be very dangerous. Letters also were brought in, which the Queene of *Scots* had written to the Duke, importing, that shee was much grieued that the Earle of *Northumberland* was apprehended before hee had taken vp Armes in the Rebellion: (For whether shee vnderstood this by report, or it was inuented of purpose, I cannot say.)

To this the Duke answered:

THat by these reasons it could not probably bee inferred, that hee had laboured the destruction of the Queene; neither was any thing that hath hitherto bin produced, of any moment against him, excepting the testimony of the Bishop of Rosse; *and that also*

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alſo of him being a forreiner (by the authoritie of Bracton, *a man moſt expert in our Lawes) in no wiſe is to be admitted. That he neuer had* Northumberland *or* Weſtmerland *in ſuch eſteeme that hee would commit his life into their hands: and that his innocencie was ſuch a ſure rampire to him, that hee neuer meditated of any eſcape for himſelfe.*

The third Article of his accuſation.

Then *Gerard*, the Queenes Attourney, ſpake: It is more than ſufficiently apparant, that the Duke would haue eſpouſed the Queene of *Scots*, to deſtroy the Queene of *England*. The Letters which he hath writtē to the Pope, the King of *Spaine*, and Duke *d'Alua*, doe iuſtifie that hee had a determination to inuade *England*. That which hee conſulted of with *Ridolfe*, was now likewiſe openly knowne by the obſcure Characters which were found hidden vnder the tiles in the houſe of the *Howards*, and by the Letters alſo (which he commanded to be burnt) but were found at the entry of his Chamber vnder the Matte. And all theſe things may eaſily bee proued by the interrogatories and anſweres of them that haue not beene affrighted with torments, nor condemned to haue attempted ought againſt the State.

To which, the Duke replyed:

I Haue not (quoth hee) *beene eyther author or fauourer of the counſels and deliberations holden with the Pope or* Spaniard, *but to the contrary, I haue alwayes reproued and diſallowed them. Thoſe that haue offended, let them ſuffer, and not diſcharge them vpon me.*

Beſides all this, *Gerard* accuſed the Duke, that hee had conſulted with *Ridolfe* for the landing of tenne thouſand men out of *Flanders* at *Harwich*, a Port in *Eſſex*: and this was iuſtified out of the examination of *Barker*. That Letters

ters were written by *Ridolfe* to the King of *Spaine*, and Duke *d'Alua*, to which, although the Duke subscribed not, yet by the counsell of *Rosse*, hee sent *Barker* his Secretary as Ambassadour, to auerre them to be the Dukes owne Letters.

My memory (replyeth the Duke) *beginneth to falter, neither can it containe such an intricate varietie of matters: You other pleaders haue your notes and memorialls with you, but I must* ex tempore *answere to all mine accusers. But surely it is not probable, that I who haue alwayes beene contrary to the Roman Religion, should entertaine a treatie with the Pope. I had a great deale rather be torne in pieces with wilde Horses, than to depart from the Religion which I professe. Consider but the situation of* Harwich, *and it will easily annihilate the accusation. Who sees not how difficult a thing it is, to leade an Armie thorow that part of the Countrey, which is round inclosed with hedges, and most incommodious, by reason of the streight and narrow wayes and passages? Had I had a determination to rayse an army against my Princesse, without doubt I would not haue beene vnprouided of Armes: but I haue not for these tenne yeeres past, bought any more than eight Corslets; and for Gunpowder, not any at all. I neuer committed any Letters to the trust of* Barker, *but rather of* Banister, *that was to mee more than many* Barkers.

The Duke of Norfolke contrary to the Romane Religion.

Then were the intercepted Letters of the Bishop of *Rosse*, which he writ in Prison to the Queene of *Scots* produced, by which, what things were before spoken, were confirmed. The Duke requested to see them, for it seemed that he suspected them to be supposed. But the Iudge answered, You need not call them in question, for they are written

The Letters of the Bishop of Rosse, to the Qu. of Scots, are produced.

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written with the Bishops owne hand. Besides these, a little Letter was brought forth, which the Duke had written in Okar to one of his Seruants, wherein hee commanded him to burne the packet which was hidden in a certaine place, and to turne the fault vpon the Bishop, who by the priuiledge of an Ambassadour, might delude the Law. To which, the Duke replyed in these words:

The Dukes Letter to his seruant.

Being certified that it was diuulged abroad, that many had accused mee, I answered by this Letter, and seeing all things were so neerely searcht into, I commanded that packet should be burnt, because I would saue others from danger.

The Letters of Ridolfe.

Of the Pope.

Bromley, the Queenes Sollicitor, presented the Letters of *Ridolfe*, wherein was conteined, that the Duke *d'Alua* had approued the designe: likewise the Letters of the Pope to the Duke, dated the fourth of the *Nones* of *May*. Then *Wilbraham* made a faire discourse, concerning what credit should be giuen to the testimonies of the Bishop, and of the Dukes seruants: whereto the Duke made answere:

CErtes, it falls not vnder the power of my faculties, to frame a replication to such an elegant and polished Oration. Yet this Oratour, such and so great as he is, hath omitted to speake how great the violence of feare is, which oftentimes doth remoue a firme and well-composed minde out of its place and state. Againe, hee alledged Bracton, *against the credit giuen to forreine witnesses.*

The testimony of Strangers.

But *Catelin* answered, that in such causes as this, the testimonies of Strangers were auaileable, and that it was in the power of the Peeres, eyther to giue or deny them credit.

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The third Article of his accusation.

Now was that matter come to be proued, that the Duke had succoured the rebellious Fugitiues; which was found apparant by the Letters of the Countesse of *Northumberland*, in which shee gaue the Duke great thankes for the money wherewith he furnished her husband and her selfe. Finally, the last obiection of the relieuing of those *Scots* which were enemies to the Queene, was prooued by the Letters of the Duke to *Banister*, by *Banisters* confession, and by the Mony which was deliuered to *Browne* of *Shropshire*. Hereupon the Duke demanded of the Iudges, *Whether the Subiects of another Prince, confederate with the Queene, may be accounted enemies to the Queene? Catelin* answered, They might, and that the Queene of *England* might make warre with any Duke in *France*, and in the meane time, obserue a peace with the King of *France*.

But as the night began to approch, the Lord high Steward demanded of the Duke, if he had any thing more to speake for himselfe. The Duke answered, *In the equitie of the Lawes, I repose my trust.* Then hee commanded the Lieutenant of the Tower, to retyre with the Duke awhile: after silence was proclaimed, turning to the Peeres, hee thus spake to them:

YOu haue heard, how Thomas, *Duke of* Norfolke, *being accused of* Læsæ Maiestatis, *and not confessing himselfe guiltie, hath committed his cause to GOD, and to you. It is your part then, to consider amongst your selues, whether hee is to be holden guilty or no, and to giue vp your verdicts according to conscience and honour.*

The Peeres consult amongst thẽselues.

They likewise withdrawing themselues at his command, consulted together: after a while, they returned to their places. Then the Lord High Steward, beginning at the lowest, said, *Lord De la Ware, Is* Thomas, *Duke of* Norfolke,

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folke, *guiltie of the crimes of* Læsæ Maiestatis, *for which he is heere arraigned at the Iudgement-Seate?* *De-la-Ware*, rising vp, and laying his hand on his brest, hee answered, *Guilty*; the like did euery one in order, being demanded. Then was the Duke againe brought before the Tribunall, to whom the Lord High-Steward in this manner spake:

THomas, Duke of Norfolke, you are heere arraigned for diuers crimes of Læsæ Maiestatis, *and haue submitted your selfe to God and these Peeres, by euery one of whom you are pronounced guiltie. Is there now any cause why Iudgement should not be pronounced?*

The Duke answered:

The will of GOD be done, that will be iudge betweene mee and my false accusers.

Then euery man being silent, the edge of the Axe was turned towards the Duke, and *Barham* in the Queenes name required the Lord High-Steward to pronounce his Iudgement, which hee, with teares in his eyes, according to the forme, pronounced in these words:

The Sentence pronounced against the Duke.

FOrasmuch as you Thomas, *Duke of Norfolke, beeing accused of the crimes of* Læsæ Maiestatis, *haue pleaded Not guiltie, and submitted your selfe to the Iudgement of these Peeres, who declared you guiltie: The whole Assembly adiudged you to be committed back to the Tower, from thence to be drawne vpon a Sledde thorow the Citie, to the place of execution, there, to be hanged, and cut downe halfe dead, then to haue your Bowels taken out, your Head cut off, and your Body quartered into foure parts: whose Head shall be at her Maesties disposing, and at the Queenes pleasure:*

pleasure: But GOD bee mercifull vnto your Soule.

The Duke hauing heard this Sentence, with a minde full of courage, he said:

THis Sentence is pronounced against mee as a Traytor: my confidence is in GOD and the Queene, hoping that if I bee depriued of your company, I shall reioyce with them in Heauen, and so will prepare my selfe for my death. I desire no other thing, but that the Queene would shew her selfe propitious to my Children and Seruants, and bee carefull for the payment of my debts.

These were the particulars that passed in these affaires, which I haue here declared, because it is expedient for our posterity, that in great matters the lesse occurrences should be remembred.

Barney and Marter are put to death.

A few dayes after, *Barney* and *Marter* were put to death, for hauing conspired against the death of certaine of her Maiesties Councell, and plotted the freedome and libertie of the Duke. One *Herle* was priuy thereunto, and of the same company: but hee soone reuealed the same, and as hee was brought face to face before *Barney*, *Truely* (said *Barney*) *thou hast preuented mee but of an houre: for if thou hadst not so soone discouered it, I purposed to haue done it, and so now should I be in thy place to accuse thee, and thou in mine to be hanged.* This conspiration and other plots which were practised to set the prisoners at liberty, was the cause that a Parliament was forthwith summoned. At which time, the Queene created *Walter d'Eureux*, Earle of *Essex*, for that by his great Grand-mother hee was descended from the *Bourchiers*, sometimes Earles of *Essex*. And *Edward, Lord Clinton*, who had large possessions in *Lincolneshire*, Earle of *Lincolne*. Her Maiestie likewise made

Earles created.

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Barons elected.

Lawes eſtabliſhed for the better ſecurity of the Queene and her Kingdome.

The Duke of Norfolke beheaded.

Iohn Pawlet of *Baſing*, Sonne to the Lord Marquis of *Winchester*, *Henrie Compton*, *Henrie Cheyney*, and *Henrie Norrice*, Peeres of *England*, ſummoned them into the Vpper-Houſe, there to haue their voyces, and after to beare the Title of Barons. Amongſt other Acts, it was made Felony to intercept, ruinate, or burne any of her Maieſties Ships, Fortreſſes, or Harbours. *Item*, It was enacted, that whoſoeuer ſhould attempt to ſet at liberty any perſon or perſons committed by her Maieſties expreſſe command, or which had treſpaſſed againſt her Maieſtie, or was held ſuſpected to haue offended; if the partie were not indicted, he was to be puniſhed with onely loſſe of goods in ſtead of life, and impriſonment during her Maieſties pleaſure; if indicted, with death; if condemned, to be held guilty of treaſon. But as neceſſitie brought in Decrees for the time, ſo the States thought good they ſhould be *temporary*, or during the Queenes life. But as new practices were daily diſcouered, ſo they ſerued to haſten on the Dukes puniſhment, which notwithſtanding was yet deferred ſome fiue moneths more or leſſe; nor before, could either the Lower-Houſe of Parliament, the Lords of the Priuy-Councell, or the importunacy of Preachers, (aggrauating how great and eminent danger there was) ouercome her Maieſties mercifull clemency.

The fourth day of *Iune*, by eight a clocke in the forenoone, the Duke was brought to a Scaffold, built vpon the Tower-Hill; whereupon being mounted, and *Alexander Nowell*, Deane of Saint *Pauls*, (who was appointed his Comforter) had requeſted the confuſed People to be ſilent, he ſaid, among many other words that I heard, theſe:

IT is not ſtrange to ſee ſome ſuffer death in this place, although that ſince her Royall Maieſtie began to reigne, I am the firſt, and I pray God I may be the laſt; with that the People cried all aloud, *Amen*.

Then,

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His speech at the houre of his death.

Then, continuing his Speech, he said;

I know well (said hee) *the Peeres of the Realme haue iustly iudged mee worthy to dye, nor haue I purpose to excuse my selfe. I haue treated, I freely confesse, in matters of great importance with the Queene of Scots, without the priuity of my Soueraigne, which I ought not to haue done, and for that I was first committed; and hauing had my libertie vpon my humble submission, I past my faithfull promise that I would neuer more conferre with her, yet I did, I confesse, which torments my Conscience, but I neither promised, nor swore* (as they say) *at the Lords Table. I went, and but once, to* Ridolfe, *but with no intent of conspiracie against her Maiestie: For it is well knowne, that I had great dealings with him vpon my accounts and reckonings. I found he enuied the present peace of the Land, and was very subtill in plotting proiects of mischiefe. Twice there came Letters to my hands from the Bishop of* Rome, *to which I neuer gaue consent, nor to the Rebellion in the North. I renounced Papistrie, after I tasted the sweete of Religion, and reiecting the Popes doctrine, I embraced the true Religion of Iesus Christ, beleeuing wholy and soly in his precious bloud, my Sauiour and Redeemer: yet I cannot deny, but many of my Family and familiars were addicted to the Romish Religion, wherein, if I haue offended GOD, the Church, and Protestants, I beseech him and them to forgiue mee.*

Then, after they had sung a *Psalme* or two, he said with a lowd voyce; *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.* Then, imbracing *Henry Ley*, hee whispered something in his Eare; and after, he spoke to the Deane of *Pauls*, who turning him to the people, said; *The Duke intreateth you all*

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The Duke of Norfolke's head is cut off.

to pray with him, that GOD would be mercifull to him; and that you would be silent, that his spirit be not disturbed. Hee forgaue his Executioner, asking him pardon, refusing to put the Napkin ouer his face, which he offered him, saying, *I feare not death.* Then kneeling downe, his heart lift vp to GOD on high, hee prostrated himselfe on the Scaffold, the Deane praying intentiuely with him; then, laying his necke ouer the Blocke, at one stroke his head was cut off, which the Executioner shewed: a lamentable spectacle to the people, most mournfully then shedding teares and sighing.

Sundry censures of him after his death.

It is almost incredible how dearely the People loued him, and how by his naturall benignity, and courteous actions, (qualities well becomming so great a Prince) hee had gained the hearts of the Multitude: Diuers of the wiser sort (as they were affected) passed their censures diuersly, some from an apprehension they had of great feare and danger might haue ensued, had hee suruiued; others, commiserating the case of one so nobly borne, so gentle by nature, so comely of personage, of so manly an aspect, so compleat in all parts, to perish so pittyously one, who had not the subtill sleights of his Aduersaries, and the slippery hopes he had conceiued, vnder a colour of benefitting his Countrey and Common-wealth, diuerted from the first-begun course of his life, hee had beene the greatest honour and ornament of his Countrey. They called also to memory the luckless death and destiny of his late Father, who although vniuersally admired for Arts and Armes, had some fiue and twentie yeeres before this, lost his head in the same place, vpon sleight occasions, *to wit*, for hauing his Armes quartered with King *Edward* the Confessour, which we reade, the *Mowbrayes*, the Dukes of *Norfolke*, had borne, being giuen them by King *Richard* the Second, from which *Mowbrayes* he drew his petigree.

Whereupon, it shall not be impertinent to the purpose, briefly

briefly to adde from what shop these Conspiracies were first forged, as *Hierome Catene* in his History of the life of *Pius* the fifth relateth. An Author, for his credit, made free Denison of *Rome*, and admitted Secretary to Cardinall *Alexandrine*, Nephew to *Pius* the fifth.

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Catenes relations of the precedent matters.

Pope Pius *the* 5. (saith he) *burning with a zealous desire to re-establish the Romane Religion, and hauing no other so conuenient a Messenger to bee his* Nuncio Apostolike, *imployed* Robert Ridolph, *Gentleman, of* Florence, *who comming into* England, *(vnder pretext of other businesse) indeuoured himselfe to nothing more, then to stir the hearts of the Queenes Subiects, to her destruction: wherein he dealt with such dexterity, that he brought not onely Papists, but also some Protestants to be of his faction: some, for a priuate malice they bore to those which aymed at the Kingdome; others, out of a desire of innouation. As these matters were working vnder-hand and couertly, there happened a debate betwixt the Spaniard and the Queene, for certaine moneys that had been intercepted, now in her possession. Hereupon the Pope tooke occasion to perswade the King of* Spaine, *to lend his helping hand to those which were combin'd Conspirators in* England, *against Qu.* ELIZA. *that so he might with the more facillity effect his affaires in the* Low-Countries, *and restore the Catholike Religion in* England. *In like maner dealt he with* France, *as if he were bound to assist his Kinswoman, the Queen of* Scotland, *and to pleasure the Scots, who to diuert the* English *from ayding the Protestants in* France, *had made incursions vpon the* English: *nor ought he any lesse to some great persons of the confederacy in* England, *who by their policy had so preuented, as that the Queene should not publikely send any ayde to the* Huguenotes *of* France; *by reason whereof,*

Pope Pius the fifth incensed against Qu. Elizabeth.

How he imployed the English.

The King of Spaine.

The King of France.

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the King of France promised his aide to set free the Qu. of Scots, but failed to performe. In the meane time, Ridolph so wrought, that he brought Norfolke to bee chiefe of the conspiracie, promising him marriage with the Queene of Scots, with her consent. The better also to effect this businesse, the Pope deposed the Queene of her Crowne and Kingdome, and absolued her Subiects of all Oath and Allegeance, by a Bull which hee caused to be published, whereof he sent copies, printed, to Ridolph, to be dispersed through the Kingdome. Hereupon the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland raised Armes in the North of England against the Queene; but money failing there, they speedily fled into Scotland, and the Duke of Norfolke, with others, were committed to prison; amongst which, Ridolph was one, who had receiued commandement from his Holinesse, to deliuer to the Confederate League an hundred and fiftie thousand Crownes, which hee could not doe, beeing now prisoner. But her Maiesty not looking so deepely (as concerned her) into the plot of the Conspiracie, set Ridolph and some others at liberty, and hauing distributed the foresaid moneys amongst the Confederates, was by them sent home againe to the Pope, to aduertise him, that now all things were in a readinesse for the dispatch of the Queen, and to procure with all speed the best supplies he might from the Spaniard, out of the Low-Countries. The Pope commended well this purpose, although indeed the Duke of Norfolke had formerly misliked the same, as a matter full of much difficulty, in a priuate conference hee had with Ridolph once vpon the way; and, vnder a colour of other matter, addrest himselfe to the Kings of Spaine & Portugal, to informe them thereof. He promiseth the Duke of Norfolke, by his Letters, to send him succour, mooueth with the King of Spaine to bee assistant, and to further the

The King of Portugal.

The Duke of Alua opposeth.

Wherefore.

the matter the more, offereth to goe himselfe in person, and if neede were, to spend the goods of his See-Apostolike, Challices, holy Vestiments, and Crucifixes, assuring him, that he could and would easily effect the same, nor was there any difficultie to be doubted, would hee send ouer Chappin Vittel *with an Armie out of* Flanders *into* England, *which thing the Spaniard with all expedition commanded to be done, whilest the Pope prouided money. But the Duke* D'Alua, *enuying that* Vitel *should haue the honour of this seruice, sought to preferre his Sonne thereunto, fearing that the French should fall from them with their Forces, and doubting the Conqueſt of* England *might yeelde any profit to* Spaine, *or that the Pope was able to comply with them, for money sufficient for so great a designe. Notwithstanding, the King of* Spaine *gaue expresse command that he should inuade* England, *and to that end sent moneys by* Ridolph *into* Flanders. *But it pleased God, the matter was discouered to the Queene of* England *by some beyond seas, and the Duke of Norfolke apprehended, and iudged to death, which brought no lesse griefe to the Pope then to the King of* Spaine, *who said in the presence of Cardinall* Alexandrine, *his Nephew, That neuer was businesse more deliberately attempted, carried with more courage and constancy of the Confederates, nor lasted longer time vndiscouered by any of the couiurate-society, That their military Companies might in foure and twentie houres space, be put ouer out of* Flanders *into* England, *the Queene, and the City of* London *suddenly surprized, Religion restored, and the Queene of* Scotland *settled and crowned in her steade: All which were like to haue the better successe, for that* Thomas Stukeley, *an English Fugitiue, was then in readinesse with three thousand men, to bring* Ireland *in subiection to the King of* Spaine, *and with three Ships that*

A vaine successe,

Wherewith the Pope & the King of Spaine are vext and angry.

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that were Spies, set the Englisſh *Fleete on fire.*

Thus *H. Catene*, of which much was vnknowne till the yeere 1588. when he publiſhed a booke, printed at Rome, and priuiledged by *Sixtus* the Sixth. Now returne wee to the purpoſe, if we be digreſt.

The Queene of Scots accuſed.

Scarce ten dayes after the Dukes death, were ſent to the Queene of *Scots*, then all mournefull and in ſorrow, *Will.* Lord *de-la-Ware*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, *Tho. Wilſon*, Doctor of the Ciuill Lawes, and *T. Bromley*, the Queenes Attourney, who were ſo to expoſtulate with her, as to charge her for vſurping the Title and Armes of *England*, nor that ſhe had renounced them, according as it was conditioned at *Edenborrough*, and to aſſume them more freely, had ſecretly contriued to marry with the Duke of *Norfolke*; which the rather to bring to paſſe, ſhee had left nothing vnaſſayed by the miniſtery of her Agents; by force and Armes to ſet the Duke at liberty, had raiſed Rebellion in the North Countrey, had ſuccoured the conuicted Rebels of *Scotland* and *Flanders*; had, by *Ridolph* the *Italian* his ſolliciting, implored the aydes of the Pope, the King of *Spaine*, and others, for inuading the Countrey of *England*; they vrged alſo, that ſhee had receiued Letters from the Pope, who had promiſed to keepe her as ſafe vnder his wing, as the Hen doth her Chickens, calling her and her Complices, [*The true Children of the Church.*] And finally, that ſhee had procured a Bull from the Pope againſt the Queene, and and had ſuffered herſelfe by her friends in forraigne parts, to be called

The Queene of *England.*

To all theſe, with a bold countenance, and conſtant reſolution, (hauing firſt proteſted herſelfe to be a free Prince, and ſubiect to none) ſhe anſwered,

That

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THat she had not vsurped the Title or Armes of England, but that being yet young, and vnder the power of her Husband, the King of France, necessity imposed them vpon her; but since her Husbands death, shee neuer bore them: wherefore it was not to be imputed to her as any fault of hers, neither would she take them to her, so long as ELIZABETH liued, or any Childe shee should beare. That in the matching with the Duke of Norfolke, shee had no thought of any ill might happen to the Cõmon-wealth, but rather much good, and if she should renounce the marriage, it was contrary to the matrimoniall Vow she had made, and that by dutie thereof, she was bound to aduertise the Duke of his dangers, and to quit himselfe out of prison. That she had neuer raised, nor consented to the raising of any tumults, but was alwaies ready to discouer what plots shee knew of, against the Queene or Countrey, if she had pleased by her to bee admonished of, or to haue admitted her to her sight or hearing; nor at any time had succoured the English Rebels, but only by her Letters had recommended the Countesse of Northumberland to the Duke D'Alua. Of Ridolph she was to haue necessary vse for her pensionary Annuities, and in some money-matters; whom shee knew to be a great Fauourite of the Popes, but neuer had receiued any Letters from him, had neuer dealt with any touching her deliuery, but indeed had not refused to giue eare to such as had offered the seruice in that kind, and for that cause had passed her priuie Seale to Rowlston and Hall. She had sometimes receiued Letters consolatory and full of piety from the Pope, wherein was no mention of any such matter, nor had shee procured any Bull from Rome; onely on a time a copie of one of them was shewed her, which, after she had read, shee cast it into the fire. But if any out of forraigne Countries

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ſhall write or ſpeake otherwiſe then they ought, they ought to anſwere it, and to ſuffer the penaltie of their faults. She neuer ſought or ſent either to Pope or King of Spaine, *for the procuring any inuaſion vpon* England, *but had implored their helpes for her reſtoring into her owne Realme, but not before her Maieſtie had preadmonition thereof. But if ſhee were to be called in queſtion concerning theſe Letters, ſhe requeſted (for that ſhee was iſſued from the Bloud Royall of* England) *that ſhe might anſwere for herſelfe in perſon in open Parliament.*

Sedition in Scotland.

In the meane time was *Scotland* all vp in Armes, miſerably troubled with Ciuill Warres, whileſt on the one ſide, ſuch as fauoured the Queene, relying vpon aide from the *French*, and the other party expecting the like from *England*, had dayly encounters together, notwithſtanding both *Engliſh* and *French* ſhewed themſelues moſt deſirous to appeaſe and accord their diſſentions by the Ambaſſages which either countrey ſent into *Scotland*. Of which *France* propoſed, that their moſt commodious courſe would bee, to elect amongſt them ſome perſons of well-known worth and wiſedome, to gouerne the Kingdome for a time, not taking vpon them ſupreame authority, or the names of King or Queene: they were not willing to acknowledge for King the King of *Scotland*; for that they held hee had no right but by his mother, and that ſhee was vniuſtly depoſed of her Subiects; and therefore ſhee was iuſtly to bee reputed their Queene, and the ancient League of Alliance betwixt her and *France* to continue firme and inuiolable.

The Queene of England, & the King of France endeuour to accord them.

They differ in opinions.

Thoſe likewiſe from *England*, on the contrary, maintained by ſtrong argument, that ſuch an Adminiſtration or popular gouernment would be an *Anarchy*, and that the Common wealth was not to admit plurality of Gouernours, and that *Scotland* hauing alwaies beene commanded by Kings, was not now to haue an election of ſuch Adminiſtrators.

That

That the States of the Realme had depoſed the Queene, and lawfully crowned and inthroned the King, and that the ancient recited Alliance, was a contract, not of perſons, but of the two Kingdomes of *France* and *Scotland*, alledging alſo, that by an expreſſe Law, the moſt Chriſtian King was bound to defend the King of *Scots* in theſe termes. Booke 2. 1572.

> *If there happen at any time controuerſie about the Kingdome of* Scotland, *the Kings of* France *ſhall ſupport, ayde, and defend him whom the States of* Scotland *ſhall adiudge the Title of the Kingdome to.*

And as touching the cauſes of the Queenes depoſing, it ſhould bee enquired of of thoſe *Scots* who haue depoſed her.

Cauſes alleadged, why the French fauour the Queene of Scotland.

The *French* notwithſtanding, openly fauouring the partie of the Queene of *Scotland*, became ſerious interceſſours to her Maieſtie, for to ſet her at liberty, leſt that as his Ambaſſadour did freely, hee might bee thought not to reſpect her who had beeń wife to the King his brother, and now the Dowager of *France*; and to neglect the now puiſſant Family of the *Guizes* in *France*, or to approoue that pernicious example of depoſing of Kings. And which was the moſt capitall point of all, that ſhee finding her ſelfe abandoned of the *French* in her aduerſity, might ſeeke Patronage from *Spaine*, and that by her meanes, the three prepotent Realmes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, might colleague them in amity with *Spaine*, to the no ſmall endamagement of the State of *France*.

To theſe Qu. ELIZABETH with milde alacrity anſwered.

The Queene of England conteſteth with the French.

> THe *King of* France *will be well aduiſed, what or how he ſhall doe with the Queene of* Scotland, *notwithſtanding ſhe was their Queene,*

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and now is their Dowager, howbeit for the dissoluing of the Duke of Aniou's *mariages she hath held secret cõsultation with the* Spaniard. *He will also consider, whether that ancient Law of Alliance be violable, and whether he be bound therby, or no, to defend the King in his nonage. He will also bethinke him how much* France *is beholden or obliged to the Family of the* Guizes, *by whose practices the Countrey hath beene afflicted with long and bloody wars, the* French *haue beene forced to lose the loue of* Scotland, *and the poore Queene brought into this calamitable case she is in. In very deed, the example of deposing Kings, I hold a thing most pernicious, and well deseruing infernall punishment, but for that the* Scots *are to answere. And for mine owne part, I call to mind the things which grieue my heart to remember. But notwithstanding I know not how the* French *in old times allowed of* Pepin, *when he supplanted* Childeric; *&* Hugo Capet, Charles *of* Lorraine; *depriuing them of their ancient successions descended to them from a long-continued Race of Ancestors, to transferre the Scepter to new-erected Families: As also* Philip *(surnamed, the good) Duke of* Burgundie, *exiled* Iaquet *from his countries of* Heanault *and* Holland: *or the* Danes, *when they expulst from his Kingdome,* Christianus *the second, and his Daughters. Or the* Spaniards, *who imprisoned the Queene* Vraca, *after they had put her from the Crowne. It is no nouelty for Sonnes to succeed their deposed Mothers. So Henry the Second was admitted King of England;* Alphonsus, *the yonger Sonne of* Vraca, *King of* Castill; *and of late memory,* Charles *the fifth King of* Spaine *and* Sicily, *their Mothers then suruiuing. The world is full of examples of many Queenes that haue exchanged their Diademes for prisons, which* France *doth testifie at large, hauing imprisoned (not to say further) the*

wiues

wiues of three of their Kings, one after another, Lewes Hutin, Philip the long, *and* Charles the faire: *For my part, I detaine the Queene of Scots vnder a reasonable Guard, but I doe it for the preseruation of* England, *and mine owne safety, after the example of the* French, *who for their better security of affaires, put* Chilperic *into a Monasterie,* Charles of Lorraine *into a safe and straite prison, and* Lodowicke Sforza, *Duke of* Mylan, *into a Dungeon with Iron grates.*

Whereunto (as she was very conuersant in the Histories of all Nations) shee annexed other examples of the same nature, drawne out of the Historie of *Spaine*, and finally concluded, that true it was, such Presidents carried euer with them some semblance of Iniustice: but she required, that the King of *France* would vndertake the defence of the Queene of *Scotland*, euen as he was bound by his Allyance; intimating, that it would bee an action of greater glory to the *French*, than all those vnhappy enterprizes they assumed in the cause of that infamous woman, *Iane* of *Naples*.

But when it was discouered, that at the same time the Queene of *Scots* practised secretly to confirme an alliance with the *Spaniard*, by the negotiations of the Lord *Seton*, who arriuing in *Essex*, disguised in the habit of a Mariner, and returning from thence into *Scotland*, through *England*, hee had promised succours in the Duke of *Aluaes* name, to the *Scottish* partakers with the Queene, shee was kept with a straighter Guard, and the affection borne to her by the *French*, by little and little waxed cold. And certainely, as the Duke of *Alua* omitted nothing, wherein he might vent his hatred to Queene ELIZABETH, so was shee no lesse cautelous to preuent it, and frustrate his dissignes. For, in the first moneths of this yeere, hee complained by the *Spanish* Ambassadour in *England*, that the

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Flemmiſh Rebels, bought all their warlike munition there, and were receiued into all her Ports and Hauens: ſhee preſently, by a ſtrict Proclamation, commanded, that all *Flemmings*, any wayes ſuſpected of ſedition, ſhould depart out of *England*, and that their ſhips of warlike equipage, ſhould be ſeyſed vpon in her harbours. All which returned to the dammage of the Duke of *Alua*. For *Humes*, Earle of March, and other *Flemmings*, reduced as it were to a deſperate poynt, whether they were terrified by this Proclamation, or that they were vnder-hand admoniſhed to retyre, but they preſently ſurpriſed the *Breele*, which is ſeated vpon the mouth of the *Meuſe*, cauſed *Fluſhing* forthwith to reuolt, and other Townes, which expelled the *Spaniards*, as they were in hand to make cittadels, to captiuate their libertie, in a ſhort time, cut off the Duke of *Alua* by Sea, and through the meanes they had to make it good for themſelues, had a power to moleſt and detaine the *Spaniard* with a long and teadious warre: wherein Souldiers haue obſerued, that hee ſhewed for his part ſuch palpable careleſſeneſſe, and negligence, as was not beſeeming ſo great a Generall, who, for the ſpace of foure whole yeeres, groſſely ouer-ſlipt the maritime affaires and expeditions of *Flanders*.

The rebellious Flemmings commanded to goe out of England. They take the Breele.

The Duke of Aluaes careleſneſſe.

At the ſame time, there was a famous generall muſter before the Queene at *Greenwich*, with a pleaſant trayning in Armes, by the Citizens of *London*, and after their returne from thence, martiall men, who began to ruſt and corrupt in their owne houſes, began to flow out of *England* into *Flanders*, and, according as they ſtood affected, betooke themſelues, ſome to the Duke of *Alua*, and others, the farre greater number, to the Prince of *Orange*, who oppoſed his proiects, for the defence of Religion, and his Countries libertie. Amongſt whom, Sir *Thomas Morgan* was the firſt, that brought three hundred men into *Fluſhing*, vpon the report whereof, the Duke, who intended

The Engliſh repaire into the Low-Countries to the warre.

ded the recouery of it, forbare and retyred. Further, hee hee vſed ſuch expedition and diligence, as he cauſed greater troupes to come: for, after himſelfe, there landed nine Companies more of *Engliſh*, conducted by *Humfrey Gilbert*, who, being conſorted with the *French*, firſt attempted to ſurprize *Scluſe* and *Bruges*, then hee ſet vpon *Tergow* in *Suethebenelant*. But their ſcaling-Ladders being too ſhort, hollow correſpondancie betweene the *French* and the *Engliſh*, and *Mondragon* comming on with freſh ſuccours for the aſſieged, they retyred to *Fluſhing*; of which, both the one and the other, ſought to make themſelues maſters, each to themſelues. But the Prince of *Orange*, made good vſe of this enuy among themſelues, ſo as neither of them obtained their end and purpoſe.

At that very time, a pleaſing ſerenity ſeemed to ſhine vpon the Proteſtants in *France*, and *Charles* the Ninth pretending onely a warre in *Flanders*, which he affirmed to be the preſeruation of *France*, and couering himſelfe with this maske, he feigned as though hee meant to contract alliance and amitie with the Queene of *England*, and the Princes of *Germanie*, to giue ſome teſtimony herein of his loue to the Proteſtants, whoſe abſolute ruine notwithſtanding he couertly intended. And, as if he leaned to them of the one ſide, and the *Spaniard* on the other, hee ſubſtituted to this end the Duke *de Mont-Morancy*, *Birag de Anbiſine*, the Biſhop of *Limoges*, and of *Foix*. The Queene of *England*, who truely apprehended the ſecret plots and ſtratagems of the Duke of *Alua*, deputed Sir *Thomas Smith*, and Sir *Francis Walſingham*: And Articles were drawne betweene them, whereof you ſhall ſee an abridgement in the ſame expreſſe words and termes.

Diſſimulation of the King of France.

The Alliance of Blois. The Articles of the ſame.

THis alliance ſhall not tye Princes allyed, to leaue other Treaties paſt betweene them, ſo they be not oppoſite and contrary thereunto. There ſhall be a Confederation

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deration, League, and Vnion betweene them, to defend themselues mutually against all, who, vnder some pretext, or any other occasion whatsoeuer, shall inuade, or attempt to inuade their persons or Territories, whereof they are now possest. It shall remaine firme betweene them, not onely while they liue, but also betweene their Successours, so the Heire of the first deceased giue notice to the suruiuant within the space of a yeere, by Ambassadours and Letters, that hee accepts of the same conditions. Otherwise, the suruiuant shall be reputed discharged of the obseruance of the same. It shall bee validious against all, yea, and euen against those that are ioyned in affinitie to the one or other Prince, and against all other Alliances contracted, or to contract. If the Queene of England be required to send succours, by Letters sealed and subscribed with the King of France his owne hand, shee shall be bound to passe ouer into France, within two moneths after, a thousand foot armed, or fiue hundred Horse at her choyce, whom the King must pay, from the first day of their arriuall in France. Shee was to send for the warre of Flanders eight Ships of equall greatnesse, wherein twelue hundred Souldiers must be imployed, with all things necessary, and there must bee no Marriners nor Souldiers but English, but yet they must be commanded by the Admirall of France, payed and victualled by the King, from the first day they enter into Seruice. Shee was also to victuall her Ships for two Moneths, which the King was also to pay within two moneths. And if the Queene be moued to any warre, the King hauing receiued Letters subscribed with her owne hand, was to send ouer into England, or Ireland, within two Moneths, sixe thousand foot, or at her choyce, fiue hundred Conductors, armed at all poynts, who should bring fifteene hundred Horse, and about three thousand foot, with

with good Horſe and Armes, after the French *manner, whom ſhee muſt pay, from the time they ſet foot in her Countries. And for the warre by Sea, he was to furniſh eight Shippes, with twelue hundred Souldiers, in manner and forme aboue mentioned. Order agreed vpon for ſuccours and pay, to be digeſt in writing, running in this forme, that the one ſhall bee bound to ſell vnto the other Armes, and all neceſſary things, to the Prince aſſayled. They ſhall innouate nothing in* Scotland, *but defend it againſt Strangers, and permit them to enter, and nouriſh the* Scottiſh *partialities. But the Queene of* England *was permitted to purſue with Armes, thoſe amongſt them, who maintained or foſtered the* Engliſh *Rebels, who were at that preſent in* Scotland. *That this Alliance ſhall be ſo taken and vnderſtood, as the onely proprietie and meaning of the words imported. Each of the two Princes ſhall confirme euery one of theſe Articles by Patents, and faithfully and really to deliuer them into the hands of Ambaſſadours, for the one and other within three moneths.*

Confirmation thereof.

For ratification of this Alliance on the behalfe of the King of *France*, the Queene of *England* ſent into *France* the Earle of *Lincolne*, Admirall, with a great traine of Gentlemen, among which were theſe Barons, the Lord *Dacres*, the Lord *Rich*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Lord *Sands*, and others: And the King of *France* ſent into *England*, *Anne* Duke *de Mont-Morancie*, and Monſieur *de Foix*, with a magnificent traine, that in the preſence of them, and *Meſſieurs de Saligna*, and *de la Motteſ*, his Ambaſſadour ordinary, the Queene might reciprocally confirme the ſame with oath: which was performed at *Weſtminſter* the ſeuenteenth of *Iune*: and the day after, the Queenes Maieſtie, with the conſent of the *French*, inueſted with the Order of Saint

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Mont-Morancy admitted to the Order of the Garter.

George, the Duke *de Mont-Morancy*, in gratefull commemoration of the loue which *Anne*, Conſtable of *France*, manifeſted vnto her, to whom, HENRY the Eighth vouchſafed the ſame honour, out of the loue he bare to the Houſe of *Mont-Morancy*, who carries the title of the firſt Chriſtian of *France*, and is there held for moſt Noble.

He intercedes to accord the differences of Scotland.

While *Mont-Morancy* remayned in *England*, hee moued certaine propoſitions in the King of *France* his name, that the Queene of *Scots* might there finde fauour, ſo farre as it might be performed without danger. That there might be a ceſſation of Armes in *Scotland*, and that a Concord might be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament. And if a Parliament could not commodiouſly be ſummoned, that ſome might be elected of the one and other part, among the *Scots*, to repayre to *London*, to ſettle affaires, with the Deputies of the King of *France*, and Queene of *England*.

Anſwere made to him.

But anſwere was made him, That more fauour had been ſhewed to the Queene of *Scots* than ſhee deſerued, and yet for the King of *France*, more ſhould be ſhewed her, though the Eſtates of the Kingdome aſſembled had iudged, how the Queene of *England* could not liue in ſecurity, except ſome rigor were vſed to her. That the Queene had carefully employed her whole power, to eſtabliſh Concord, and procure a ceſſation of Armes, hauing for this end lately ſent into *Scotland*, Sir *William Drewry*, Gouernour of *Berwicke*, with *de la Croce*, the *French* Ambaſſadour. But they could by no meanes induce *Grange* to peace, nor the Garriſon of the Caſtle of *Edenborrough*, out of the hope they conceiued, to bee ſuccoured from *France* and *Flanders*: though *Huntley*, and *Hamilton Arbroth* for the Duke their Father had obliged themſelues in writing to Queene ELIZABETH, to enter it, and other of the Queenes partakers had plighted their faith and promiſe thereunto.

After theſe motiues, hee alſo propounded many other, touching

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touching the marriage of the Duke of *Anion*, but in that they could not agree about ſome circumſtances concerning Religion, the matter grew hopeleſſe, and he returned into *France*, when there was preparation of the Nuptials, betweene *Henrie* King of *Nauarre*, with *Margarite*, Siſter to the King of *France*, whereunto, with notable diſſimulation, the King of *Nauarre*, and the moſt noble Proteſtants were drawne, by ſweet promiſes, and probable hopes of perpetuating the peace, & bringing themſelues into grace: as alſo, the Earle of *Leiceſter*, and the Lord *Burleigh*, were inuited out of *England*, vnder an honourable colour, and out of *Germanie*, the Sonnes of the Elector Palatine, to the end, that being intangled in the nets, if thoſe of the Euangelicall Religion, together with themſelues, were not all denounced in an inſtant, yet they ſhould receiue a mortall and irrecouerable wound. For, when the Nuptials were ſolemnized, this ſo expected and wiſhed ſerenitie, was preſently ouer-caſt with that terrible and bloudie tempeſt, the Pariſian *Butcherie*, and through the cruell Maſſacres, that with execrable impietie were committed in all the Citie of *France*, againſt Proteſtants of all eſtates and conditions: the which notwithſtanding they would faine haue couered, with a pretext of equitie, yea, of pitty, and to practiſe this impious fraud, vnder the cloake and ſhelter of the Edicts, imputing to the Proteſtants, that they had wickedly conſpired againſt the King, the Queene his Mother, his Brethren, the King of *Nauarre*, and the Princes of the Bloud. For, pieces of money were coyned in memorial of this act, which had of the one ſide the Kings effigies, with this Inſcription; *Vertu contre les Rebelles: Vertue againſt Rebels*: and on the other, *La pieté à eſmen la iuſtice, Pittie hath moued iuſtice.*

Hee alſo treats of a marriage with the Duke of Anion.

Maſſacre of Paris.

Not long before, the Queene-Mother of *France*, very ſubtill in counterfeiting good-will to the Proteſtants, being to vnderſtand the future euents, and credulous in Aſtrologicall

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Marriage of the Duke of Alenzon, propounded to Queene Elizabeth.

gicall predictions, which by the coniunction of the Royall Planets at the birth of her Sonnes, prognosticated Kingdomes to each of them, commanded *la Mottef*, to breake with Queene ELIZABETH about the marriage of her with *Francis* her youngest Sonne, Duke of *Alenzon*, to purchase him, if shee could, the title of a King, or at least to diuert Queene ELIZABETH from ayding the Protestants in *France*. *La Mottef* propounded this matter at *Kennelworth*, two dayes before the Massacre of *Paris*. But Queene ELIZABETH excused her selfe, by reason of the difference in Religion, and disparity in yeeres. For hee was hardly seuenteene yeeres old, and she aboue eight and thirtie. Neuertheless, shee promised to deliberate of it, and the Duke of *Alenzon* forbare not to sollicite her, by the procurements of *Fleri*.

The Earle of Northumberland beheaded.

In the same moneth, *Thomas Percie*, Earle of *Northumberland*, who, because of his Rebellion fled into *Scotland*, had his Head cut off at *Yorke*, after hee was deliuered into the hands of the Lord of *Hunsdon*, Gouernour of *Berwicke*, by the treachery of one *Morton*, who stood much bound vnto him for many benefits, when hee was banished into *England*, but was euer found gratefull towards the afflicted. And as this yeere, like a dreadfull Axe, cut off the Duke of *Norfolke*, and Earle of *Northumberland*, in the flower of their age, a milde and gentle death, carried likewise out of the World two others, in their decrepit yeeres, who were of the most eminent Nobilitie, and of the Priuy-Councell.

Death of the Marquis of Winchester. Cecill is made Treasurer.

Death of the Earle of Darbie.

George Pawlet, Lord Treasurer of *England*, Marquis of *Winchester*, Earle of *Wilton*, and Lord Saint *Iohn* of *Basing*, who went through many great honours, attained to the age of ninetie seuen yeeres, and begot to the number of an hundred and three children. Sir *William Cecill*, Baron of *Burleigh*, supplied his place, in the dignity of Lord Treasurer. *Edward*, Earle of *Darbie*, and Baron of *le Strange* of *Knoking*,

Knoking, departed this life, with whom, in some sort, dyed the glory of English hospitality.

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After his commendable discharge of many honourable Ambassies, there dyed also Sir *George Peters*, an honourable Knight, who was one of the priuy Councell, Secretary to King HENRY the Eighth, King EDVVARD the Sixt, Queene MARY, and Queene ELIZABETH, and Chancellour of the order of the Garter, descended from the worthy Family of *Exceter*: after that by his wisedome and learning, he had collected a great Estate, out of his owne goods, and the permission of Queene MARY, he augmented with annuall reuennues, *Exceter* Colledge, in the Vniuersity of *Oxeford*, where he was a Student, and brought vp.

The Queene sicke.

The Queene her selfe, who had alwaies liued in perfect health, (for she neuer ate but when she had a stomacke, neither drunke any Wine) felt some small grudging of infirmitie at *Hampton-Court*: But she recouered her former health, before it was almost known she was sicke, and being vigilant ouer matters worthy of a Princes care & forecast, shee commanded that *Portsmouth* should be rampard with new fortifications, & her Fleet increast with Ships of war, that at certaine constituted times, Soldiers might bee inrold throughout the Shires, and Youth to be trained vp in Armes, though she liued then in most secure peace. Shee willingly and with much thankes, restored the money shee had borrowed of her Subiects; in doing of which, she gained no lesse loue of her people, then in sending foorth two Proclamations, which she caused to be publisht in the beginning of the yeere. In one of which, she ordained, that those Noblemen should be taxed according to the ancient Lawes, that tooke more followers and retainers then was permitted them, because these their retainers & followers were hereby exempted from publike Offices, they maintained Factions, and many waies offended against the

She hath a care of the publike.

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She cut off the ſuperfluous number of followers, which dayly augmented.

She curbeth enquirers after conceal'd Lands of the Crowne.

Rebellion in Ireland.

Lawes, relying on the Protection of the Nobles, to whom they had proffered their ſeruice: And in the other ſhe curbed a rauenous kind of people, called *Enquirers after conceald Lands*, by reuoking their warrants, and conſtraining them to reſtore many things taken away. For being appointed to ſeeke out, whether particular men concealed not ſome land that belonged to the Crowne, with moſt ſacrilegious auarice, they began to ſeaze on ſuch as had heretofore beene giuen by pious Anceſtors, to Pariſh Churches, and Hoſpitals; yea, to plucke downe the Bells, and Lead, wherewith the Churches were couered.

In *Ireland*, the burdenſome authority of one *Fitton*, Gouernour of *Connath*, produced ſome troubles: For the ſons of *Richard*, Earle of *Clanricard*, brought foorth by diuers women, not beeing able to endure it, in that they were headſtrong and giuen to liberty, they raiſed a Rebellion, and paſſing ouer *Sene*, made cruell Incurſions vpon the inhabitants of the weſterne parts of *Mÿs*, which with many outrages committed, they pillaged and forraged. Their Father, who was of the ancient Family of *Bourgh* in *England*, venerably bald, and of a ſtaid diſpoſition, went to the Deputy, iuſtified himſelfe of this crime, and required aduice of the Councellours of *Ireland*, how he might depreſſe his ſonnes, that ſpoiled and waſted the Countrie in this manner. But her Maieſty thought fit, for publike tranquillity, by little and little to draw *Fitton* out of *Connath*, and to make him Treaſurer of *Ireland*. A little while after, the Earles ſonnes, defeated by the Garriſons, which fell vpon them, ſubmitted themſelues to the Deptuie.

The Omors.

The *Enlagen Omors*, a kinde of ſeditious people, ſtird vp alſo new troubles; but they likewiſe being proclaimed Rebels, at the Earle of *Kildares* perſwaſion, came vnder due obedience: and at the ſame time, Sir *Thomas Smith*, a learned and prudent man, with pitty entring into conſideration, what ſmall account was made of *Ireland*, obtained of

the

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the Queene, that a Colonie might be sent thither, vnder the conduct of his owne onely bastard sonne, into the halfe Iland called *Ardes*, at the East entry into *Vlster*, to instruct and ciuilize the *Demibarbarous* inhabitants, and to make them humane, hoping the place might easily bee defended, if Garrisons were planted in the straight or Istmus, which ioynes it to the rest of the Iland. He gaue to euery Footman 120. acres, & to each Horseman 240. ammounting to fiue hundred acres of *English* ground, paying euery yeere but a penny for an acre. But this businesse sorted not according to his desire: for *Thomas* his sonne hauing conducted thither the Colonie, was surprized and slaine by the treachery of *Neel Brian Artho*. Afterwards, *Malbie*, an *English* Gouernour of *Lecale*, a frontier Prouince, iudging all meanes lawfull to kill a perfidious murderer, slew him likewise not long after, and so left him to the Wolues iawes, to be deuoured and eaten.

I know not whether it be materiall or no, here to make mention, as all the Historiographers of our time haue done, how in the moneth of *Nouember* was seene a strange Starre, except you had rather haue me tearme it a *Phinomene* in the Chaire of *Cassioperaes* Constellation, which exceeded in relucencie, that of *Iupiter* himselfe, then, when he is in the Perigie of his Eccentrick or Epicicle, as I obserued my selfe, and seated in the same Spheare of the heauens, as also moued by his diurnall motion, remained there 16. moneths. *Tho. Digsay*, and *Ioh. Dee*, rare Mathematicians among vs, learnedly did demonstrate by the maximes of the Paralels, that it remained not onely in the elementall Region, but in the very Celestiall circle; and were of opinion, that daily mounting higher by little and little, at last it vanisht out of our sight. And certainely, their Iudgement was good and sound; for after the eighth moneth, it continually diminished. *Theodore Beza* ingeniously compared this Starre to that which appeared at the birth of Christ, and at the massacre

A strange Starre.

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sacre of Infants, which was perpetrated vnder *Herod*: and in this short verse,

Thou therefore, cruell Herod, *shake and feare.*

admonished *Charles*, new King of *France*, who confest himselfe to be the author of that which was executed at *Paris*, to tremble and feare: and this was not out of a vaine and credulous beliefe. For fiue moneths after the disappearing of this Starre, he dyed of a bloody fluxe, rackt with long and terrible torments.



THE

THE SIXTEENTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1573.

THE proceedings of *Spaine* in the *Low-Countries*, being wonderfully croſt, by the taking of *Fluſhing*, the reuolt of the Townes of *Holland*, and the loſſe and diſcomfiture of the *Spaniſh* Fleet by the *Hollanders*, with which the Duke *de Medina cœli* had a Commiſſion with *Chapin Vitelli*, to ſuccour the Papiſts in *England*: The Duke of *Alua* was conſtrained in deſpight of himſelfe, to ſhew himſelfe more fauourable to the *Engliſh*; and ſo it happened, that in the moneth of *Ianuary*, the commerce of the *Engliſh* with the *Flemmings*, which in the ſame moneth of the yeere, 1568. was interdicted, at laſt came to be opened for two yeeres, and the Articles were agreed vpon at *Briſtoll*, confirm'd by the *Spaniard*, in the moneth of *Iune*, amongſt which this clauſe was inſerted.

The Spaniſh Fleet diſcomfited.

Commerce betweene the Flemmiſh and Engliſh reſtored.

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That though this mutuall correſpondencie and amity had beene obſcured, yet was it in no wiſe to be reputed diſſolued and broken: and it was accorded, that if the Deputies, within a certaine preſcript time, could not arbitrate the buſineſſe, that then the ſaid Entercourſe ſhould be expired, when the two yeeres came to an end.

But when the troubles renewed in *Flanders*, it grew dead by little and little: nay, and before the two yeers were fully accompliſhed, and a new one was commenſt, betweene the vnited States. And as for Queene ELIZABETH, ſhe recompenſed all the dammages of the *Engliſh* Marchants, with ſuch *Flemmiſh* goods as ſhe retained in her hands, reſtored the reſt to the Duke of *Alua*, and amply contented the *Genoa* Marchants for the money of theirs ſhe ſeized vpon and tooke vp at loane, which was the firſt cauſe of the warre, although the Duke of *Alua* reſtored not one ſhilling to the *Flemmings* of the *Engliſh-mens* goods; which did accrue to the wonderfull honour of Queene ELIZABETH. And yet ſhe performed a farre more glorious Action then this, and more pleaſing to her Subiects, by diſcharging *England* of thoſe debts which her Father and Brother had taken vpon credit of Strangers, which were greatly augmented, by reaſon of the long intereſts due: and, to the inexplicable ioy of the inhabitants of the Citie of *London*, calling in all the Citie obligations, which had beene ſo often renewed.

She diſchargeth her Fathers and brothers debts.

Neuertheleſſe, both the Queene and the whole Clergie were wonderfully vext with certaine Eccleſiaſticall perſons, who boyling with zeale, and breathing nothing but Euangelicall Purity, reprehended not only the Eccleſiaſticall Gouernment, as ſtill defiled with *Romane* corruptions, as well publikely as priuately, both by Sermons & Books, which

Innouators trouble the Church.

which were intituled [*An Aduertiſement to the Parliament*] and [*An Appologie of the Aduertiſement* :] but refuſed alſo to be preſent at the receiued forme of Common-Prayer, vſurping & framing to themſelues other courſes of ſeruing God. So as the Queene condemning them for people impatient of Peace, greedy of nouelties, and apt to ſubuert things well eſtabliſhed; to preuent Schiſme, cõmanded, that throughout the Kingdome, they ſhould, by rigour of Law, be vrged to obſerue a generall forme and manner of publike Prayers, and that theſe Libels might be deliuered into the hands of the Biſhops, or ſome one of the Priuie-Councell, vpon paine of impriſonment, although *Iohn Whitegift*, who was afterward Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, had with learned ſoliditie refuted them.

The Papiſts troble the Commonwealth.

There was alſo diuulged, by the *Engliſh* Rebels and Fugitiues, a booke full of iniurie and calumniation, whoſe title was [*A Treatiſe of Treaſon*] which, to make Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Keeper of the great Seale, and the Lord *Burghley*, Treaſurer of *England*, odious to their Prince, becauſe they had often by their prudence and vigilancie, cut off their wicked hopes and deſignes, they preferred an accuſation againſt them, of being Traitors to their Countrie. But the Queene was ſo farre from giuing credit to ſuch friuolous accuſations, that by a publike Proclamation ſhee declared them idle and fruſtrate, falſe, calumnious, and inuented by ſworne Enemies to Religion and their Countrie, by their wicked and ſecret practices to depriue the Queene of her faithfull Councellours. And therefore ſhee admoniſhed euery one to giue no credit to them, to contemne & throw them into the fire, except themſelues would bee puniſhed as ſeditious perſons, in ſtead of thoſe that were the true Authors. Notwithſtanding, through a ſpeciall vice, very incident to the naturall curioſity of men, they were frequently read, till (as it ordinarily fals out) comming at laſt to be neglected and contemned, the vſe of them grew out of requeſt.

Their Libell is ſuppreſſed

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From the Month of Nouember, in the precedent yeere, *Charles* the Ninth, King of *France*, had a Daughter borne. The King, to make sure with Queene ELIZABETH, and aswell to render her fauourable by all offices of humanitie, and to take away from the Protestants of *France*, all hope of succour from *England*, intreated her to receiue her at the sacred Font of Baptisme; and to this end, as also to obtaine some certaine Moneyes from her, hee sent into *England*, *De Gondy*, vulgarly called, the Count of *Rez*, who, by an elaborate discourse indeuoured to perswade her, that they had made the Massacre of *Paris*, (which some could call by no other name than a great and capitall wickednesse; hee, a safe and wholesome remedy) not in hatred of the Protestant Religion, but to dissipate the conspiracy of the Admirall *Coligni*, and others; and that the King most inuiolably kept the Edicts touching Religion: That shee would not giue eare to those fearefull spirits, that did nothing but adde to their owne affrightment, and causelesly complaine; but that Shee would religiously conserue the alliance of the new contract, and exhort them to obey the King, assuring her that they should finde him most mercifull. To which, shee promised to be mindefull of the Alliance, and that shee would not faile the King in any thing, that was fitting and agreeable for a most affectionate Ally; but for the Money, shee excused her selfe. Nor did he demand it, but as a designe to giue impeachment to her ayding of the Protestants, in case they should require it, after shee had made deniall of it to the King of *France*. And surely shee tooke occasion from hence to make refusall of it to them, calling to minde how euilly they had requited her, for that which shee had lent them in their first Ciuill Warre. By this Ambassage, the Count of *Rez* obtained, that from that time, the Protestants found lesse fauour with her, than they had done before.

The Ambassage of Gondy, Count of Rez.

A little after, the Lord *Somerſet*, Earle of *Worceſter*, was ſent into *France*, with a Baptiſtrey of Gold, for (in Qu. ELIZABETHS name) to promiſe the duetie of a God-mother at the chriſtening of the *French* Kings Daughter, with the Lady *Mary*, the Emperours Wife, and the Deputies of the Duke of *Sauoy*. This, arriuing to the knowledge of the Proteſtants of *France* and *Flanders*, who, at the ſame time were as Pirats vpon the Sea, they ſuſpecting the ſaid Earle of *Worceſter* to be a Papiſt, miſt him narrowly, for they robbed two of his Ships, and ſlew diuers of his people: at which, Queene ELIZABETH being highly offended, ſent to Sea Sir *William Holſtoc*, Controller of the Royall-Nauy, who as much by his taking as chaſing of them, recouered ſome Ships loden with goods, and purged the Sea of ſuch. And foraſmuch as the moſt part of them had vowed their ſeruice to the Count *de Mont-Gommery*, who then was in *England*, for helpe, to ſuccour thoſe of *Rochell* beſieged, it hindered his diſpatch, parting from thence late, and with ſo little an Army, that hee did no good at all to *Rochell*. This occaſioned the *French* Proteſtants, refuged in *England*, being much moued, to vſe in iniurious manner ſome other Aliens, being *French*-Papiſts, in hatred of contrary Religion; yea, they aſſaulted them armed, and among others, the ſeruants of *Monſieur Flery*, ſecretly ſent into *England* from the Duke of *Aniou*, to treat of a match with Queene ELIZABETH, whereof *Monſieur le Vidame, de Chartres*, not knowing his comming, accuſed *Flery* before the Councell of State, as to be come of purpoſe, and hyred to kill the ſaid Earle of *Mont-Gommery*.

1573. *Ambaſſage of the Earle of Worceſter in France.*

The Sea is purged of Pirats by Holſtoc.

The French Proteſtants handle ſhrewdly the French Papiſts in England.

The ordinary Ambaſſadour of *France*, contrariwiſe complained to the Queene, that, againſt the Alliance, the Earle of *Mont-Gommery* had, through the helpe of *England*, vndertaken a voyage to *Rochell*, and the *Engliſh* Merchants furniſhed the beſieged Towne with victuals and

The French Leger Ambaſſadour complained to Queene Elizabeth concerning the helpe and aſſiſtance ſent out of England to the Proteſtants of Rochell beſieged.

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prouiſions. To this her Maieſty anſwered:

Her Maieſty excuſed her ſelfe.

That ſhe had alwayes inuiolably kept, and would ſtill, to future times, keepe her promiſe mentioned in the alliance. That this aide and Succour was compounded of Pyrats and Vagabonds, who could not tarry in their Countries, and that they were parted out of England, *without her command vnder falſe* * *Enſigne, and that ſhee deſired they ſhould bee puniſhed. Moreouer, that ſuch* Engliſh *Merchants, baſely dealt withall in* Bourdeaux, *were gone to* Rochell *without leaue, and that men of their calling and kind, vſed to ſayle euery where, chiefly where their profit and gaine was greater. Shee likewiſe required that in ſtead of* Rochell, *they ſhould appoynt, in* France, *ſome Hauen-Towne more commodious for Negotiations.*

* *Flagges.*

Queene Elizabeth is earneſtly ſollicited to marry with the Duke of Alanzon. Her Maieſtie heares of it willingly.

The *French* were much pleaſed with this anſwer, being aſſured that Qu. ELIZABETH would ſtill keepe promiſe, and that ſhee was ſo farre from ſending helpe to the Proteſtants of *France*, (who expected none from her.) The King of *France*, and his Mother, loued intirely more and more Queene ELIZABETH, ſeeing her Maieſty bore vnto them a true amitie and ſincere affection: they made the Duke of *Alanzon* write many amorous Letters vnto her from the Royall Campe before *Rochell*, endeuouring with much care, and no leſſe pain, to bring that marriage to paſſe, that whole yeere, by their Leger Ambaſſadour, *Monſieur de Chaſteau-Neuf*, extraordinarily ſent to that effect. And truely her Maieſty was moued to conſider it ſeriouſly, by a double apprehenſion ſhee had, both for the want of a Husband and Children. The firſt was, that her Maieſty ſhould perhaps be contemned by her owne Subiects. The ſecond, that forreiners would plot wicked practices a-

By a double apprehenſion.

gainſt

gainſt her Scepter: her Maieſty was perſwaded, and ſaid often, that a Husband and Progeny are firme Fortreſſes againſt it: her Courtiers contrarywiſe, ayming at their particular ends, maintained:

THat true Religion, and Equitie, were aſſured Forts, and defenſiue Rockes againſt all ſorts of plots and deſignes: That her Maieſtie ought not to apprehend to be deſpiſed or contemned by her ſubiects, for they had ſettled their fortunes, ankered their hopes, and grounded their ſolace vpon her Maieſtie onely, as much obliged vnto her by a long race of Anceſtors, affecting and taking pleaſure more and more in the contemplation and admiration of her ſplendant and luſtrous vertues.

With ſuch other diſcourſes familiar to Courtiers. But as her Maieſty had often in her mouth, that the moſt part contemned the ſetting Sunne, theſe Flatterers alledged:

WHat is hee, that will contemne the ſalutiferous Beames of a Sunne brightly ſhining, for to aſpect the fatall and confounded light of little Starres, which riſe all at once? So they often termed her Competitors.

Queene Elizabeth grãts leaue to the Duke of Alanzon to come into England.

Among theſe things, the Qucene-Mother of *France* prayed her Maieſtie, to be ſo farre pleaſed, as to permit that the Duke of *Alanzon*, her Sonne, might paſſe into *England* to ſee her: which requeſt finally Queene ELIZABETH granted (wearied with the multiplicity of Letters ſent to her Maieſtie to that end) prouided hee ſhould not repute her leaue fraudulous or iniurious, if hee ſhould returne backe againe as he came. But ſo ſoone as her Maieſty heard, how *Henrie*, Duke of *Anjou*, his Brother, had beene elected King of *Poland*: Alſo, the *French* King to be

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1573. *And her Maiesty presently sends him word not to come as yet.*

be grieuously sicke, shee sent word to the Duke of *Alanzon*, to take not as yet his iourney for *England*, alledging him these reasons:

THe Protestants Massacre, lately most cruelly acted on the Bloudy Theater of all France, *and in hatred of their Religion, during the solemnizations and recreations of a marriage: That hee having already heretofore sought her to Wife, the Protestants of England partly suspected fatall the Nuptials: and the more, sith himselfe, transported of a courage, enemy to the Protestants, had gone in person to besiege* Rochell; *and had written of all parts, that hee would come to see her Maiestie presently after the taking of the said City: insomuch, that hee seemed rather to hate the Protestants Religion, than to beare affection or loue to the Queenes Maiestie; and that this caused the best part of England to suspect, that hee would come into their Countrey, to marry the Queene, with a Sword dyed in the bloud of those poore Christians who professed their owne Religion.*

Therefore, her Maiesty friendly counselled him;

FIrst, to procure and mediate a Peace in France, to yeeld some worthy proofe and noted testimony of his affection to the Protestants of France, to be the better welcome in England, and the more graciously receiued, according to his desire.

Since this, Peace was re-established in *France*, the exercise of Religion granted in certaine places to the Protestants. The King and the Queene desired nothing more than the absence of the Duke of *Alanzon*, because he was of a harsh and seuere nature, inclined to trouble their States affaires:

affaires: they did their beſt, and vſed their vttmoſt endeuoures to effect the match, and by like meanes prayed Qu. ELIZABETH, to permit to their other ſonne, the Duke of *Anion* (if he ſhould goe by ſea to *Poland*) Authority to ſaile vnder publike aſſurance vpon *Great-Brittaines* Sea. This their requeſt her Maieſtie granted, not only moſt willingly, but more ſhee offered him a Fleet of Ships to conuay him; in the meane while the Duke of *Alanzon* fell ſicke of the ſmall poxe, and the Queene his mother giuing aduice thereof to Queene ELIZABETH, by the Earle of *Rez*, excuſeth him, by reaſon of his ſickneſſe, for not comming into *England*. *Gondy* met Queene ELIZABETH at *Canterbury*, where ſhe entertained him with great magnificence: and the ſame time, *Matthew Parker*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, celebrating the Queenes birth-day, which was the ſeuenth of *September*, in the Arch-biſhops Hall, very ſpacious, and by him newly repaired, inuited the Queen thither, and *Gondy*, and *la Motto*, and feaſted them with like number of Nobility that *Charles* the fifth, and HENRY the Eighth had, being feaſted in the ſame Hall in the yeere 1519.

Gondy returned into England.

In *Scotland*, *Iames Dowglaſſe*, Earle of *Morton*, beeing elected Vice-Roy of *Scotland* in *Murray*'s place, by the meanes of Queene ELIZABETH, and his authority made ſure by the Aſſembly of the States, in the name of the King, eſtabliſhed theſe Lawes, for confirming Religion againſt Papiſts and Heretickes, and made ſure *Alexander Areskin*, Earle of *Marre*, the Kings Gardian by ſpeciall right, (being as yet in his minority) vpon theſe Conditions:

Earle of Morton Vice-Roy of Scotland.

THat the Papiſts and Factious perſons, ſhould be excluded from hauing acceſſe to his perſon; an Earle might be admitted to him with two ſeruants only, and a Baron with one; all others alone, and without weapons.

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The King of France endeuours to destroy him. Qu. Elizabeth to defend him.

In the Interim, the *French* hauing sent *Viriack*, who endeuoured what he could to supplant the Vice-Roy, before he should be authorized, set to oppose him, the Earles of *Athole* and *Huntley*, promising them a reward. Queene ELIZABETH, to counter-scarse these designes, let the *Scots* vnderstand by *H. Killigrewe*, that this cruell Massacre of *Paris* had bin put in execution by the conspiracy of the Pope, and the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, to exterminate the Protestants: And therefore warned them to take heed, lest being corrupted either with Pensions from *France*, or deuided by Factions, they open a way to Stranger Forces, which were thought should be conducted by *Stroßie*: To oppose themselues all vallianty and with equall courage against it, for defence of Religion, which was the only bond of concord betweene the *English* and the *Scots*: And to be very carefull to preserue their King, or to send him into *England*, to preuent his taking away and carrying into *France*.

Neuertheless, some great Ones, partakers with the imprisoned Queene, would in no sort acknowledge the Authority either of the King or his Vice-Roy, vntill Queene ELIZABETH, by interposing her power, had by the Agencie of *Killigrew*, brought the Duke of *Chastelraut*, and the Earle of *Huntley*, who were the principals among them, to these Conditions, which were equall enough:

THat they should acknowledge the Religion established in Scotland, *submit themselues to the King, and to the Gouernement of the Earle of* Morton *and his successours, and renounce the authority of all others. That all those which should enterprize any thing against the Religion, the King, and the Vice-Roy, should be adiudged Traitours by Act of Parliament. The sentences giuen against the* Hamiltons *and the* Gordons, *should be cut off and annihilated, except those which concerned the*

the murdering of the Earles of Murrey *and* Lenox, *Vice-Royes, which should stand according to the pleasure of Queene* ELIZABETH:

Who neuertheleſſe ſent this buſineſſe backe to the King, and was of opinion that this Clauſe ought to be added to it, [*Vntill that the King being come to age, ſhould take the Gouernement of the Realme, according to the Law of the Kingdome,*] And that of all and euery crime committed ſince the fifteenth of *Iune*, 1567, the Murder of the Earle of *Lenox* excepted, pardon ſhould be granted to all that would aske it. Notwithſtanding, it was thought good, for the ſafety of the King, leſt hee ſhould bee expoſed to murder, that the Queene of *England* ſhould promiſe by a publike Inſtrument, that neither the *Hamiltons* nor any other, ſhould be adiudged for the murdering of the Vice-Royes, or fined without her conſent. And that was ordered in the Aſſembly of States, for the ſettling of a publike peace, in a turbulent ſeaſon. Howbeit *Kirckall*, Lord of *Grange*, who had beene eſtabliſhed Captaine of *Edenborrough* Caſtle, after he had taken oath in the Kings name, and the Baron of *Hume*, *Lidington*, the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, and others, thinking that iniuſtice was done to the Queene of *Scotland*, would by no meanes admit of theſe Conditions: but with vndaunted Courage, contemned the authority both of the King and Vice-Roy, kept and fortified the Caſtle in the Queenes name, by the counſell of *Lidington*, thinking themſelues ſure, in regard of the ſtrength of the place, which is of a moſt difficult acceſſe, and of the Munition which were in it, (for there all Munition Royall is kept) and of the Succours promiſed by the Duke *D'Alua*, and the King of *France*, who had vnder-hand ſent them ſome money, (the greater part whereof had been intercepted at *Blackneſh*) and ſhould haue ſent more, had not the long Siege of *Rochell* hindred it. Not being able then to draw them to

Grange oppoſeth.

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any conditions of Peace, neither by money which the Vice-Roy promiſed them, nor by the perſwaſions of Queen ELIZABETH, but they defended the Caſtle againſt the Vice-Roy, moleſted the Towne of *Edenborrough*, being the Seate of *Iuſtice*, with Cannon-ſhot, by iſſuing violently out, and aſſaulting them euery day; and would call for the ayde of *France*: Queene ELIZABETH, who by no meanes could endure the *French* to be in *Scotland*, at length granted the requeſts of the Vice-Roy, which were for Troupes, Cannon, and other warlike Munitions, for the beſieging and battering of the Caſtle, vpon theſe conditions:

The Engliſh are ſent to beſiege it.

Vpon what Conditions.

THE *Vice-Roy ſhall not make any compoſition with the beſieged, without the aduice of the Generall of the* Engliſh, *nor the* Engliſh *Generall without his, and of thoſe of the Kings Councell. If the Caſtle fall into the hands of the* Engliſh, *it ſhall bee within* 6. *dayes after deliuered to the King, with all the Munitions of Warre, Vtenſils, Memorials, Euidences, and Records belonging to the King or Kingdome, the reſt left to the beſiegers. The* Engliſh *ſhall not fortifie any place in* Scotland, *but with the conſent of the Vice-Roy and the Peeres. The Vice-Roy ſhall lend the* Engliſh *ſuch aßiſtance and ſafe conduct, as hee could poßibly. The Caſtle being taken, the beſieged ſhall be kept to haue iuſtice executed vpon them according to the Lawes, the Queene of* England *beeing thereupon conſulted with before hand. If any* Engliſh *be kild, their wiues and Children ſhall haue two yeeres pay, If wounded, they ſhall haue pay till they bee cured: If any* Engliſh *Cannons be loſt, and the Powder and Shot bee waſted, they ſhall haue Munition Royall in their ſtead, which ſhall bee found in the Caſtle, or elſe the Rebels goods. Ten Hoſtages ſhall be ſent into* England, *for aſ-*

ſurance

ſurance of the Troupes and Ordnance, which are to bee brought backe, except ſuch as are loſt by the hazzard of Warre.

Vpon theſe Conditions, *William Drury*, Gouernour of *Barwicke*, went into *Scotland*, with ſome Peeces for battery, and fifteene hundred Souldiers, (among which were *G. Carey*, *Henry Carey*, *T. Cecill*, *Hen. Lea*, *W. Knollis*, *Sutton*, *Cotton*, *Kelway*, and other Gentlemen Voluntaries.) And beeing ioyned with the auxiliary forces of *Scotland*, beſieged the Caſtle, after hauing twice commanded them in the Kings name, that they ſhould render it vp, but in vaine. Firſt they raiſed vp fiue Mounts, from whence, for the ſpace of foure daies together, they furiouſly beat againſt the Tower, but eſpecially vpon *Dauids* Tower, which fell within a few dayes after. After hauing giuen the aſſault, they tooke the *Baſtion* or *Spurre*, till thoſe which at the ſame made againſt them out of the Caſtle were repulſed, with loſſe of men. The morrow after, the beſieged hauing giuen the ſigne, asked to ſpeake to *Drury*, and after they had receiued for hoſtages into the Caſtle, *Henry Lea*, and *Fleck*, a Scottiſh-man, they let downe by cords, *Kircald* himſelfe, and *Meluin*, who demanded life and goods, that it might be permitted that *Hume* and *Lidington* might depart for *England*, becauſe of ſome particular enmities, and *Kircald* to remaine in *Scotland*, except he might depart with good licenſe.

The Caſtle beſieged by the Engliſh Forces.

That not being granted them, but onely the Souldiers permitted to goe out with their ſimple baggage, and without Armes; wanting men, diſagreeing amongſt themſelues, wounded, toyled, and wearied with watching and labouring, without hope of ſuccour, hauing no water, becauſe one of the wells which were within the Caſtle, had beene filled vp with the ruines of a dry wall, and the other was expoſed to the ſhot of the Cannon, within three daies after,

The Caſtle yeelded.

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after, they yeelded (which was the 33. day after the beginning of the Siege) to the discretion of the Queene of *England* and *Drury*, who, after he had receiued Letters out of *England*, deliuered vp the Castle to the Vice-Roy, for the vse of the King, with all that had yeelded themselues to him; of which, *Kircald*, *Iames* his brother, *Mosman*, and *Cock*, gold-smiths, who had coined false money in the Castle, were hanged, although to buy *Kircalds* life, an hundred of the House of the *Kircalds* had offered to be bound to doe perpetuall homage to the Vice-Roy, and pay him three thousand markes of annuall rent, and the first day twenty thousand pounds *Scottish* money, and to giue sureties, that for the time to come, they should remaine faithfull and obedient to the King.

Kircald and others hanged.

Hume and others being dispersed into diuers Castles, obtained pardon of Queene ELIZABETH, who got great praise by it for her clemency. *Lidington*, hauing beene sent to *Lieth*, dyed of sickneſſe, not without suspition of beeing poysoned. He was a person of great experience, and of a neate spirit, if he had bin lesse changeable, as *Buchanan*, who hated him, painted him out in his life time, by a certaine Writing, which he intituled [*The Cameleon*,] by which he represented him to be more changeable then the *Cameleon*, and taxed him very sharpely to bee an enemy of diuers colours to the Kings Grandmother, the Kings mother, to the Earle of *Murray*, to the King himselfe, and to the Countrie. Since that time, *Scotland* hath beene free from Ciuill-Warre, and aswell the Captaines of that side, as the common-Souldiers, carrying their courages to the wars of *Sueden*, *France*, and *Flanders*, brought backe this great commendation of *Vertuous and valorous Warriours*.

Lidington dyes.

Peace made in Scotland.

To assure *England* from inbred enterprises, (in regard of the Queene of *Scots*) *Iohn Lesley*, Bishop of *Rosse* (a faithfull seruant to her, but not without the vndoing of many, and of bringing no few in danger) is commanded out of *England*,

The Bishop of Rosse banished out of England.

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land, and went into *France*, but not without feare of the Earle of *Southampton*, whose life he had called in question, and likewise of *Henrie Howard*, brother to the Duke of *Norfolke*, whose anger to appease, he writ an Apologie for himselfe. Hee was scarce departed thence, vntill *Henrie Cockin*, his Secretary, was apprehended, and *Morgan*, who was exceeding desirous to serue the Queene of *Scots* in her most secret affaires, was detected, and fled. *Atslow*, an Arch-papist, *Good*, a Doctor of Phisicke, and *Francis Berty*, who priuately intelligenced her by Letters, were imprisoned for certaine moneths, and for the same cause *Henrie Goodyere*, and *Richard Lowder* were had in suspition.

Absence innouates Enterprizes.

In the meane time *Rosse* failed not to imploy all such dutifull endeuours for the Queene of *Scots*, as a faithfull Subiect was obliged to doe, towards the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *France*, the Papists Princes of *Germany*; all which gaue him hope, but did nothing. That this should fall out so ill hee complained exceedingly, especially, that the Duke of *Alua*, in whom his greatest trust was planted, was to leaue *Flanders*, hauing obtained leaue, vnder colour to recouer his health. For without doubt, he aduanced his victories so fast, that he had reduced almost all *Holland* into his power; *Spaine* called him away, by the perswasion of Cardinall *Granuellan*, and *Roderico Gomezio de Silua*, that his power grew too strong, and his name aboue his Prince, and that by his violent and sharpe command, he would cause the Flemmings to reuolt, yea, to grow to desperation: although some thought, who were bloody-minded, that none was so fit by Warre to bring *Holland* into subiection. Which kinde of men thought their King too mercifull, if he intended by meekenesse to bring the Prince of *Orange* and his confederates, who had resolued mindes to retaine their freedome, beeing confirmed thereto by their riches, and strength of situation. *Lodowicke Zuniga* of *Requesen* was appointed to take his charge. The great

The Duke of Alua is called out of the Low-Countries.

Lodowicke Zuniga succeedes him.

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great Commander of *Caſtile*, a milder natured man, who by all offices of loue, deſired to oblige Queene ELIZABETH, would by no meanes thruſt himſelfe into the affaires either of *England* or *Scotland*.

Burches hereſie.

I know not whether I ſhould or no call to minde the opinion of *Burchet*, who thought it lawfull to kill thoſe that were aduerſaries to the Euangelicall truth, who was ſo tranſported therewith, that hee wounded with a poiniard, *Hawkins*, that famous Sea-man, thinking him to be *Hatton*, who was at that time one of the Queenes greateſt Fauourites, of her moſt intimate counſell, and an enemy to Innouators. The Queene was ſo extraordinarily prouoked herewith, that ſhee commanded him to be proceeded againſt according to the Marſhall Lawe, vntill ſhee was aduiſed by ſome of her prudent Councellours, that this Law had no place but in Warres and turbulent times, but at home it ought to bee done by ordinary forme of Iuſtice. Being called to Iuſtice, he maintained that what he did was conſonant to Scripture, and therefore lawfull. Afterwards, ſeeing himſelfe neere condemnation for hereſie, promiſed to renounce this opinion, yet neuertheleſſe, when hee had a little more debated the caſe, he would not. In the end, beeing committed to the Towre of *London*, hee killed one of his Keepers with a piece of wood, which hee tooke out of a Chimney, and threw at his head, and beeing condemned of murder, had his right hand cut off, and being at the Gallowes, obſtinately maintained his opinion, and ſo was hanged.

Marſhall Law.

Burch is hanged.

Effingham dies.

In the beginning of this yeere, dyed *George Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Lord Priuie Seale, ſonne to *Tho. Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*, the famous Warriour, by *Agnes Tilnie*, his ſecond wife, a man of remarkeable fidelity, and of an inuincible courage, who firſt was Gouernour of *Calais*, afterwards made a Baron by Queene MARY, Admirall of *England*, and Lord Chamberlaine, and likewiſe by Queene

ELIZABETH,

ELIZABETH, vntill broken with age, he surrendred his Office to *Sussex*, a few daies before he dyed, and (as I haue said before) was made Lord Priuie Seale, the fourth degree of Honour in *England*: he had to succeed him in the honour of his Baronie, *Charles* his son, who was afterwards Chamberlaine to the Queene, and high Admirall of *England*.

Gray, Earle of Kent dies.

At the same time dyed likewise *R. Gray*, Earle of *Kent*, whom the Queene from a priuate man had called to this honour, when that Title had beene vacant 50. yeeres, after the death of *R. Gray*, Earle of *Kent* (who had consumed his Patrimony) elder brother to this mans great Grandfather, and *Henrie* his Sonne succeeded him.

Caius the Phisition dyes.

It is not fit in silence to ouer passe *I. Caius*, a famous Phisician, who dyed at the same time: he was borne at *Norwich*, brought vp at *Cambridge* and *Padua*, who gaue himselfe wholly to the studie of Phisicke, translated, and commented vpon the most part of *Gallens* and *Celsus* workes, and gaue all his meanes to Schollers. Adding a new Colledge to the old of *Gonuell Hall*, and 25. fellow Commoners to be perpetually brought vp, and of both made but one Colledge, called by the names of *Gonuell* and *Caius*, in which he is intombed, with this Epitaph,

The Colledge of Gonuell & Caius.

Fui Caius.

Troubles in Ireland.

In *Ireland*, the houses of *O-Conom*, and *O-More*, impatient of peace, hauing gathered some bands of Theeues and Rebels, made outragious incursions, rob'd and burned *Atlone* vpon the Riuer *Siney*, and willing to ioyne their forces with the Rebels of *Mounster*, they were hindred by *I. Perot*, President of Mounster, who so ransackt *Iames FitZ-Moris*, and *Fitz-Edmonds*, Seneschall of *Imoquell*, that rebelled, by continuall ouer-running them, and afte
killed many of their men, and taken the Castle

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and the *French* Garrison, he compelled them to craue pardon most submissiuely for their faults, within the Temple of *Kilmalock*, called *The holy Cell of Malachie*. At the same time, the Earle of *Desmond*, and *Iohn* his Brother, authors of this Rebellion, being brought backe out of *England* into *Ireland* by *Fitton*, were imprisoned by the said *Fitton* at *Dublin*, but after a while were let goe.

The Earle of Essex sent into Ireland.

In *Vlster*, *Brian Mach-phelin*, who had vsurped the most part of *Clandeboy*, burned the Towne of *Knoc-fergus*, and some others began to trouble the Countrie. *George Deuereux*, lately created Earle of *Essex* by Queene ELIZABETH, desired to be imployed against them, by the counsell of those who had a designe to haue him farre from the Court, vnder colour of increasing his honour, to precipitate him into dangers, which were not hidden from him. But as he was vigilant, and from his youth addicted to the Warres, continuing constant in his designe, agreed with the Queene, that if hee draue out the Rebels, hee and his partners should haue the halfe of *Clandeboy*, vpon certaine conditions: and to maintaine it, he would entertaine at his owne charge, two hundred Horse, and foure hundred Foote. To this end he borrowed of the Queene a thousand pounds, for which, and for Munition, hee engaged Lands that he had in *Essex*. *G. Fitz-William*, Deputie of *Ireland*, [illegible] that the splendor of so great an Earle should dimme [illegible] *land*, counselled the Queene not to send him, giuing her to vnderstand, that all the Countrie of *Vlster* would [illegible] at his comming. Notwithstanding, he is sent, [illegible] the honour and authority of the Deputy, [illegible] from him to be Gouernour of *Vlster*, [illegible] though slowly, after many importu-

[illegible] with a terrible Tempest, he was [illegible] the end of *August*, with the [illegible] *Henry Knollis*, and his foure bro-

brothers, *M.* and *I. Carey*, & *Iohn Noris*, with a company of Souldiers leuied in haſte. *Brian Mac-phelin* vnderſtanding of his comming, draue all his cattle (which were all his wealth) into the heart of the Countrey, (for, without counting Sheepe and Hogs, he had thirtie thouſand head of Cattell) and ſeeing him aſhore, ſaluted him, and congratulated his arriuall, and moſt courteouſly offered him all dutie and ſeruice, and likewiſe *Mac-Gilleſpike*, *Mac-Gill*, *Hugh*, Baron of *Dungannon*, and all of account neere thereabout. In conſideration whereof, he promiſed him pardon for his rebellion, and ſtudied which way he might oblige him. But he reuolted, and drew his men preſently to *Turlough Leinich*, and afterwards made light Skirmiſhes continually againſt the *Engliſh*. The Lord *Riche's* particular affaires called him into *England*, and returned within a moneth. *Henry Knollis* in like manner, in regard of his indiſpoſition of body, and diuers others, dayly taking ſome occaſion or other to excuſe themſelues, by little and little, ſecretly withdrew themſelues from that wild Countrie. *Eſſex* writ of it to the Queene, and to his friends, and complained very much, that the moſt worthy of his company languiſhed, becauſe the enterprize had bin begunne too late, and victuals came not in time, that they were corrupted, and that troupes inconſiderately leuied were many of them loſt. That *Mac-phelin* was reuolted fraudulently, and others by the perfidiouſnes of *Percy*, an Engliſh Captaine, who heretofore had commanded the *Iriſh* in that Countrey. That he was not able to furniſh the expence of War. That the Deputie had not ſent him his Commiſſion, and that for want of it, he could not vſe any authority againſt the Frontier Inhabitants: Therefore beſeecheth her to take the buſines in her own name and ſpeciall command, though he vnderwent halfe of the charges.

Then he beſought *Suſſex*, *Leiceſter*, and *Burghley*, to intercede with the Queene, that ſhe would grant him, at her

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charge, a hundred Horſe, 150. Foot, and the Iland of *May*. And as the Queene was ready to call him from *Vlſter*, *Leiceſter* and others ſeeing new troubles growing in *Mounſter*, perſwaded that he ſhould ſtay there. And the Deputie commanded him, whiles he was going againſt *Deſmond*, to goe towards the Frontiers of *Vlſter*, which, although it troubled him, being fortifying *Claudobie*, obeyeth notwithſtanding, and entring into *Mounſter* with *Kildare*, perſwaded *Deſmond* to embrace peace, who ſhortly after ſubmitted himſelfe. Now *Eſſex* hauing receiued Letters of Authority, tooke a long iourney, and *O-Donell* ioyned with him. But *Cone O-Donell*, *Turloghes* Sonne in Law, would not ſerue vnder him, therefore hee tooke from him the Caſtle of *Liffer*, and gaue it to *Hugh O-Donel*: *Turlogh* in the meane ſpace protracted the buſineſſe by parleyes, vntill it was time for *Eſſex* neceſſarily to depart. Hee, after hauing wearied his body with labour, and broken his ſpirit with care all the Summer, Winter being now at hand, began to reuolue more deepely in his mind, by what meanes *Vlſter* ſo long neglected, and growne wilde and fierce, might be reduced to ciuilitie: and hauing maturely deliberated vpon it, thought, that if three Townes were built at the Queens charge, and (by the monies that his aſſociates would contribute) ten Forts, in thoſe places which hee had found to bee conuenient, aboue ſeuen thouſand pounds of current *Engliſh* money might be gathered euery yeere, neither ſhould there neede within the ſpace of two yeeres any Royall Garriſon. Whileſt theſe and the like things, and for ſupply of victuals, tooke all their care and ſtudie, they had beene almoſt ſurprized by the *Iriſh*. For *Brian Mac-phelin* (who lately had by treacherie ouerthrowne and ſlaine *Moore*, a Captaine of the *Engliſh*) hauing conſpired his ruine with *Turlogh* and the *Scottiſh* Hilanders, whereof as ſoone as he had notice, he moſt wiſely iudged, that it were not beſt to ſtay and expect them, but to

ſet

set forward to assault them: which did he so couragiously, that he slew two hundred Irish, tooke *Brian* and *Rory Oge*, his brother by the mothers side, and *Brians* wife. With those businesses in *Ireland* this yeere was spent, to the good of none, but with much losse to *Essex*: and also to the notorious detriment of *Chaterton*, an English Gentleman, who vpon certaine conditions betweene the Queene and him, tooke to leade some Colonies of English into *Fues*, a neighbouring Territory to *O-Hanlane*.

Booke 2.

1573. *Mac-Phelim is taken. The vnprofitable attempt and force of Chaterton.*

Booke 2.
1574.

THE SEVENTEENTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1574.

The Duke of Alanzon desires to visit Queene Elizabeth.

IN the first month of this yeere, the Duke of *Alanzon* laboured more then euer, as well by letters full of loue, as by *Manuisser* the French Ambassador, to obtaine leaue to come into *England* vnder safe-conduct, to see and salute Queen ELIZABETH, to whom being absent, hee testified all loue and respect.

Queene Elizabeth agrees to it.

Queene ELIZABETH ouercome with his continuall prayers and sollicitations, granted him his request, although she gaue him contrary aduice, and vnder assurance of safety gaue him leaue to come when he pleased, so it were by the twentieth of May, with promise to vse him with all offices of humanity, which he could expect from a Princesse which bore him great affection. And certainly, after shee had

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1574.

had discouered that he was much irritated and greatly stirred vp against the *Guizes*, her Maiesties sworne enemies, she bare him more loue and good will then before. But before he had receiued this answer, *Valentine Dale*, Doctor of the Law, Ambassador in France in *Walsinghams* place then Secretary, gaue aduice, that hee and the King of *Nauarre* were suspected of innouation: For the mother Queene (a woman of great Spirit) beganne to suspect that he couertly plotted with the King of *Nauarre*, and the Duke of *Mont-Morancy*, to depriue her (the King being dead) of the managing of State-affaires. The *Guizes* increased this opinion, giuing her to vnderstand, that he had not long agoe imployed *Coligni*, Colonell of the Protestants, his intimate friend: vpon which being examined, he voluntarily acknowledged amongst other things, that he had for a certaine time sought the marriage of the Queene of *England*, and iudging the friendship of Admirall *Coligni*, profitable in this designe, had talked with him about it, and of the prosecution of the warres in the Netherlands; neuertheless ouer him and the King of *Nauarre* was a Guard appointed to preuent them. But *Thomas Wilkes*, Secretary to to the Ambassadour *Dale*, went priuatly to see them, and hauing in the Queenes name comforted them, he promised that her Maiesty would let slip no occasion to relieue and comfort them. Whereof this subtill and crafty old Queene hauing soone notice, handled *Wilkes* in such manner, that he was constrained to leaue *France*, and returne into *England*, where she so farre vrged her complants by letters vnto Queene ELIZABETH, that he was sent backe againe to *France* to aske her pardon. *Henry* of *Bourbon*, King of *Nauarre*, buried not this friendly office: for he afterwards being King of *France*, and meeting with him 25. yeeres after in Normandy, he honoured him with the dignity of Knighthood: After this, Queene ELIZABETH sent *T. Randoll* into *France* to the Queene mother, to restore againe

He is suspected in France.

He is as it were prisoner being garded.

Queene Elizabeth comforts him.

Booke 2.

1574. *Charles the ninth King of France died. The right Honourable Lord, Roger Lord North Baron of Catelage, is sent Ambassador with a noble train to Henry of Valois the third of that name, King of France & Poland.*

againe into her fauour (if it were possible) the Duke of *Alanzon*, and the King of *Nauarre*: but before his arriuall into *France*, King *Charles* died, and his funerall Rites paid with great honour and magnificency in S. *Pauls* Church in *London*.

As soone as *Henry* of *Valois*, the third of that name, King of *France*, his successor, returned out of *Poland*, the right noble and vertuous Lord, *Roger*, Lord North, Baron of *Kirtling*, was sent Ambassador extraordinary into *France*, to congratulate his happy returne and succession to the Crowne of *France*, and to condole with him the distracted and wretched estate of that Realme so miserably rent and ruinated with ciuill war, to counsell him to make peace, and entertaine the Edicts, to take to fauor the D. of *Alanzon*, to lessen the hate he bore to the D. of *Mont-Morancy* & *Delosse*, to incite him to doe good to the religious Princesse, the Lady *Charlotte* of *Bourbon*, daughter to the Duke *Mont-pensier*, who fled for her Religion into *Germany*. But hee obtained nothing, for *France*, as it were pushed by fate, ran headlong into a direfull warre. Neuertheless, the King and his mother the Queene, writ iointly into *England*, and sent *La Garde* to prosecute the marriage of the Duke of *Alanzon*: For seeing this young Prince grow chollericke, to see himselfe so vnworthily handled by his mother on all sides, as if he had beene a prisoner, and vnderstanding that he held secret Councel with the Politicians of *France*, they thought it safest to diuert him from warre, to send him into *England*.

The King of France and mother Queene recommend the Duke of Alanzon to Queene Elizabeth. They fauour the Queene of Scots against the Vice-Roy Morton.

In the *interim*, they imployed all their cunning in *Scotland*, to get *Iames* the young King ouer into *France*, and to displace *Morton* the Vice-roy from his charge, and for this purpose they sent thither the Kings Scottish guard. The Queene of *Scotland* greatly desired this, perswading her selfe, that if her sonne were in *France* out of danger, shee and the Catholikes should be more gently handled in *England*,

land, that the *Engliſh* faction which was in *Scotland*, and alwaies relying vpon the Kings name, would quickly be ruinated; as he riper increaſed in yeres, ſo the *Engliſh* ſhould increaſe in feares, as well of the *French* partie, as of the *Scots* ſide. The *French* did no leſſe deſire it, fearing that the Regent of *Scotland* (who was altogether at the deuotion of the *Engliſh*) would breake the ancient Alliance which was betweene them and the *Scots*: and neuertheles then, when he inſtantly required, that they would contract the Alliance of mutuall defence againſt ſtrangers, betweene *England* and *Scotland*, it was denied him, leſt perhaps he ſhould by the ſame meanes demand an annuall Penſion to bee aſſigned to him, and certaine *Scottiſh* men. But eare was giuen to thoſe, who vpon a light ſuſpicion accuſed the Queen of *Scotland*, the Counteſſe of *Shrewsbury*, and the Earle himſelfe, to haue (without the Queenes priuity) made the marriage between *Charles*, the Paternall vncle of the King, (who had a little before confirmed vnto him by Parliament the County of *Lenox*) and the Lady *Elizabeth Cauendiſh*, the Counteſſe of *Shrewsburies* Daughter by her firſt Husband. Wherevpon the mothers of either ſides, and others, for this cauſe being kept priſoners a little time, imputed and laid all the fault vpon the Queene of *Scotland*.

She gineth credit to thoſe who make reports againſt the Queene of Scotland.

As it was vnknowne whither this marriage tended, and that diuers ſuſpicions had their birth by it, *Henry* Count of *Lidington* was eſtabliſhed Preſident of the Aſſembly of the North, with new inſtructions and ſecrets for this affaire. This kind of Magiſtrate, which at this preſent is very honourable, hath in a little time, from weake beginnings, growne to this greatneſſe; and now what I haue learned of it, by a free and ſhort digreſion, I meane to leaue to poſterity. When, in the reigne of HENRY the Eighth, the rebellion of the inhabitants of that Countrie had ſtirred vp, for the deſtruction of Monaſteries, was laid aſleepe, many made complaint of the iniuries which he had receiued du

The Earle of Huntington, Preſident of the North.

Booke 2.

1574.

ring that Rebellion, vnto the Duke of *Norfolke*, who remained in thoſe parts; ſome of which he determined, and left the reſt to be finiſhed by perſons which to this purpoſe hee had eſtabliſhed, with Commiſſions ſealed with his owne Seale; but the King being aduertiſed hereof, ſent him a particular Seale to ſerue in ſuch cauſes, and hauing reuoked him, gaue that Commiſſion to *Tunſtall* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, and appointed Commiſſioners with power to heare and determine the complaints of the poore. Hee was the firſt which bare the name of Preſident, and ſince, the authority of his Succeſſours hath bin of great value.

An Edict againſt the rioteuſnes of apparell.

In theſe times, the ſuperfluity of Apparell ſo preuailed in *England*, (by a Vice peculiar to the Nation, which pleaſeth it ſelfe by imitating others) that the ancient faſhion fell in ſuch diſgrace, that the men, by a new faſhion of habit and too much brauery, made manifeſt the filthineſſe and inſolency of their ſpirits, ſwaggering euery where, couered with ſilke, gold, and ſiluer, pure and mingled. The Queene marking that this ſuperfluity drew euery yeere out of the Kingdome (to the dammage of the publike) great quantity of money, for the buying of ſilke and other ſtrange Merchandizes, and that many Gentlemen, who might doe good ſeruice to the Publike, and others, to ſeeme to be He, did not onely conſume their demeanes, to their particular dammage, but alſo increaſed their debts, vſed deceits, and by this meanes fell into the nets of the Law, and after they had prodigally lauiſht their goods, ſtudied to make a change, ſhe endeuoured to prouide a fit remedy for it. And although by the Lawes of HENRY the Eighth and MARY, ſhe could preuaile againſt them, and draw from it great ſummes of money, neuertheleſſe ſhe rather lou'd to preuent it by a ſimple commandement. She commanded therefore, that within 14. dayes, euery one ſhould forme his apparell to the preſcribed faſhion, if he would not incurre the ſeuerity of the Lawe, and ſhee herſelfe began this reformation

in

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1574.

in her Court. But by the malice of time, this Edict, and these Lawes by little and little gaue place to this superfluity, which grew to a greater height of insolency, & was immediately traced by the riotousnesse of Feasts, and splendor of Buildings: for since that time, more magnificent, ample, and faire Countrie houses of Noble-men and priuate men haue beene raised vp in *England*, then in any other Ages whereby (truly) the Kingdome was greatly adorned, but the glory of Hospitality greatly decreased.

England imbellished with magnificent structures.

The *English* which were at warre in *Holland*, vnder *Chester* and *Gainsford*, failed this yeere, the one in vertue, the other in successe: For those which lay in Garrison at *Valkenburgh*, gaue ouer the place, and yeelded to the Enemy; neuertheless they were pardoned, for feare lest Queene ELIZABETH should not suffer the *Spanish* Fleet, which was sayling towards *Flanders*, vpon the Sea of *Great-Brittaine*, to enter into her Hauens to victuall themselues. The others which were in the Channell of *Sluce*, after they had sustained a sharpe Combate, and couragiously repulsed the *Spaniards*, being surprized by their enemies, who had trauersed the Riuer, were ouerthrowne and chased from the place, with the losse of three hundred men, and three Ensignes.

The English Worke treason in Holland.

They are defeated.

I know not whether it be expedient to record these triuiall things: That this yeere the pious credulity of certaine Preachers of *London* was deceiued by a young wench, who fained herselfe possessed with a Deuill. That there was a great Whale found dry on the Shores of the Ile of *Thanet*, whose length was twentie Elles of our measure, the breadth, from her belly to her backe bone, thirteene foote; the space betweene her eyes, eleuen foote. That the *Thames* did ebbe and flowe twice in one houre. That in the moneth of *Nouember*, from the North to the South, fuming Clouds were gathered together in a round, the night following, the Skie seemed to burne, the Flames

Ministers deceiued.

A Whale cast on shore.

An extraordinary flond in the Thames.

The Skie seemd to be on fire.

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1574.

running through all parts of the Horizon, met together in the verticall point of Heauen. Neuertheleſſe, let it not be imputed to me as a crime, to haue made mention of theſe things in a few words, and by a ſhort digreſſion, ſince the graueſt Hiſtorians haue recorded them in many words.



THE

THE EIGHTEENTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1575.

HENRY the third, King of *France*, being returned from *Poland*, and already inaugurated in the City of *Rhemes*, confirmed by his oath and signe of his owne hand, before all things, the Alliance passed in the City of *Blois*, in the yeere 1572. betweene *Charles* his brother and Queene ELIZABETH, and hauing giuen it to the Ambassador ordinary of *England*, Queene ELIZABETH also for her part ratified it at Saint *Iames* neere *Westminster*. Notwithstanding a while after, he inquired by letters, if the words, *mutuall defence against all* (mentioned in that alliance) comprehended the cause of Religion? And after that Queene ELIZABETH had discreetly replyed, Yes, and that she was alwaies ready prest, and desirous to effect that mutuall defence, euen in the cause of Religion, if it was required by vertue of the alliance, he tooke armes against the Protestants: & the Duke of *Alanzon* being drawne to the contrary part, the marriage slept

The league with France renued.

Booke 2.

1575.

slept in a long and profound silence. Notwithstanding, Queene ELIZABETH in fauour of the Duke of *Alanzon*, furnished the Duke *Casimier* with a great summe of mony, to carry into *France* the Alman Rutters against the disturbers of the publike peace.

Warre kindled in France.

As her minde was busied about the affaires of *France*, those of *Flanders* happened: for *De Requesens*, successor to the Duke of *Alua*, was fully bent, and endeuored nothing more then to recouer (if it were possible) the Sea, which the Duke of *Alua* by a remarkable error in so great a thiefe had despised, and by this meanes had caused that long warre of the Low Countries, which indured so many yeeres: but he being not well furnished with necessary things to set forth a nauall Armie, because the tempest had broken and lost the Ships, which for this purpose had a little before beene conducted from Spaine to Flanders, by the aid of the English; hee sent *Boischot* into *England*, to leuy ships and furniture of warre with the Queenes leaue, who being vnwilling to aduenture her ships and Sea-men in anothers cause, denied it, and gaue publike charge to all persons, not to arme any Ships without her licence, and did forbid the English Sea-men to enrole themselues vnder other Princes. Vpon this refusall, *Boischot* prayed her not to take it in ill part, if the fugitiue English in Flanders should serue in a nauall Warre against the Hollanders, vnder the command of the Spaniard; and permit them to touch freely in the ports of *England* to victuall themselues. But she would not approue, that the rebellious English (so she termed those whom he stiled Fugitiues) should fight in the seruice of the Spaniard, not to perswade her that *Requesens* would gratifie them, prayed them not to doe it, and namely, *T. Copely*, whom the Spaniards had loaded with the titles of the great master of the Muze, Lord of *Gaten* and *Rouchtey*, and intended to set to Sea, to rob both English and Dutch. For the ports, she esteemed it exceeding folly to

The Queene of England denieth ships to Requesens.

The entrance of the Ports.

open

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open them to Rebels and ſworne enemies. Yet *Boiſchot*, to obtaine more vniuſt things, required in the name of the Spaniard, that the rebellious Dutch might bee baniſhed from *England*. But ſhe refuſed that alſo, knowing that thoſe whom he called Rebels, were poore miſerable people of no note, and had neuer enterprized any thing againſt him, but being chaſed from their Country, and ſpoiled of their goods during the warre, had retired themſelues into *England*, thinking ſhe ſhould commit a great inhumanity, and violate the lawes of Hoſpitality, if ſhee ſhould deliuer them into the hands of a Cut-throat. She alſo remembred how far the affaires of *Spaine* were intereſſed in *Flanders*. Then when at the prayer of the Duke of *Alua* ſhe commanded 1572. the Dutch to leaue *England*, and that hauing commanded the Count of March and other Dutch to be gone, they had taken *Brill*, and ſuſcitated that warre; neuertheleſſe, not to ſeeme altogether to depart from the ancient Alliance of the *Burguinions*, although the Spaniard had refuſed to confirme it with him, ſhee forbad by publike writing the Dutch Ships prepared for warre to goe forth, and thoſe Dutch that had taken vp armes againſt the Spaniard, to enter into *England*, and expreſly the Prince of *Orange* and his houſe: the Count of *Culenberge*, of *Berg*, of March, and fifty others the moſt notable of that faction. And ſhe performed with more alacrity, in regard *Requeſens*, at the interceſſion of *Wilſon*, the Engliſh Ambaſſador, had cauſed the Earle of *Weſtmerland*, and other Engliſh to retire themſelues out of the Country of Flanders, which was vnder the Spaniard, and had diſſipated the Engliſh Seminary which was at *Doway*, in whoſe ſtead the *Guizes*, at the ſollicitation of Pope *Gregory* the 13. eſtabliſhed another in the City of *Rhemes*.

To baniſh the Dutch fugitiues.

She denies the confederate Dutch entrance into the Engliſh ports.

Requiſens chaſeth the rebellious Engliſh from Flanders.

Diſſolues their Seminary.

The Prince of *Orange*, finding his forces no way equall to thoſe of the Spaniard, and expecting no ſuccour from *England*, conſulted with his friends in whom he might put his

The Prince of Orange thinkes to run to the protection of the King of France.

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The Queene of England diſſwades him.

his truſt. Now when Queene ELIZABETH vnderſtood he had fixed his eye and heart vpon the King of *France*, ſhe firſt ſent *Daniel Rogers* to diſſwade him: but nothing being effected, in regard he had before created with the Admirall *Coligni* and the King of *France*, ſhe ſent *H. Cobham* to the King of *Spaine*, to let him vnderſtand how great the danger were, if *Holland* and *Zealand* ſhould reuolt from him, and giue themſelues to the King of *France*; and by the moſt important reaſons ſhe could repreſent, ſhe perſwaded him to make change of warre for peace, to which he ſeemed to accord. She then gaue aduice to *Requeſens*, by *R. Corbet*, and ceaſed not by all meanes to turne the Prince of *Orange* from his deſigne, by the imployment of *I. Haſting*, but ſhe could not obtaine her purpoſe, being countermined by *Villiers* a French Church-man, who came poore into *England*, with a ſcuruy Cloake all torne (I ſpeake this becauſe I knew him) but was inriched by a collection which was giuen him to reade Diuinity Leſſons, fearing leſt the Prince of *Orange* ſhould caſt his eye vpon the Engliſh, maintained amongſt other things, nay by a publike writing, that Queene ELIZABETH had no man of warre to whom ſhe would truſt an Army, but the Earle of *Suſſex*, and that he bare no good affection to the Proteſtants, and according as he had learned of *Coligni*, he gaue forth, that if the Engliſh did ſet foot in the Low-Countries, they would renew their ancient hate againſt the French.

The confederat Dutch deliberate what Protector they ſhould chuſe.

Neuertheleſſe, the inteſtine warres of *France* hauing taken away all hope of ſuccour from the Prince of *Orange*, and the Dutch, they afreſh conſult to whom they may runne, and rely vpon for aid. They knew that the Princes of *Almany* were againſt the Spaniards, & alſo they hauing no good intelligence, did niggardly depart with their mony, diſcorded with the Dutch in certaine points of Religion, and that the Emperour, a neere Kinſman of the Spaniards, would giue impeachment to it. They alſo ſaw the French

French so engaged in their owne ciuill warres, that they could finde no end; that there was simulated & inueterate hate betweene the inhabitants of the Low-Countries and the French; that the Brabanders, Flemmish, and the neighbouring people of France, would oppose it with all their force; that the Commandement of the French was rude and burthensome, as well as that of the Spanish; and that the hauens of *France* are not much commodious for the nauigation of the Dutch. But for the English that were almost vnder one paralell with the Dutch, who also seemed to be of the same nature and Religion with them, that their language was not much different; their Countrey neere adioyning, furnished with Ports, commodious for Nauigation, and fruitfull in Merchandize. That the Queen both by Sea and Land was very powerfull, a milde and gracious Princesse, temperate in her commands, one that would conserue their Liberties, and in no wise burthen them with exactions.

They haue recourse to the Queene of England.

They forthwith sent into *England, Phil. Marnix*, Lord of Saint *Aldegonde*, *I. Douza* of *Nortwic*, *Paul Busy*, and *D. Melsen*, which with an honourable legacy, and learned oration, offered to the Queene, *Holland* and *Zeland*, eyther to possesse, or protect, as being a Princesse issued from the Princes of *Holland*, of the bloud of *Philip*, Wife to *Edward* the Third, Daughter to *William Bauier*, the third of that name, Earle of *Hainaud*, and of *Holland*, by whose second Sister the *Spaniard* came to the inheritance of the Prouinces. The Queene gaue a willing and an attentiue hearing to these things. But first of all, shee weighed and considered in her minde the cause which they had vndertaken against their Lord and King, the enmities of the *Spaniard*, the enuy of the *French*, the great expences and doubtfull euents of the warre, and also what offence might be taken by this insolent example. Then shee doubted whether by her discent from *Bauier*, she might make claime to *Holland*

She deliberateth thereupon.

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and *Zeland*, and whether shee might lawfully contract a league of protection with the Subiects of another Prince, and whether they themselues could doe this, without the consent of the Emperour, who was Soueraigne Lord of the Fee. Then further, she scarce gaue credit to what some whispered in her eares; that the Prouinces fell not to the *Spaniard* by hereditary right, but by the election of the Subiects. Finally, hauing maturely deliberated vpon these things, (after she had respectiuely rendred thankes to the Prince of *Orange* and the rest, for their great good will) she answered, that she had alwayes had a speciall regard of the honour and faith worthy a Prince, nor could shee yet conceiue, how she could in honour and conscience receiue the Prouinces into her protection, much lesse into her possession; but she would imploy her best labours to mediate for a happy peace betweene them.

She reiecteth their proffer.

The Ambassy of Champigni.

At the same time arriued at the Court, *Iohn Perenot* of *Champigni*, from *Lodwick Zuniga* of *Requesens*, who in his name modestly aduised the Queene to entertaine the league betweene *England* and *Burgundie*, and not to entermeddle in the affaires of the *Netherlands*: To whom, the Queene promised to obserue the league, notwithstanding the *Spaniard* had refused to confirme it. Yet would shee alwayes prouide for her owne honour and safety, if shee perceiued the ancient forme of command amongst the *Burgundians* to be changed; and forreine Souldiers in great numbers daily to be admitted into the adiacent Prouince.

Requesens dyeth.

Before *Champigni* was returned, *Requesens* yeelded to death, and a strange confusion had ouercast the *Netherlands*, the Souldiers deuasting all places with Sword and Fire; And the Estates of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *&c.* assuming their former authority in the administration of the Common-wealth, which the *Spaniard* by necessity was constrained to confirme to them, vntill the comming of *Iohn* of *Austria*, whom hee had instituted Gouernour ouer the Prouinces,

Prouinces, Queene ELIZABETH carefully laboured that the *Spaniard* might receiue no diſcommoditie, & conſerue, as much as ſhe poſſible could, the *Netherlãds* intyre to him, and ſent *Dauiſon* diligently to exhort them to a peace. But by reaſon of outragiouſneſſe of the *Spaniſh* Souldiers, nothing was effected.

England, for this whole yeere, remained in a peaceable quiet, excepting, in the moneth of *Iuly* there happened vpon the Southerne borders of *England*, towards *Scotland*, a conflict betweene the borderers of eyther part, whereof the occaſion was this, *Iohn Foſter*, Knight, Gouernour of the Meridionall Frontiers, and at the ſame time of *Barwicke* alſo, entred into parley vpon the Mount *Redſquire*, with *I. Carmichell*, Warden of *Liddiſdale* in *Scotland*: notwithſtanding it was a cuſtome that none but Gouernours ſhould meete with Gouernours, and Wardens with Wardens, as equals in dignitie, they were of either ſide accompanied, beſides certaine Noble-men, with a multitude of Fugitiues, and Malefactours, all armed; of which, the moſt part quarrelled with one another about inueterate and mortall hatreds betweene them. Theſe ſort of fellowes, according to their cuſtome, hauing put their horſes out here and there to feed, round incircled the Gouernour & Warden; whom when they heard breake out into eager termes about the ſending backe of Fugitiues, they, whoſe Lawes were onely their weapons, knowing themſelues guilty, were afraid leſt they ſhould be deliuered into the hands of iuſtice; vpon a ſquabble which fell out about the taking away of a ſpurre, they tumultuouſly ranne to armes, and euery one, to reuenge their priuate ſpleene, aſſayled his particular enemy, or made prey of his Horſe. Whether a *Scot* or an *Engliſhman* was the beginner, it is vncertaine. At the firſt encounter, the *Engliſh* repulſed the *Scots*, and tooke *Carmichell*. But as they, being too confident in their owne forces, ranged about for booty and trifling pillage, a troupe

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The Queene ſtudieth to bring the affaires of the Netherlands to a compoſition.

A conflict vpon the borders of Scotland.

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Heron is ſlaine.

of *Scottiſh* ſuccours ſallying out of *Iedbourgh*, *Carmichell* eſcaped, and the *Engliſh* were put to flight, *George Heron*, Knight, Warden of *Tyndale* and *Ridiſdale*, with others, was ſlaine, and the Gouernour *Forſter* himſelfe; *Fran. Ruſſell*, ſonne to the Earle of *Bedford*, and ſonne-in-law to *Forſter*; *Cuthbert Collinwood*, *Iames Ogle*, *Henry Fenwich*, and many others, were taken and carried to *Dalquith* in *Scotland*, where the Regent was reſident, who courteouſly receiued them: but fearing leſt, if hee ſhould ſo ſoone permit them to depart, their bloud yet boyling for the murther, ſhould inflame their courages to vengeance, and ſo rayſe a warre betweene the two Kingdomes, hee for a time deteined them, and would not releaſe them, before they had promiſed by writing, to appeare at a certaine day in *Scotland*.

The Engliſh led as priſoners into Scotland.

The Queene of England is much incenſed.

When Queene ELIZABETH had certaine notice of theſe matters, ſhee was then (if euer anger had preuayled with her) full of vexation and mightily incenſed, that the *Scots*, which were (as her ſelfe ſpake) indebted to her for their reſt and libertie, ſhould, violating the peace, aſſault and murder the *Engliſh* in *England*, ſhould ſurprize and leade into *Scotland* the Gouernour of the Meridional frontier, and of *Barwick*, and others, and not releaſe them before they had promiſed in writing to returne. Shee tooke all this as a great iniury and a diſgrace done to the name of the *Engliſh*, and to her honour; And ſo much the more, becauſe the Regent had conſtituted, that inquiſition ſhould be made vpon the borders of *Scotland*, whether thoſe which were of the Commiſſion, did come to the place armed. This propoſition ſhe iudged to come from a heart pufft vp with enmitie; but that other with ambition, that is to ſay, that the Regent ſhould preſcribe a place of meeting to the Queene of *England*, notwithſtanding that ſhee had not long before appointed a meeting-place in the City of *Yorke* to the Regent *Murrey*. Neither could the affrighted

ted Regent satisfie the Queene, vntill hee vnarmed had met with *Huntington*, Deputy for *England*, at *Bonderod*, a Towne vpon the Borders, and there promised with good offices to salue this hurt; and for the reparation of the *English* name, he sent *Carmichel* his indeered friend into *England*, who for a space was detayned there in free imprisonment at *Yorke*, and soone after was sent backe with honour and rewards. For the fault was found to be sprung from *Forster*, whilest hee aboue measure sustained the Cause of a notorious Malefactor. Thus was the Queene reconciled to the Regent, who remained euer after constant in his friendship; chastising the Fugitiues of either side, to his great praise, and the good of both the Kingdomes.

The death of the Duke of Castell-Herauld.

In this yeere dyed not any in *England*, of any noble remarke or note: But in *Scotland*, the thrice-Noble *Iames Hamilton*, Duke of *Castell-Herauld*, who being sonne to the Daughter of *Iames* the second, King of *Scotland*, was giuen as a tutor to *Mary* Queene of *Scots*, appointed Gouernour and Heire to the Kingdome, so long shee was vnder age, and when he had deliuered her to the *French*, he was created Duke of *Castell-Herauld*, in *France*; afterwards was constituted the chiefe of the three Gouernours of *Scotland*, during Queene *Maries* imprisonment; whose Cause whilest he constantly defended, being an open man, and of a nature peaceable, he was much afflicted by the iniuries and plots of some troublesome spirits.

Essex reduced into distresse in Ireland.

The Earle of *Essex* perceiuing himselfe much troubled, aswell by the Ambushes of *Turlogh*, and the Lord of *Dungannon*, as also by the obiected Difficulties in *England*: and learning that it was deliberated in *England* concerning his repeale, he silently deplored the misreies whereinto by extreme iniurie he was precipitated; he complained of the losse of his owne and his mens fortunes; hee lamented *Ireland*, which he perswaded himselfe, that with two thousand Souldiers, he could reduce into obedience, he instantly

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ly demanded, that for his honour he might compound the matter with *Turlogh*: and hauing giuen vp to the Vice-Roy his command in *Vlſter*, becauſe that with that ſmall Company of men which he had aſſigned him, he was not of power ſufficient to proſecute what he had begunne, hee was preſently commanded to reſume the ſame. But hee had ſcarce reſumed it, and began to march againſt *Turlogh*, but he receiued Letters of Command, wholly to with-drawe himſelfe from that warre, and, in as honourable termes as he could, to conclude a Peace. Which beeing preſently performed, he charged vpon the *Scots* of *Hebrides*, which had ſeized vpon *Clandeboy*, and forced them to fly into Caues: and hauing with the ayde of *Norris* ſurprized the Iſland *Rachlin*, and ſlaine 400. of the Iſlanders, hee forced the Caſtle to yeeld, and there placed a Garriſon. And beeing now in the middle courſe of victory, hee was againe commanded (beyond his expectation) to reſigne his authority, and onely as a priuate Captaine, had command ouer three hundred men. And ſure nothing was omitted by the cloſe and ſubtill dealings of *Leiceſter*, with continuall troubles to oppreſſe the milde and peaceable ſpirit of this Noble Worthy.

Sidney the third time Deputy, maketh his progreſſe in Ireland.

Henry Sidney was then ſent the third time Vice-roy into *Ireland*, when the Plague made large hauock of the Iſle: neuertheleſſe, he paſſed to *Vlſter*, where many humbled themſelues to him, and requeſted with Prayers their ſafe-guard, to wit, *Mac-Mahon*, *Mac-Guir*, *Turlogh Leinich*, and others; as many alſo in *Lemſter*, of the ſeditious Family of *O-Conor*, and *O-Mor*, who by force of Armes had holden their ancient Poſſeſſions in *Leiſe* and *Ophale*, whereof by an Ordinance they had beene diſpoſſeſſed. Beeing arriued at *Mounſter*, he aſſiſted as a mourner, to honour the Funerals of *Peter Carew*, a true Noble Knight, and of memorable vertues (who, as heire to *Stephanide*, and *Reymond Craſſe*, who were the firſt Conquerers of *Ireland*, and of the

The death of Peter Carew.

Lordſhip

of *Ydorne*, had conquered, by the Rites of Warre, part of his Patrimony.) Comming to *Corcagh*, the Earle of *Desmond* visited him, and with great respect offered vnto him all willing and ready seruices. From thence being carried to *Connach*, he receiued Homage of the sonnes of *Clan-Richard*, which were Rebels, and pardoned all their offences, after they had humbly implored the same in the Church of *Galloway*: and so hee gouerned the Prouince with great and worthy applause.

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THE

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1576.

THE NINETEENTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1576.

The French propound a marriage to Queene Elizabeth.

She, peace to them.

She labours to diuert them from the Netherlands.



New yeere beginning, the two match-makers for the Duke of *Alanzon*, *la Mottefenelon*, and *la Porte*, began to charme the eares of Queene ELIZABETH, with ſweete and amorous diſcourſes. To whom reply was made, *That it was then no time for ſuch talke, the Duke being ſo farre ingaged in the Ciuill Warres, wherewith* France *was infeſted, that he could not readily come into* England. Neuertheleſſe, two Ambaſſadours were ſent into *France*, one after another, to renewe a fraternall friendſhip betweene the King and the Duke, and to dehort them from the affaires of the *Netherlands*, leſt the *Spaniard* ſhould kindle a new war in *France*; ſhewing them how eaſie a thing it would be to him (hauing then a puiſſant Army in *Italy*) to ſurprize *Saluces*, or beeing with his forces poſſeſt of *Prouence*, to command

mand the entry of the Mediterranean Sea, especially the treasury of *France* being so neere exhausted: of other semblable matters she admonished them, to deterre them from the Low-Countries.

For the Prince of *Orange*, for his owne particular profit, and the hope of retaining the Principality of *Orange*, which was situate in *France*, hee ceased not to inuite the *French* into the *Netherlands*; and promised to the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, who as if they were borne to the Sea, did infest the Sea, with their Vessels, purposely built for their Pyracies, the pillaging of the shipping of the *English* Merchants, vnder a pretext framed, that they relieued the *Dunkirkes* their enemies with victuals, and vnder borrowed names, transported into *Spaine* the merchandizes of *Antwerpe*, and other places, which themselues were accustomed to transport thither, and for their owne profit, but now durst not, by reason they knew themselues guiltie of reuolt. *Holstock* was forthwith sent with Ships furnished for the warres to represse them, who tooke aboue two hundred Pyrates, and imprisoned them vpon the sea-coast; And for the goods which were taken away, *William Winter*, Knight, and *Robert Beale*, Counsellor, and Secretary for the Queenes Letters, were deputed into *Zeland*, to accord the differences on eyther side, and vpon equall conditions to cause restitution to be made. But the Auarice of the *English* Merchants, and the insolency of the *Zelanders*, broached new contentions, which were presently brought to conclusion with little dammage to either Nation.

The Zelanders molest the English by Sea;

are represſed.

Then there grew a great confusion throughout the *Netherlands*, the *Spaniards* imprisoning certaine of the Councellours of the Estates, and persecuting with all sorts of outrages and excesse of iniuries the inhabitants of the Prouinces in such manner, that the Estates were forced to take armes, and send forth messengers to all parts to manifest their wrongs. They dispatched towards Queene ELI-

A confusion in the Netherlands.

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ZABETH, *Aubigni*, to demonstrate to her Maiestie the iniuries and causes for which they tooke vp armes. Queene ELIZABETH, by *Wilson*, exhorted as much as was possible, both the *Estates* and the *Spaniards* to lay aside their Armes; studiously inquiring the causes why the Counsellors of the *Estates* were so violently imprisoned. In the meane space, the City of *Antwerpe* being the Illuminary of other Cities, which scarce giueth place to the second of the most flourishing Marts in *Europe*, was miserably sacked by the *Spaniards*, the House of the *English* Merchants there pillaged, and themselues, although innocent, were constrained to pay large ransomes to the Souldiers. *Aubigni* taking hold of this occasion, with much importunity requested Queene ELIZABETH in the name of the *Estates*, to lend some notable summe of money, to be imployed for the repressing of the *Spanish* insolence. But her Maiesty knowing that they had before demanded assistance of the *French*, made refusall, neuertheless she promised incontinently, and with all diligence, to make intercession to the *Spaniard* in their behalfe for a peace and league; and to this end, she sent *Iohn Smith*, Cousin-German to *Edward* the Sixth, a man perfect in the *Spanish* behauiour, and well knowne to the King of *Spaine*, who was graciously receiued of the King; and so wisely retorted vpon *Gasp. Quiragne*, Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, and the Inquisitors, the contumelious iniuries which they spake against the Queen, out of hate to the Religion, and willing her not to adde to her titles, the *Defendresse of the Faith*, that he receiued many thankes from their King, who was much offended with the Arch-bishop, requesting *Smith* to conceale from the Queene those passages, and commanded seuerely that that attribute should be allowed of. The King knew well that the Queenes Counsel were sufficient and expedient for her affaires, yet would he not consent thereto, the fate of the *Netherlands* (if I may so call it) carrying him another way.

Antwerpe sacked by the Spanish mutiners.

The Queene laboureth a peace for the Netherlands.

At

1576.

At the ſame time, *Iohn* of *Auſtria*, naturall Sonne to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, arriued in *Flanders* with a ſoueraigne command; to whom, the Queene in like manner ſent *Edward Horſey*, Gouernour of the Ile of *Wight*, to congratulate his arriuall, and offer him her aſſiſtance, if the *Eſtates* ſhould call the *French* into *Holland*. Neuertheleſſe, by the importunate ſollicitation of *Sweuingham*, pleading for the *Eſtates*, ſhee ſent them 2000. pounds of *Engliſh* money, with this condition, that they ſhould not change their Prince, nor admit the *French* into *Holland*, nor refuſe the peace, if *Iohn* of *Auſtria* ſhould deſcend to any equall conditions. But if he ſhould accept of a peace, then the moneyes ſhould be imployed for the payment of the *Spaniſh* Souldiers, which had for want of pay rayſed all theſe troubles. Such was her care and ſtudy to detaine theſe wauering Prouinces vnder the obedience and alleageance of the *Spaniard*, neuer pretermitting any occaſion of well-deſeruing, and for the conſeruation of peace.

The arriuall of Iohn of Auſtria in Flanders.

The Queene furniſheth the Eſtates with money;

to continue the Prouinces in the King of Spaines obedience.

In this inſtant, *England* triumphed in an agreeable tranquillity, and the traffique of the *Engliſh* with the *Portugals*, which, by the priuate auarice of ſome particular perſons had beene ſhut vp, was then opened againe, and the *Engliſh* had permiſſion to traffique in *Portugall*, *Algarbia*, the Iles of *Medera*, and the *Azores*, the *Portugals* likewiſe in *England* and *Ireland*, for the ſpace of three yeeres; during which time, all differences and contentions which had bin about the deteining of goods or merchandiſe, were made void. And this was publiquely diuulged by the ſound of a Trumpet.

The traffique re-eſtabliſhed betweene England and Portugall.

Likewiſe certaine learned Ingenies of the time, inflamed with an honeſt deſire of diſcouering the more diſtant Regions of the Earth, and the ſecrets of the Ocean, incited certaine well-monyed men, who were no leſſe inflamed with the deſire of getting more, to make diſcouery, if in the North parts of *America*, there were any way, by which

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men might ſayle to the rich Countrey of *Cathay*, and ſo, by a mutuall commerce, to ioyne the Riches of the Eaſt and Occident together.

With what probabilitie.

Thoſe learned men probably diſputed, taking it for granted, that the ſhore lay on that ſide; that the neerer we approach to the ſhore, the ſhallower the waters be: and by experience, thoſe which ſaile from the ſhore of the Weſterne Ilands, meet with higher Seas, which ſeeme to be all one with that Sea which Nauigators call *Del-Sur* on the other part of *America*: Furthermore, that when the Sea is carried by the diurnall motion of the *primum mobile*, it is driuen backe by the oppoſition of *America*, and runnes toward the Northerne Countries of *Cabo Fredo*, that is to ſay, the *cold Promontory*, there to vnburthen it ſelfe through ſome Chanell into the *Del-Sur* Sea, except it be by the like violence repulſed into *Lappia* and *Finmarch*, in which Region of the Southerne world, from the Inſulous ſtrait of *Magellan*, being incapable of ſuch a maſſe of waters by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the Chanels of thoſe Ilands, they are beaten backe to *Cabo Fredo* by the Eaſterne ſhores of *America*. And they adde for Witneſſes, *Ienkenſon*, an Engliſhman, who better knew then any other the Northerne Climate of the world, (who ſhewed that thoſe huge and maſſie heapes of waters of the Sea *Cronio*, doe diſimbogue themſelues neceſſarily into the Sea *Del-Sur*,) and *Bernard le Tor*, a Spaniard, who affirmed, that returning from the *Moluccus*, into *America*, aboue the Equinoctiall Line Northward, he was caſt backe againe by force of waters, comming from the North, violently ruſhing againſt his Ship, into *Moluccus*; and other Witneſſes they produce to proue this: Whereupon, monyed-men were perſwaded to ſend *Martin Furbiſher* with three Ships to diſcouer this Strait: who looſing from *Harwich* the 18. of *Iune*, entred the ninth of *Auguſt* into the Gulfe or Strait, vnder the latitude of ſixtie three degrees, where hee found

Witneſſe, Ienkinſon an Engliſhman.

Bernard le Tor, a Spaniard.

Furbiſher is ſent to diſcouer the Strait in the North part of America.

men

men of blacke hayre, broad faces, flat wry noſes, of a ſwart and tawny colour, clothed with Sea-Calues skinnes, and the women were painted about the eyes and the balls of the Cheeke with a deepe azure colour, like the ancient *Britans*: but all things being ſo bound vp with Ice, in the Moneth of *Auguſt*, it was not poſſible for them to hold on their courſe, ſo as he returned for *England*, where he arriued the eighth of the Kalends of *October*, with the loſſe onely of fiue Mariners, which were taken by the Barbarians. Notwithſtanding to performe what he had begun, hee fayled the next two yeeres about the ſame Shore, but was hindered from entring into the Gulfe by the Ice which was euery-where heaped vp like Mountaines. Being then beaten with Tempeſts, Snow, and Windes that were euer and anon changing, hauing gathered a great number of Stones (which he tooke to haue beene Minerals) he turnes ſailes: from which ſtones, when neither Gold, Siluer, nor any other metall could be drawne, we ſaw them throwne away to repayre the high-wayes. But theſe things are publiquely extant, deſcribed at large.

The death of Maximilian the Emperour.

About the ſame time, *Maximilian* the Emperour dyed, a prudent and iuſt Prince, profitable to the Empire, & well-deſeruing both of Queene ELIZABETH, and the *Engliſh*: whereof, as ſoone as ſhee was certainely informed, being afflicted with an exceeding griefe, ſhee ſent Sir *Philip Sidney*, Ambaſſadour, to *Rodulphus*, King of the *Romans*, diligently to declare her ſorrow for the death of his father, and to congratulate his Succeſſion. And alſo, in paſſing by, to condole with the Sonnes of *Frederick* the Third, Elector Palatine, for the death of their Father; and by the way, to put *Caſimere* in minde of the Money which ſhee ſpent in the *French* warre; for by that warre, peace being reſtored to *France*, the Prouinces of *Aniou*, of *Touraine*, and of *Berie* aſſigned in Apennage, as they call it, to the Duke of *Alanzon*, eleuen millions of Franc's, promiſed to *Caſimere* to pay

Queene Elizabeth mourues.

The Elector Palatine dyes.

A Franc is two ſhillings Engliſh.

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the *Germaine* Horſe-men, and three hundred thouſand Crownes, for which the *French* Queene had engaged her Iewels. But Queene ELIZABETH had none at all paid againe, and yet thought her ſelfe ſufficiently recompenced in hauing it ſo well ſpent in ſo good a cauſe. *Caſimere* ingenuouſly and with a *Germaine* ſincerity made anſwer, That the *French* had broke promiſe with him, and that it was not his fault that the Money was not re-payd.

As in *Germany* the Emperour *Maximilian*, and the Prince Elector Palatine, for their Chriſtian vertues, and ſingular moderation, had left a great affection and much griefe: So no leſſe did *Walter Deureux*, Earle of *Eſſex*, leaue in *England* and *Ireland*, though farre inferiour in place, verily a moſt excellent man, in whom ſweetneſſe of manners contended with his Nobleneſſe of Birth; all which notwithſtanding could not preuaile againſt Enuie: for indeed, he was compelled afterwards to leaue that which he had laudably begun in *Ireland*, with much diminiſhing his Patrimonie: and being returned into *England*, he openly threatned *Leiceſter*, whom he ſuſpected had iniured him: by the Court ſubtletie of *Leiceſter*, who was afraid of him, and by the peculiar myſteries of the Court, by ſtriking, and ouerthrowing men with Honour, he was ſent away againe into *Ireland*, vvith a vaine Title of [*Earle Marſhall of Ireland*] vvhere pining away vvith griefe, and being grieuouſly tormented vvith a Dyſſenterie, verie godlily rendred vp his Soule to God, after he had vvilled thoſe that vvere vvith him, to admoniſh his Sonne, then ſcarce ten yeeres old, that he ſhould alvvaies ſet before his Eyes the ſixe and thirtieth yeere of his age, as the longeſt meaſure of his life, vvhich neither he nor his Father ouer-liued, and truly he attained not vnto it, as in his place vve ſhall declare. Thus vvas the death of this moſt Noble perſon, by the Vulgar (vvho alvvaies ſuſpect thoſe they hold deare, to be made avvay by poiſon) ſuſpected to be poiſoned, though *Sydney*, Lord Deputie of *Ireland*,

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Ireland, hauing made diligent inquisition about it, writ to the Councell of *England* that the Earle often said at his first falling sicke, that as often as he was troubled in mind, hee was pained with this flux, and that he neuer suspected poyson, that he had the same colour of bodie in his sickneſſe as he had in perfect health, no spot, no consumption, no blemish, no losing of nailes, no shedding of haire, nor inward putrifactiō or appearance of poyson when he was dissected. That the Phisicons did not agree in the cause of his sicknes, neither ministred they any thing to him against poyson, but that he that waited of his cup was falsly accused of..... dipt in water and mingled with wine: neuertheleſſe wee haue seene the man pointed at publickly for a poysoner. This suspition increased, because *Leicester* so quickly after abandoned *Douglas Sheffield*, by whom he had had a sonne (whether she was his wife or paramour, I will not say) after hee had giuen her a summe of money and made her great promises; and openly professed loue to the Lady *Lettice*, *Essex* his widdow, and married her twice. For though, it was said, that he had maried her priuately, yet *Henrie Knollis* her father knowing his extrauagant affections, and fearing left he should deceiue his daughter, would not beleeue it, vnleſſe he saw a contract himselfe, expreſſely in the presence of a publike Notarie and witneſſes. But that was performed two yeeres after.

Essex death suspected.

At that time dyed in *England* Sir *Anthony Coke* at seuentie yeeres of age, a Knight that kept the ancient Seuerity, and very learned, Tutor to EDVVARD the Sixth in his Child-hood, happie in his Daughters, who being skilfull in the Greeke and Latine tongues aboue the expectation of their Sexe, he had married to these famous men, *William Cecill*, Lord Treasurer of *England*, *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the great Seale, to *Thomas Hoby*, who dyed Embassador in *France*, *Raph Roulet*, and *Henry Killigrew*.

The death of Sir Anthony Coke.

That I may goe backe a little: Before *Essex* dyed, the sonnes

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Tumults in Ireland.

Sonnes of the Earle of *Clan-Rickard*, whom the Deputie of *Ireland* had pardoned for rebellion ſcarce two yeeres before, had gathered together a Companie of Scummes, Rogues, and Rebels, who rob'd and barbarouſly ſack't *Connach*, burnt *Athenrie*, which the Inhabitants were about to re-edifie, and with a barbarous hatred which they bore vnto them, who began to fauour Lawes and Humanity, killed the workmen. The Deputie makes haſte thither, diſſipates theſe Troopes of Robbers, and made them flye into their Dennes, according to their cuſtome; and impriſoned the Earle of *Clan-Rickard* their Father (as culpable of his Sons crimes) in the Caſtle of *Dublin*. But as ſoone as the Deputie was returned, they came out againe, and beſieged the Caſtle *Balla-reogh*, being their Fathers chiefe Seate (where there was a Garriſon commanded by *T. Strange*) but in vaine and with loſſe of their men. Afterwards being aſſiſted by the Ilander *Scots*, ranſack't and ſpoil'd whatſoeuer was vpon the Lands of *Mac-Williams Eughter* the younger: but the Deputie comming againe, they fled and hid themſelues as they did before.

William Drury, Preſident of Mounſter.

William Drury, late Gouernour of *Barwicke*, now newly made Preſident of *Mounſter*, by his wiſedome and valour brought all the Prouince vnder command, and in obedience to the Lawes, except *Kerria* and the Countie Palatine, whither, like to a Sincke, a great number of Malefactors, Theeues, men in debt, and ſuch as were ſuſpected for Treaſon, by reaſon of the Immunity & priuiledges belonging to the place, were gathered together, a certaine impunitie imboldening them. For EDVVARD the third had granted to the Earle of *Deſmond, all Regall Liberties, that the Kings of England had in that Countie, except for Burnings, Rapes, Foreſtallings, and Treaſure found.* Notwithſtanding, the Preſident (iudging that theſe Liberties were granted rather for the exerciſe of Iuſtice, then for the protecting of Miſchiefe) valiantly defeated the moſt ſelected troopes of the forlorne Rebels,

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Rebels, which the Earle of *Desmond* had layd in Ambuscado, and made search through all *Kerria*, and punished many of them seuerely. The Earle of *Desmond* vexing at this, and grieuously complaining to the Lord Deputie, of *Drury*, as well of this, as of the Taxe, which they call *Ceass*. This Taxe is an exaction of Victuals at a certaine price (as the Glebe among the Ancients) for Prouision of the Deputies Family, and the Garrison Souldiers. Of this Taxe, he complained not alone, but in *Lemster*, the most ciuill part of the Isle, the Viscount *Bultinglas*, *Deluin*, *Hoth*, and *Trimleston* Barons, and also other of the Nobler sort, complaining, denied to pay it, as not to be exacted, but by authoritie of Parliament; And thereupon sent Deputies into *England*, who, being heard before the Councell, were committed; and in like manner in *Ireland* were those that sent them, vntill they submitted to pay it: It appearing by the Records of the Kingdomes Exchequer to be instituted long agoe, and is a certaine right of Maiestie, called [*Royall Prerogatiue*] which is not subiect to the Lawes, nor yet repugnant as the Lawyers haue iudged it. But the Queene commanded the Lord Deputie to vse a moderation in such like exactions, and vsed the old saying, [*While they may sheare her subiects, doe not shaue them:*] and said moreouer,

Malefactors pursued and punished.

Ceass, what it is.

The Irish complaine of exactions.

The Queene hath compassion.

> AH, *how greatly I feare lest that which* Bato *in time past to* Tiberius *vpon the reuolting of* Dalmaria, *be obiected against vs by the* Irish. *You, you are in fault, who commit not your flockes to Shepheards but to Wolues.*

THE TVVENTIETH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

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Austria inclines to Peace.

Elizabeth perswades to it.



On Iohn of *Austria* perceiuing himselfe too weake for the States of *Holland*, strengthened by the amitie of neighbour Princes, sent *Gastel* to Queene ELIZABETH to thanke her for the ayd which she had offered him against the *French*, & to declare his desire of Peace. She by *Edw. Horsey* now sent the second time to him, commends his disposition to Peace, and withall treates that the goods of the *English* detained in *Antwerpe*, might be restored. Answer was made verie slowly, he being much distracted (as he pretended) with other affaires, wholly intending [*The perpetuall Edict for Peace*] as they call it, which scarce lasted a yeere. Queene ELIZABETH seriously desiring Peace, sends Sir *Thomas Leighton* to the Prince of *Orange*, to perswade him,

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him, not to labour, or attempt any thing against Peace, vntill *Iohn Smith*, who was sent into *Spaine* to procure a Peace, should returne. The Prince of *Orange*, who from his heart condemned this perpetuall Edict, hauing opportunely learned, that *Don Iohn* of *Austria* did endeuour to marrie the Queene of *Scots*, which occasion he willingly catch't, and by *Famier* forthwith aduertiseth Queene ELIZABETH to auert her from Peace. She neuertheless as seeming to know nothing, by *Daniel Rogers* congratulates with *Don Iohn* for the perpetuall Edict of Peace, although she had discouered for certaine, that by the perswasion of the Earle of *Westmerland*, and the *English* Fugitiues, and the inclination of the Pope, and the fauour of the *Guizes*, he had an assured hope to attaine to this mariage, and together with it, to swallow *England* and *Scotland*; and had alreadie resolued to possesse himselfe of the Isle of *Man*, situate in the *Irish* Sea, as a fit place for the inuading of *England* on *Ireland* side, and from the West-side of *Scotland*, where the Queene of *Scots* had many people at her deuotion, and in the opposite part of *England* to make vse of *North-Wales*, and the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Lancaster*, and *Chester*, where the most part of the Inhabitants are most addicted to Poperie.

Orange diuerts her.

Austria seekes to marrie the Queene of Scots.

And by her to get the Kingdome of England.

And certainly (as we haue learned by *Perez* the King of *Spaines* Secretarie) *Austria*, caried away with ambition, seeing himselfe falne from all hope of the Kingdome of *Tunis*, had dealt secretly with the Pope, to pull downe ELIZABETH from her Throne; to marrie the Queene of *Scotland*; and to subdue *England*: and vnknowne to *Philip*, wrought with the Pope to excite *Philip* for the publike good to the *English* Warre. *Don Iohn* himselfe is readie to goe for *Flanders*; this was prosecuted in *Spaine*; and anon after, *Escouedo* is sent from *Flanders*, to desire that a Port in *Biskye* might be granted him, from whence with a Nauie he might inuade *England*. But *Philip* not likeing these de-

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ſignes, begun to neglect him as a man too ambitious. Neither did Queene ELIZABETH vnderſtand of theſe things, till (as I haue ſaid) the Prince of *Orange* did informe her.

Copley made a Baron of France.

Notwithſtanding, it wanted not ſuſpition, that *Thomas Copley* (a prime man among the *Engliſh* Fugitiues, being commended to the *French* King by *Vaulx*, Secretarie to *Don Iohn*) had beene made Knight and Baron. But *Copley* endeuouring to auoide ſuſpition, proteſted obedience to his Prince, and that he had accepted this Title out of no other reaſon but for the greater acceſſe of honour to his wife, his companion in exile, and that his Penſion from *Spaine* would be the greater, becauſe a Gentleman of Title is of more eſteeme among *Spaniards*; and he thought he was capable of the Title of a Baron, his Grandmother being the eldeſt Daughter to the Baron of *Hoo*, and his great Grandmother the eldeſt Daughter of the heires of the Baron of *Welles*.

The diſſimulation of Auſtria.

In the meane time, *Don Iohn* (vnderhand) proſecutes this match, and withall, the better to cloke the matter, ſends the Viſcount of *Gaunt* Embaſſadour to ELIZABETH, who ſhewed her the Articles of Peace, and to demand a longer terme for the paiment of the Money which the States borrowed of her. This ſhe willingly grants; and after treates with him, by *Wilſon*, that the dammages which the *Engliſh* Merchants receiued at the ſacking of *Antwerpe* may be repared. He deludes her, and while he pretended to be buſie about this perpetuall Edict of Peace, breakes out into Warre, and, by craft, ſurpriſes Caſtles, and Townes, and writes to the King of *Spaine*, that the wiſeſt courſe is to take the Iſlands of *Zeland*, before they lay ſiege to the interiour Prouinces; and being thus tranſported with hope, ſtriues to perſwade him by *Eſcouede* his Secretarie, that it were eaſier for him to take *England* than *Zeland*.

He takes vp armes again.

At length, when all things tended to warres in the Low-Countries,

Countries, the States send to Queene ELIZABETH the Marquis of *Maure* and *Adoulfe Medkerke*, to borrow of her a hundred thousand pound sterling for eight moneths: Shee made them this answer, That if they could borrow it else-where, Shee, with the Citie of *London*, would willingly giue caution for it; prouided, that such Townes of the Low-Countries as She shall nominate, would be bound by writing to repay it within a yeere, and made alliance with them of mutuall succour both by Land and Sea, vnder these conditions:

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Elizabeth couenanted with the Scots.

THE *Queene shall send for succour to the States a thousand Horse, and fiue thousand foote, to whom they shall pay three moneths after their imbarking, their intertainement and expence in the City of London, and the warres ended, shall defray their expence for their returning into England. The Generall of these forces, who shall be an English-man, shall be receiued into the Councell of the States, and nothing shall be ordered concerning warre or peace, without consulting thereupon either with the Queene, or him, nor make league with any whosoeuer, without her approbation; and, if shee please, to be comprehended in the same. If any Prince doe any hostile act against the Queene or Kingdome of England, vnder any pretext whatsoeuer, the States shall resist as much as in them lye, and shall send ayde to the Queene in the same number, and vpon the like conditions. If any discord arise among the States, it shall bee referred to her arbitrement. If the Queene be to prepare a Nauie against enemies, the States shall furnish xl. Ships of a competent burthen, with Mariners, and euery thing else necessary, which shall obey and follow the Admirall of England, and shall be defrayed at the Queenes cost. The States shall in no wise admit into the Low-countries, such English as the Queene hath declared Rebels. If they con-*

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clude a peace with Spaine, they must take heede that the Articles, whether ioyntly or seuerally, bee confirmed by the Queenes pleasure.

Immediately as this Treatie begun, the Queene, lest shee should be calumniated as a nourisher of Rebellion in the Low-Countries, sent *Thomas Wilkes* to the *Spaniard*, to declare vnto him as followeth:

She declares the reason of it to the Spaniard.

For asmuch as there neuer want malicious spirits, which studie craft and subtiltie, to breake friendship betweene those Princes, and by vniust suggestion, to cast aspersions vpon their honours, by supposall, as if shee had kindled this fire in the Low-Countries: First, shee prayes the King, and the Gouernours of the Low-Countries, that they would call to minde, how often and how earnestly, like a friend, shee long-agoe forewarned of the euils hanging ouer the Low-Countries; And then, when they thought of reuolting, what studious paines she tooke in often Missitations to the Prince of Orange, and the States, that they should continue in dutie and obedience to the King, yea euen when those most opulent Prouinces were offered her in possession, what sinceritie shewed shee, not to take them into protection? Finally, when all things were deplorable, how much money did shee lately furnish to hinder (the States being pressed by vrgent necessitie) not to subiect themselues vnder another Prince, and trouble the treatie of the late propounded peace. But when shee had notice that the Prince of Orange was vnwilling to embrace the peace already begun, shee did not onely admonish him to embrace it, but also (shee most sacredly protested) interposed threatnings, and in some sort commanded him. If these things be vnworthy of a Christian Prince, studious of peace, and most desirous to deserue well of her good

Confe-

Confederate, the King of Spaine; let the King himselfe, and all the Princes of the Christian World iudge. And that warres might sleepe on both sides, and that hee might haue the Hollanders obedient, aduiseth him to receiue them, as an afflicted people, into his ancient fauour, restore their priuiledges, obserue the last couenants of peace, and elect out of his owne Family some other Gouernour. Which could by no meanes be effected, vnlesse Don Iohn *were remoued, whom the States distrusted, with more than a hostile and implacable hatred; and, whom shee certainely knew by his secret practices with the Queene of Scots, to be her vtter enemy. Insomuch, that shee could expect nothing from the Low-Countries, but certaine dangers while He gouerned there. But now when shee doth perceiue what great number of forces Don* Iohn *inrolled, and how many Troupes of French there were in a readinesse, shee profest, that, to keepe the Low-Countries to the King of Spaine, and to repell danger from England, shee had promised ayde to the States. Who reciprocally had promised to persist in their obedience to the King, and to innouate nothing in Religion. From which, if shee shall perceiue the King auerse, but to haue determined breaking the barres of their rights and priuiledges, to draw them into seruitude like miserable Prouinces captiuated by conqueſt; shee cannot, both for the defence of her Neighbours, and her owne securitie, be failing or negligent: But also, if the States doe breake their faith with the King, or enterprise any thing contrary to what they haue promised, she would speedily turne her Ensignes against them.*

The Spaniard did not willingly heare these things.

The *Spaniard* was not pleased to heare these things, neuertheleſſe knowing that it lay much in Queene ELIZABETHS power, to establish or ruine his affaires in the

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the Low-Countries, and knowing for certaine that *Don Iohn* laide Ambuscadoes for her, dissembled it, and prayed her to prosecute the designe which shee had for establishing peace, and not rashly to belieue the false reports that runne, or that be practised vnworthily against a Prince that is his friend.

Don Iohn complaines to Queene Elizabeth of the States.

Whiles *Wilkes* exposeth these things in *Spaine*, *Don Iohn*, who feared Queene ELIZABETH, and withall wished her ruine, sends *Gastell* to her, who blamed the States exceedingly, accuseth them of many foule crimes, and layde open at large the causes that moued *Don Iohn* to take armes againe. Queene ELIZABETH, like an Heroicke Princesse, stood Arbitratresse between the *Spaniard*, the *French*, and the *States*, insomuch as shee had power to apply this saying of her Father, [*He shal carry it away, for whom I am;*] and that which he writ is found true, that *France* and *Spaine* are the scoales of the Ballance, and *England* the beame.

England the ballance of Europe.

A pestilent sickneſſe caused by the stinke of a prison.

At the very same time, the Iudges holding the Assises at *Oxford*, and *R. Ienke*, Stationer, an impudent talker, was accused and brought to triall for speaking iniurious words against the Queene, the most part of the assistants were so infected with his poysonous and pestilent breath, and by reason of the stinke, whether of the prisoners or the prison, that they almost all dyed within forty dayes, besides women and children; and this contagion extended no further. Amongst others, *R. Bel*, chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, a graue man, and learned in the Law, *R. Doyley*, Sir *G. Babington*, Vicount *Doyley* of *Oxfordshire*, *Harcourt*, *Waineman*, and *Fetiplace*, persons of great estimation in that Countrey, and *Barham*, a famous Lawyer, being almost of one Iury, and about three hundreth more died there.

Hitherto the Papists in *England* enioyed a cheerefull tranquillitie, who, by a kinde of merciful conniuency, exercised their Religion in priuate houses in some sort vnpunished, although it was prohibited by the Law, vpon paine

of

of a pecuniary mulct to be inflicted; neither did the Queen thinke it fit to force the conscience. But after that thundring Bull of Excommunication against the Queene, which came from *Rome*, was cast abroad; that serenitie by little and little turned into clouds and tempests, and brought vp that Law which was made in the yeere 1571. against them which brought into the Kingdome such [*Bulls*, *Agnos Dei*, and *Grana Benedicta*] being tokens of Papall obedience, or, as we haue said, did reconcile any to the Church of *Rome*. Neuertheleſſe, this Law was not put in execution against any one in sixe yeeres after, although it was knowne to haue beene violated by many. The first against whom this Law was put in practice, was *Cuthbert Maine*, Priest, a stubborne defender of the Popes authority against the Queene, hee was executed at Saint *Stephens*, commonly called *Launston* in *Cornewall*, and *Trugion* a Gentleman, that intertained him into his house, had all his lands and goods confiscated, and he condemned to perpetuall imprisonment: Of these, and such like things, concerning the Church, I will but giue a touch, in regard of others that vndertake to write the Ecclesiasticall History of those times, who, I hope (although it be scarcely to be hoped for, by reason of exasperated mindes in this deuision of Religion) will faithfully performe it.

Maine, a Priest, executed.

This yeere, the title of Baron of *Latimer*, after it had flourished in honour and riches from the time of *Henry* the Sixth, is now extinct in *Iohn Neuill*, who hauing no Issue male, left an ample inheritance to foure Daughters, the eldest of which, *Henrie* Earle of *Northumberland* married; the second, *Thomas Cecill*, who was afterwards Earle of *Excester*; the third, Sir *William Cornwallis*; and the fourth, Sir *Iohn Dauers*, of which came a plentifull ofspring.

The death of the Lord Latimer.

Sir *Th. Smith*, one of the Secretaries of State, likewise died of a consumption, this being his clymacterical yeere; a man memorable for much learning, and wisdome, appro-

Secretary Smith dyes.

Booke 2.

1577. *Saffron Walden.*

ued in many Ambaſſies. He was deſcended of noble Parents at *Saffron Walden* in *Eſſex*, brought vp at Queen *Margarets* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and beeing come to riper yeeres, was choſen to bee ſent into *Italy* vpon the Kings charge: (vntill our time many of the moſt hopefull youths were choſen out of both the Vniuerſities, and trayned vp in ſtrange Countries, for the better adorning and inabling of their mindes.) From thence, he returned Doctor of the Ciuill Law, he was in fauour with the Duke of *Sommerſet*, Protector of EDVVARD the Sixth, and made the other Secretary with *Cecill*, and Lord Warden of the Stanneries, Deane of *Carlile*, and Prouoſt of *Eaton*. Queene MARIE comming to the Crowne, tooke all theſe dignities from him, aſſigned him a hundred pound a yeere to liue on, with condition not to goe out of the Kingdome. As ſoone as Queene ELIZABETH inioyed the Scepter, he was called againe to the ſeruice of the Common-wealth, to be an aſſiſtant with the Diuines in correcting the *Engliſh* Liturgy; and afterwards, as I haue ſaid before, hauing with great applauſe performed his Ambaſſies, hee dyed. In the yeere 1571, being made ſecond Secretary to the Queene, hauing but one onely Sonne, ſent him to leade a Colony into the barbarous *Pen-inſule Ardes* in *Ireland*, where hee was vnfortunately ſlaine. Hee tooke ſpeciall care, and was the firſt that procured an order for the dyets of Students in Colledges; and by that meanes aduanced learning more than he did by his writings, although hee left a worke imperfect, *de Reipublica Anglorum*, a ſingular booke *de Linguæ Anglicæ Orthographia*; another, *de Græcæ pronunciatione*; and an exact Commentary, *de re nummaria*, moſt worthy to come to light. In his ſtead, to the place of Secretary, came *Thomas Wilſon*, Doctor of the Ciuill Law, Maſter of Saint *Katherines* neere *London*, who dyed within foure yeeres after.

Rebellion in Ireland.

In *Ireland*, the *O-Mores*, *O-Conores*, and others, whoſe anceſtors

ancestors the Earle of *Sussex*, Lord Deputie (in the reigne of Queene MARY, had, for wrongs and offences done by them) depriued of their inheritance, *Leisa*, and *Ophalia*, neither had hee assigned them any other place to liue in, broke out into Rebellion, vnder the conduct of *Rorio Oge*, that is to say, *Rodorick the Younger*, burnt a little Towne called *Naasse*; they assaulted *Lachliny*, and were repulsed by Sir *George Carew* Gouernour, but they tooke *Henry Harrington*, and *Alexander Cosbie*, in a deceitfull parley which they sought of purpose to surprize them, who when Captaine *Harpole* went about to recouer, set vpon a little Cottage by night where *Rorio* was, and they two tyed to a post; *Rorio* being awaked with the noyse, gaue *Harrington* and *Cosbie* many wounds in the darke, and with a desperate boldnesse, rusheth into the middest of the Souldiers which compassed him round, and by the benefit of the night escaped. Afterwards, hauing layde an Ambuscado for the Baron of *Osser*, was taken, and being slaine, his neighbours were deliuered from much feare.

1577.

Rorio Oge.

Rorio slaine.

Booke 2.

1578.

THE ONE AND TVVENTIETH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1578.

Queene Elizabeth is carefull of the Low-Countries.

ALthough *Spaine* approued not of the propositions that *Wilkes* had made, and, as I lately saide, had dissembled, Queene ELIZABETH notwithstanding seriously pittying the *Flemmings*, whose Prouinces were so commodiously, and with a mutuall necessity situated to *England*, had for many ages adhered like Husband and Wife; and therefore impatient to see the *French*, vnder colour of taking them into protection, should become Masters of them, sends *Wilkes*, at his returne from *Spaine*, to *Don Iohn*, to aduertize him, that the States had called the Duke of *Anion*, (now so, but before Duke of *Alanzon*,

Alanzon) with an Armie of *French*, and that it would be more safe for him to make a Truce, leſt he ſhould expoſe the Prouinces to the preſent danger. But he being of a fierie and warlike Spirit, and puffed vp with the Battell againſt the States at *Gemblacke*, anſwered in a word, that he neither thought of any Truce, nor feared the *French*. She neuertheleſſe, for her own behoofe and the *Flemmings*, ſends Sir *Edward Stafford* into *France*, to watch if they ſhould attempt any thing vpon the Frontiers of the Low-Countries, and how many Souldiers they had leuied.

English gone into the Low-Countries.

Out of *England* are paſt ouer, *1. North*, eldeſt Sonne of Baron *North*; *Iohn Norris*, ſecond Sonne of Baron *Norris*; *Henry Cauendiſh*, and *Thomas Morgan*, with many voluntaries, there to plant their firſt rudiments of Warre. *Caſimire* alſo, Sonne to the Prince Elector Palatine, drew a great Armie of Horſe and Foot out of *Germanie*, which coſt the Queene verie much. *Don Iohn*, burning to aſſault the Armie of the States at *Rimenant*, before all the auxiliarie Forces of the *French* and *Germanes* ſhould ioyne with it, flyes vpon them ſooner then they were aware of, and forthwith made the Cauallerie which were ſet to guard, retreate, runnes in vpon the Enemie as if he had been ſure of the victorie: but they reſuming their ſpirits, beat backe the *Auſtrians*, who being turned towards the Hedges and Buſhes where the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* voluntaries were placed, ſtroue to breake through them, but by no meanes could: they were valiantly entertained by the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, who for the feruent heat had caſt off their Cloathes, and with their Shirts tyed betweene their Thighes, ſo fought. *Norris* the Leader of the *Engliſh*, eagerly fighting, had three Horſes killed vnder him, and brought away the glorie of a valorous Warriour; and ſo did *Stuart* a *Scottiſhman*, *Burham* Lieutenant to *Cauendiſh*, and *William Marckham*.

That theſe Prouinces of the Low-Countreys, afflicted and faint with theſe inteſtine Warres, might be comforted,

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there came into *Flanders* from the Emperour, Count *Swartzenberg*; from *France*, *Pomponio Belieure*; from Queene ELIZABETH, the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham*, to sollicite a Peace: but the businesse was so poysoned, that they returne without doing any thing; *Don Iohn* refusing to admit of reforming Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* to returne into *Holland*.

The Embassie for the Low-Countries Peace is irritated.

About that time, *Egremond Radcliffe*, Sonne to *Henrie* Earle of *Sussex* by his second Wife, a man of a turbulent Spirit, and one of the chiefe in the Rebellion of the North, went to serue vnder *Don Iohn*, and is accused by some of the *English* Fugitiues to be sent to kill him, is apprehended in the Campe at *Namurcke*, with *Gray* an *Englishman*, as a partner in the plot, and are both executed. The *Spaniards* giue it out, that *Radcliffe* (which were the last words he spake before his death) of his owne accord, confessed that he was set at libertie out of the Tower of *London*, and excited with great promises by Sir *Francis Walsingham* to performe this. Some *English* that were present, denied that he confessed any such thing, although the Fugitiues wrought by all the meanes they could, to draw the like confession from them; but difference in Religion doth too much darken the light of the mind, both of honestie and truth on both sides: and who knowes not, that the Fugitiues for verie hatred inuent many things to depraue and slander?

Egremond Radcliffe and his associate are put to death.

Within a little time after, *Don Iohn*, in the flowre of his age, whether of the Plague, or as others will haue it, with griefe, being neglected of his Brother, left his fond Ambition and life together, after he had gaped, first, after the kingdome of *Tunis*, which caused the losse of *Guleta* in *Affrica*: And secondly, after *England*; And vnknowne to *France* or *Spaine*, contracted alliance with the *Guizes*, for the defence of both the Crownes.

Don Iohn dyes.

In the meane while, the Duke of *Anion*, howsoeuer, bent to the Warres of the Low-Countries, prosecutes the mari-

Anion prosecutes the mariage with the Queene.

age

age which he had begun being Duke of *Alanzon*, that he might shew that he was able to giue his minde to the warres and to his Loue together. First of all, *Bucheraile* for this purpose is sent to Queene ELIZABETH: He finds her at the House of one *Cordall* in *Suffolke*, taking her Countrey pleasures. By and by after, comes *Rambouillet* from the *French* King, and a moneth after, *Semier* from the Duke of *Aniou*, a refined Courtier, who was exquisite in the delights of Loue, and skilfull in the wayes of Courtship, accompanied with many *French* Gentlemen, whom Queene ELIZABETH receiued forthwith verie louingly at *Richmond*. Then began *Leicester* to grow discontented, seeing himselfe falne from the hope which he had so long conceiued to marrie her, and that a little before she had beene angry with *Astley*, a Lady of the Queenes Bed-Chamber, for commending him to her, and perswading her to marrie him.

Leicester murmures.

WHat (saith she) thinkest thou me so vnlike my selfe, and vnmindfull of the Maiestie of a Queene, that I will prefer a meane Seruant, whom I haue raised my selfe, before the greatest Princes of the Christian world?

Neere the same time, *Margaret Douglas*, Countesse of *Lenox*, Daughter of the eldest Sister of King HENRY the eighth, Widdow of *Mathew* Earle of *Lenox*, and Grandmother to IAMES, King of *Great Britaine*, after she had outliued all her Children, which were eight in number, dyed in the Clymacteriall yeere of her age, and was buried at *Westminster*, being brought thither with a sumptuous Funerall, at Queene ELIZABETH's charge. A woman of singular pietie, patience, and chastitie, who had beene three times cast into prison, as I haue heard, not for any suspition of crime against the Queene, but for matters of Loue. First, when *Thomas Howard*, Sonne of *Thomas Howard*, first Duke of

The death of the Countesse of Lenox.

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of *Norfolke* of that Name, was falne in loue with her, and dyed in the Towre of *London*. Secondly, for the loue of *Henry Darley*, her Sonne, and the Queene of *Scots*. Laſtly, for the loue betweene *Charles*, her younger Sonne, and *Elizab. Cauendiſh*, the Lady *Arbella*'s Mother, to whom the Queene of *Scots* was accuſed to haue been maried, as I haue ſaid before.

The buſineſs of Scotland.

That we may lightly touch the affaires of *Scotland*; At the begining of this yeere, *Thomas Randolph* was ſent from Queene ELIZABETH into *Scotland*, that he by diligent ſearch might feele in what eſtate the affaires ſtood there, & to congratulate with the King, for his forward proceeding in good Letters (who from his Child-hood, hauing an exquiſite and happie memorie, had profited much beyond his age) and to wiſh him to loue the *Engliſh*, in regard of the many benefits ſhe had done to him, and motherly affection that ſhe bare him, and that he ſhould deale with the Earle of *Argathel*, that the *Hebridians* might not aſſiſt the Rebels of *Ireland*, and to perſwade the Regent, Earle *Morton*, to abandon in time the enmitie betweene him and the Earles of *Argathel*, *Athole*, and others, leſt he incurre the hatred of his Peeres, and alienate altogether the Queenes minde from him.

Morton the Regent admoniſhed.

He now was vnder-hand accuſed to haue ſtained the honour he had for wiſedome and valour, with filthy couetouſneſſe, and would ſhortly make himſelfe ſo hated of the common people, that the State with a general conſent will tranſlate the adminiſtration of the affaires to the King, though for his age (hauing ſcarce attained to twelue yeeres) he be not capable of it; and that twelue of the principall of the Nobilitie, be nominated; three of them for three moneths together by courſe, to aſſiſt the King in Councell; amongſt whom, *Morton* to be one, that he may ſeeme rather to be brought from one place to another, then to be put out.

The

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The King hauing taken the gouernment of his Kingdome, doth most thankfully, by *Dunfermlin*, acknowledge Queene ELIZABETH's fauours towards him, as proceeding not so much from the neerenesse of Blood, as from the common profession of the true Religion: Prayes her that the Treatie of *Edenborough* contracted betweene the two Kingdomes, begun in the yeere 1559, may be ratified, the more happily to restraine the robbers vpon the Borders, and preuent the enterprizes of the Aduersaries of true Religion; that Iustice might be equally ministred to the Inhabitants of both the Kingdomes; the goods taken by Pirats fully restored; and his Ancestors patrimonie in *England* (*viz.* the possessions granted to *Mathew* his Grandfather, and *Margaret* his Grandmother) he being the next Heire, may be deliuered into his hands; likewise, Moneys being cleane exhausted out of *Scotland*, he wanted to entertaine his Family and a Guard about him as the dignitie of a King required.

The King sends an Embassador into England.

The Summe of the Embassage.

The first Demands the Queene readily promiseth; but to that, concerning the Patrimonie, she caried her selfe more difficultly; neither would she heare those, which would assure the Lady *Arbella* borne in *England*, to be next to King *Charles* her Vnkle to the Inheritance in *England*; nor Embassador which would make it appeare by Historie, that the Kings of *Scotland*, borne in *Scotland*, had in time past, by hereditarie right, succeeded in the Countie of *Huntington*, and he instantly besought her, that she would not denie a Prince her neerest Kinsman, that right of inhabitance, which she vouchsafed to vnknowne Strangers. But she commanded, that the Reuenues should be sequestred in the hands of the Lord *Burghley*, Gardian of the Pupils, and warneth the King to satisfie Creditors out of the Earle of *Lenox* his goods in *Scotland*. She tooke it impatiently, that it should be suggested, that the King would reuoke the infeoffement of the Earledome of *Lenox*, to the preiudice of

The answere of the Queene.

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the Lady *Arbella*; although by the Regall right of *Scotland*, it alwaies hath beene lawfull to reuoke Donations hurtfull to the Kingdome, and done in minoritie.

The Counsell of *England* doe not hold it conuenient and fit, that the Treatie of *Edenborough* should be confirmed, thinking it yet to stand firme. They require that the Embassadour would propound something that might somwhat recompence the fauors and friendship that the Queen had manifested to the King (who spared not the Blood of the *English* in his defence) and consolidate a friendship. Whereupon he propounds according to his instructions, That a League may be made, not [*Offensiue*] but [*Defensiue, and with mutuall succours*] against the Pope, and his confederates, with certaine Lawes against those which should attempt any thing against either Kingdome and Rebels, vnder pretence of Religion. But besides these, the *English* thinke it Iust, that seeing the Queene had not omitted, nor would omit any thing for the defence of the King, and that for this cause she had incurred the Indignation of many. That the States of the Kingdome of *Scotland* should giue caution, that so long as the King is vnder age, he should not contract, nor renew couenants with any, neither to marrie, nor be sent out of *Scotland* without the Queenes aduice. But these things being of such moment, require to be exactly and circumspectly considered, and are put backe to *Scotland* till another time.

Morton takes vpon him the administration againe.

In the meane time *Morton*, (who indeed was of a most eager and sharpe disposition) trusting in his long experience and multitude of his vassals, thinking nothing wel done but what he did himselfe, not being able to endure to be lesse than he had been, contemning his *Colleagues*, and reiecting the manner of administration prescribed, tooke againe the managing of affaires, and detained the King in his power in the Castle of *Sterlin*, admitting and denying entrance to whom he pleased. The Peeres prouoked therewith,

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with, tooke the Earle of *Athole* to be their Generall, and in the Kings name, ſummoned all that were aboue fourteene yeeres of age, and vnder ſixtie, to meete together with Armes and Victuals to deliuer the King: and true, many came, and hauing diſplaid their Colours, marched towards *Faukirk*, where *Morton* preſented himſelfe with his men. But Sir *Robert Bowes*, the *Engliſh* Embaſſadour, interceding, hindered them from comming to blowes. *Morton* being vext to ſee how matters went, preſently retires to his Houſe. The Earle dyed as quickly, and left a ſuſpition that he was poyſoned. Which thing, thoſe that were moued againſt *Morton*, tooke that aboue all to increaſe their hatred, vntill they brought him to his ruine, as we ſhall ſay hereafter.

The Peeres riſe vp againſt him.

This yeere nothing of note was done in *Ireland*. But the *Spaniard*, and Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth, prouiding for their owne profit, vnder ſhadow of reſtoring Religion, held ſecret counſell how at one time to inuade both *Ireland* and *England*, and diſpoſſeſſe Queene ELIZABETH, who was the ſureſt defence of the Proteſtants Religion. The Pope, he was to conquer *Ireland* for his Sonne *Iames Bon-Compagnon*, whom he had created Marquis of *Vignoles*. The *Spaniard*, ſecretly to ſuccour the *Iriſh* Rebels, as Queen ELIZABETH had done the *Hollanders*, while he entertained Parlies of friendſhip with her, to enioy if he could, the Kingdome of *England* by the Popes authoritie, and then the States her confederates, he could eaſily reduce to a courſe, which he deſpaired to doe, vnleſſe he were Lord of the Sea, and this hee ſaw, could not be done, vnleſſe hee were firſt Lord of *England*. And it is not to be doubted, but that as he holds *Naples*, *Sicilie*, and *Nauarre*, of the Popes liberalitie, ſo moſt willingly would he hold *England*, as a Beneficiarie ought to doe. Thoſe which know the principall ſtrength of *England* conſiſts in the Nauie Royall, and in Merchants Shippes which are built for Warre,

The inuading of England conſulted vpon.

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thought it were good to fraught the Merchants Shippes for ſome long voyage by *Italians* and *Flemmiſh* Merchants, and whileſt they are vpon their voyage, this Royall Fleet might be ouer-whelmed by a greater. At the ſame time, *Thomas Stukeley*, an *Engliſh* Fugitiue, of whom I haue ſpoken in the yeere 1570, ioyned to his Forces, the Rebels of *Ireland*, by this notable ſubtiltie, and his great oſtentation and ſhew, and the promiſes which he made of the Kingdome of *Ireland* to the Popes baſe Sonne, he had ſo wonne the fauour of this ambitious old man, that he honoured him with the Titles of Marquis of *Lemſter*, Earle of *Wexford* and *Caterlaughie*, Viſcount *Mourough*, and Baron of *Roſſe*, all of them remarkeable Places in *Ireland*, and made him Generall of eight thouſand *Italians*, payd by the King of *Spaine*, for the Warres of *Ireland*. With which Forces, hauing weighed Anker from the [*Ciuita Vecchia*] in the end he arriued in *Portugal*, at the entry of *Tage*, where a greater power by the Diuine Prouidence, puft downe theſe that threatned *England* and *Ireland*.

Th. Stukeley takes Armes againſt his Countrie.

Ciuita-Vecchia.

For *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, to whom the whole expedition was committed, becauſe, in the heate of his youth, and ambition, he had promiſed the Pope to goe againſt the Turkes and Proteſtants, and employ all his power, being drawne into *Africa* by *Mahomet*, Sonne of *Abdalla*, King of *Feſſe*, by great promiſes, treates with *Stukeley* to goe before with theſe *Italians* to *Mauritania*. And *Stukeley* being eaſily wonne to that (knowing that the *Spaniard* diſdaining that the Sonne of a Pope ſhould be deſigned King of *Ireland*) had conſented to it, hoiſted ſaile with *Sabaſtian*, and by an honeſt Cataſtrophe there he ended a diſſolute life, in a memorable combate. Wherein dyed three Kings, *Sebaſtian*, *Mahomet*, and *Abdalemelech*.

He is ſlaine in the African Warre.

If this fate of *Sebaſtians* had not altered the King of *Spaines* mind from inuading *England*, in hope of the Kingdome of *Portugal*, *England* had felt a terrible ſtorme of warre,

warre, if credit may be giuen to *Engliſh* Fugitiues. For, they report, that the great forces which hee had begun to rayſe in *Italy*, to ſhowre vpon *England*, were ſtayed for the taking of *Portugal*. And being that his minde was wholly bent vpon that, hee could not be made to thinke of *England*, although the *Engliſh* Fugitiues earneſtly ſollicited him, and for that buſineſſe the Pope promiſed him a *Croyſado*, as for a ſacred warre. Moreouer, when certaine news came that *Stukeley* and thoſe *Italians* were loſt in *Mauritania*, and that *Spaine* thought on nothing elſe but *Portugal*, they called backe the *Engliſh* Fleet which attended for *Stukeley* vpon the *Iriſh* coaſt; and *Henrie Sidney* deliuered vp the Countrey to *William Drury*, Preſident of *Mounſter*. When he had beene xi. yeeres at ſeuerall times Lord Deputie, and being ready to imbarke, he gaue this farewell to *Ireland*, with a Verſe out of one of the *Pſalmes* of *Dauid*,

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William Drury, Lord Deputie of Ireland.

Sidney's adieu to Ireland.

When Iſrael came out of Egypt, and the Houſe of Iacob from a barbarous people.

This Lord *Sidney*, verily, was a ſingular good man, and one moſt laudable among the beſt that had beene Deputies of *Ireland*: and although Deputies are often complained of, yet *Ireland* cannot but acknowledge to be much indebted to him for his wiſdome and valour.

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THE TVVO AND TVVENTIETH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

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Casimire comes into England.

IOhn *Casimere*, Sonne to *Frederick* the Third, Prince Elector Palatine, who the yeere before had brought a powerfull armie out of *Germanie* into the Low-Countries, with great charge to the States, and to Queene ELIZABETH, and at the latter end of the yeere without performing any thing, being drawne to *Gaunt*, by the tumult of the people who were in diuision, came into *England* in the moneth of Ianuary, in a sharpe Winter full of Snowes, to excuse himselfe, and lay the blame vpon the *French* King, and after hee had beene sumptuously receiued, and brought with a number of torches to the City of *Londons* Senate-house by the prime Nobility of the Court, he was intertayned with Barriers, Combats, Bankets, honoured with the order of Saint

George,

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George, and the Garter, which the Queene tyed about his legge with her owne hands, indued him with an annuall Penſion, & being loaden with many honorable gifts, about the middeſt of February hee paſſed into the Low-Countries in one of the Queenes Ships, where hee found this mercenary Army diſperſed. For the *Germanes* ſeeing *Alexander Ferneſa*, Prince of *Parma*, eſtabliſhed Gouernour of *Flanders* by the *Spaniard*, readie to thunder vpon them, and they wanting their pay, and being brought ſomewhat low, required money from him, that they might depart out of the Low-Countries. But he with an imperious faſhion, neuertheleſſe, which carried a grace and grauity, replyed, that he had ſpoke for them that they might depart, their liues ſaued: they were contented, ſo they might haue a ſure paſſe: they make haſte home, but not without the loſſe of reputation, but with greater detriment to the States. Queene ELIZABETH fayles them not for all that, but furniſheth them with great ſummes, vpon the old gage of the rich ornaments and veſſels of the houſe of *Burgundie*, which by *Matthew*, Duke of *Auſtria*, and them were deliuered to *Dauiſon*, who (being ſent to appeaſe the commotions in *Gaunt*, which had falne vpon the Church and Church-men) brought them into *England*.

The Queene lends the States mony.

During which time, *Semier* ceaſeth not louingly to call vpon the marriage for the Duke of *Aniou*: and although ſhee excellently put him off for a long time, yet he brought her to this poynt, that *Leiceſter* being intirely againſt this Match, and others, had rayſed a report, that hee had charmed her, and made her in loue with the Duke with drinkes, and vnlawfull arts: hee, to the contrary, ſues that *Leiceſter* may be degraded, and put out of the Queens fauour, telling that hee was married to the Earle of *Eſſex* his Widdow; whereat ſhe was ſo moued, that ſhe commanded him from the Court to *Greene-wich* Tower, and did purpoſe to haue put him into the Tower of *London*, which all his Enemies much

Semier ſolicites the marriage for the Duke of Aniou.

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much deſired. But *Suſſex*, who was his chiefe Emulator, and wholly bent to aduance this marriage, diſſwades her from it, being of a right noble minde, and in-bred generoſitie, was of opinion that it hath alwayes beene accounted honeſt and honourable, and that none ought to be troubled for lawfull marriage, notwithſtanding he was glad, that it had made *Leiceſter* out of all hope to marry the Queene. Neuertheleſſe, *Leiceſter* was herewith ſo prouoked, that he thought of nothing but of meanes how to be reuenged: and they were not wanting that would doe what he would haue them doe. *Tewdor*, one of the Queenes guard, is ſuborned to kill *Semier*; which cauſed the Queene by a publique proclamation to forbid all perſons to offend by word or deed, him, his companions or ſeruants. And there happened at the ſame time, ſhee going for her recreation in her Barge vpon the Riuer of *Thames* neere to *Greenewich*, and with her *Semier*, the Earle of *Lincolne*, and Sir *Chr. Hatton*, Vice Chamberlaine, that a young fellow from a-board a Ship-boat with a piſtolet ſhot a water-man thorow the arme, that rowed in the Queenes Barge, who anon after, was taken and brought to the Gallowes, to terrifie him: but when he had religiouſly affirmed not to haue done it maliciouſly, hee was let goe. Neither would the Queene beleeue, that he had beene ſuborned of purpoſe either againſt her or *Semier*. So farre ſhee was from giuing place to ſuſpition againſt her Subiects, that it was an vſuall ſaying with her;

Thinkes on nothing but reuenge.

One was ſhot with a Piſtolet, being in the Boat with the Queene.

That ſhee could beleeue nothing of her Subiects, that Parents would not beleeue of their Children.

The Duke of Aniou came into England.

Within a few dayes after, the Duke of *Aniou* himſelfe came priuily into *England*, accompanied with two men onely, and went to the Queene to *Greenewich*, who likewiſe knew nothing of it, where they had priuate conferences

ces together, which is not lawfull to search after, (the secrets of Princes being an inextricable Labyrinth) and afterwards went away vnknowne, except to very few. But a month or two after, shee commanded *Burghley* the Treasurer, *Sussex*, *Leicester*, *Hatton*, and *Walsingham*, that after they had seriously weighed the dangers and commodities that might arise vpon this marriage, they should conferre with *Semier* vpon the Couenants of the marriage. There appeared some danger, lest the Duke of *Aniou* should attempt any thing against the receiued Religion, or take possession of the Kingdome, as the Popes gift, or render it vp into the hands of the Queene of Scots; and, Queene ELIZABETH being dead, should marry her; or, his Brother dying, should returne into *France*, and place a Vice-Roy in *England*, which the *English* would neuer indure. Furthermore, lest hee should inuolue the *English* in forreine warres, lest the *Scots* assuring themselues of their ancient alliance with *France*, should take better courage against the *English*, lest *Spaine* being of so great power, should oppose it. Lastly, lest the people, oppressed with taxations to maintaine his magnificence, should stirre vp sedition. The commodities may be seene; a firme confederation with the *French* might be established, the rebellions of Papists, if any should be, the more easily suppreit, all the Queene of *Scots* hope, and of all that seeke her in marriage, and fauouring her, are excluded. *Spaine* would be compelled to compound the businesse of the Low-Countries, and confirme the League of *Burgundie*, and *England* at length should enioy a solid and comfortable securitie by the Queenes children so often times wished for. But if these marriages be neglected, it was to be feared that the *French* would be prouoked, the *Scots* alienated, the Duke of *Aniou* marry the Daughter of *Spaine*, with whom hee should haue in Dowry the Low-Country Prouinces, draw the King of *Scotland* to be of their party, procure him a Wife to bring

The dangers of the marriage.

The commodities of it.

The incommodities, if it be neglected.

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him riches, aboliſh the reformed Religion; and the *Engliſh*, when they ſhould ſee no hope of Children by the Queene, would adore the Riſing-Sunne. Whereat ſhee could not chuſe but be much tormented in minde, and pine away to death.

Aimé Stuart, Lord of Aubigni, came into Scotland.

As in theſe dayes very many *Engliſh* feared a change of Religion by the Duke of *Aniou*, ſo were the *Scots* afraid it would be with them by another French-man, *Aimé*, or *Eſme Stuart*, Lord of *Aubigny*, who at the ſame time was come into *Scotland* to ſee the King his Couſin: for he was Sonne to *Iohn Stuart*, Brother to *Matthew Stuart*, Earle of *Lenox*, who was the Kings Grand-father, and tooke his denomination *Aubigni*, from a Houſe ſituate in *Berri*, that is ſo called, which *Charles* the Seuenth, King of *France*, gaue in time paſt to *Iohn Stuart*, of the Family of *Lenox*, who was Conſtable of the *Scottiſh* Army in *France*, defeated the *Engliſh* at *Baugency*, afterwards ſlaine by them at the battel of *Harrans*; and euer ſince, that houſe hath deſcended vpon the younger Sonnes. The King, embracing him with a ſingular good affection, gaue him rich demains, and admitted him into his moſt intimate conſultations, eſtabliſhed him Lord high Chamberlaine of *Scotland*, and Gouernour of *Dunbriton*, firſt created him Earle, and afterwards Duke of *Lenox*, after hauing directly reuoked the Letters of honour, by which in his non-age he had created *Robert*, Biſhop of *Cathaneſſe*, Earle of the ſame place, his Grand-fathers third Brother, and had giuen him in recompence, the County of *March*. This flouriſhing fauour with the King, procured many to enuy him, who murmured becauſe hee was deuoted to the *Guizes*, and the *Romane* Religion, and that hee was ſent to ſubuert the true Religion. This ſuſpicion increaſed, in regard hee ioyned himſelfe to *Mortons* aduerſaries, and did intercede for the reuoking of *Thomas Carr* of *Fernihurſt*, who was moſt, if any were, addicted to the Queene of *Scots*; *Morton*, whoſe power was apparently

From whēce hee tooke the name of Aubigni.

He is raiſed to honours.

He is ſuſpected of the Proteſtants.

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apparently falling, ſtroue in vaine (although it might ſeeme that he had excellently well deſerued in defeating the *Hamiltons*, and taking the Caſtle of *Hamilton*, and *Daffrane*.) There were at that time, who ſtirred vp much hatred in the King againſt the *Hamiltons*, obiecting, and vrging their names as a thing of great terrour, ſo as out of a neceſſitie they were for their owne ſafetie compelled to defend the Caſtle again the King, but they were conſtrained to yeeld it vp, and by authoritie of Parliament proſcribed for the murdering as well of *Murrey*, as *Lenox*, Regents, as a thing by them performed. Many of thoſe fled together into *England*, for whom Queene ELIZABETH diligently interpoſeth by *Erington*, as well for honour, as in reaſon of Iuſtice, that ſhee had obliged her faith in the yeere 1573. for the ſettling of peace, that they ſhould not be called in queſtion for thoſe matters without her conſent.

Hamiltons deiected.

Proſcribed.

Succoured by Elizabeth.

Shee alſo at the ſame time was vndertaking in another part of the World, *Amurathes Cham*, or the *Sultaine* of the *Turkes*, granted to *William Harburne*, an Engliſh-man, and to *Muſtapha Beg*, Baſſa to the TVRKE, that the *Engliſh* Merchants, euen as the *French*, *Venecians*, *Pollanders*, the King of the *Germanes*, and other neighbouring Nations, ſhould trade freely thorow all his Empire: whereupon they, by the Queenes authority, made a Company, which they call TVRKEY MERCHANTS, and ſince that time, they haue vſed a moſt gainefull Trade of Merchandize at *Conſtantinople*, *Angoria*, *Chio*, *Petrazzo*, *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and other places in *Aſia*, for Drugges, Spices, Cottons, Raw-Silke, Carpets, Indian-Dyes, Corinthian-Grapes, Sope, &c.

The Societie of the Turkey-Merchants.

As for that execrable impiety of *Hamont*, brought forth at that time in *Norwich*, againſt GOD and his Chriſt, and as I hope, is extinct with his aſhes, or rather confounded in obliuion, then remembred. Neither am I of opinion of thoſe which thinke, that the publique hath intereſt, that all

Hamonts impietie.

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sorts of vices, poysons, and impieties to be made manifest: seeing that hee differs little from teaching, which shewes such things.

N. Bacon dyes.

This yeere was the last of *Nicholas Bacon*, Keeper of the Great Seale of *England*, who by decree of Parliament enioyed vnder this name the honour and dignitie of Chancellor of *England*; a very fat man, of a quicke subtill spirit, singular wisdome, height of eloquence, stedfast memory, and the other pillar of the sacred Councell: whose place *Thomas Bromley* enioyed, with the title of Chancellor of *England*.

Thomas Bromley succeedes.

Gresham dyes.

Bacon is followed by *Thomas Gresham*, Citizen of *London*, a Merchant-Royall, and of the order of Knight-hood, (Sonne to Sir *Richard Gresham*, Knight,) who built, for the ornament of his Countrey, and vse of the Merchants of *London*, that beautifull and goodly Walking-place, which Queene ELIZABETH named,

The Royall-Exchange.

His Colledge of London.

And the spacious Houses which hee had in the Citie, hee dedicated to the profession of Learning, and constituted in the same, Lectures of sacred Diuinitie, of the Ciuill Law, Physick, Astronomie, Geometrie, and Rhetoricke, with honest pensions.

Rebellion of James Fitz-Morris in Ireland,

In *Mounster*, a Prouince in *Ireland*, new rebellion was kindled by *Iames Fitz-Morris*, who hauing before cast himselfe vpon his knees at the feete of *Perot*, President of *Mounster*, and with teares, sighes, and humble supplications, asked pardon, made a holy vow of fidelitie and obedience to the Queene. Hee (I say, who found no rest but in troubles) with-drew himselfe into *France*, promised the King, if hee would lend ayde, to ioyne the whole Kingdome of *Ireland* to the Scepter of *France*, and restore the Romish Religion. But wearied with delayes, and in the

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end derided, from *France* he goes to *Spaine*, and promiseth the like to the Catholike King, who sent him to the *Pope*, of whom (by the sollicitation of *Sanders*, an English Priest, and *Allan*, an Irish Priest, both Doctors of Diuinitie) with much adoe, hauing got a little money, and *Sanders* the authority of *Legat*, a consecrated Ensigne, and Letters commendatorie to the King of *Spaine*, returnes to *Spaine*; and from thence, with those Diuines, three Ships, and a few Souldiers, they came, and arriued about the Calends of *Iuly*, at the [*Village of Saint Marie*] (which the *Irish* call, [*Smerwick*]) in *Kerrie*, *a-pen-Insule* in *Ireland*: and, after that the Priests had consecrated the place, raised a Fort, and brought the Ships neere vnto it; those Ships, *Thomas Courtney*, an English Gentleman, made haste with a Ship of warre which lay in a Road neere vnto them, by and by to assault; and taking them, carries them away, and barres the *Spaniards* from all benefit of the Sea. *Iohn*, and *Iames*, brethren to the Earl of *Desmond*, with great speed drew together a few *Irish*, ioyne with their Confederate: *Fitz-Morris*, and the Earle himselfe, who fauoured the cause exceedingly, feinedly calls all his friends together, as though he meant to goe against them; the Earle of *Clanricard*, with a selected troupe of Souldiers going against the Enemies and Rebels, met him, but he deceitfully sends him away.

Stirred vp by the Pope, and the King of Spaine;

Fauoured by the Earle of Desmond.

The Deputie, hauing receiued certaine newes by *Henry Dauile*, a valiant *English* Gentleman, that the Enemy was landed, commanded the Earle of *Desmond*, and his Brethren, ioyntly and forthwith to assayle the Fort: but when they had talked and considered vpon it, and found it full of perill, refused. *Dauile* departing, is followed by *Iohn Desmond*, who ouertooke him in an Inne at *Tralli*, a little Burrough, and hauing corrupted the Oast, in the dead of the night, he, with other Murtherers, brake into the chamber, where *Dauile*, with *Arthur Carter*, (Lieutenant to the Marshall of *Mounster*, a very valiant old Souldier) slept

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Dauile murdered in his bed.

Sanders approues of the slaughter.

securely, but being awaked with the noyse, and beheld *Iohn Desmond* with his naked Sword in his Chamber, raising himselfe vp: *What is the matter* (sayes he) *my sonne?* (for so in familiarity hee was vsed to call him.) *Now I am no more thy sonne*, (saith he) *nor thou my Father, thou shalt dye.* And, at an instant, ranne him, and *Carter* that lay with him, many times thorow the Body; yea, after that *Dauiles* Foot-boy had throwne himselfe naked vpon his Master, to defend him as much as in him lay, and receiued many wounds. And shortly after, he killed all *Dauiles* seruants, as he found them dispersed here and there; and returning to the *Spaniard*, all rayed with Bloud, boasts of the slaughter, and said thus, [*Let this be a pledge of my faith to you, and to this cause.*] And *Sanders* this, [*That hee extolled it as a sweete sacrifice before God.*] *Fitz-Morris* reproued the manner of it, wishing it rather had beene done vpon the way, than in bed. The Earle, when hee heard of it, condemned it with all his heart, as detestable.

The *Spaniards* seeing themselues ioyned with a few *Irish*, and those vnarmed and miserable, contrary to what *Fitz-Morris* had promised, began to distrust, and to cry, they were lost, and to deplore their misfortune, not seeing any meanes to saue themselues either by Land or Sea. *Fitz-Morris* exhorts them to patience, and to wait: assures them, that great forces were comming to their succour: hee feinedly tooke a iourney to [*the holy Crosse of Triporarie*] to pay the vow which hee had made in *Spaine*; but in truth it was, to draw together all the seditious of *Connach* and *Vlster*.

As he trauelled, with a few horse, and twelue foot-men, through the grounds of *William* of *Bourg* his alliance, (who was with him at the League in the precedent Rebellion) his Horses fayling, tooke vp the work-horses that he found in his way: the Labourers crying out, assemble all the dwellers thereabout to recouer them, amongst which, were the sonnes

ſonnes of *William* of *Bourg*, young men, and couragious, who being mounted on horſe-backe, purſued him ſo ſwiftly, that they ouertooke him. *Fitz-Morris* ſeeing *Theobald* of *Bourg*, and his Brethren, who were with him in the former Rebellion, ſpeaking friendly, ſaid; [*Kinſmen, let not vs fall out for a Horſe or two, for when you ſhall know the cauſe why I am come backe into Ireland, I am aſſured that you will ioyne with mee.*] *Theobald* anſwers, [*Both I, and my Father, and likewiſe our friends, doe greatly grieue for the firſt Rebellion, and haue ſworne, and will performe our fidelitie to our moſt gracious Princeſſe, who pardoned vs, and gaue vs our liues; therefore, reſtore the Horſes, or I will make thee reſtore them*; and withall, threw a Dart at him, with a writhen Pike, and they fought a time. *Theobald*, and one of his brothers, were ſlaine, and ſome of their men. *Fitz-Morris* was runne thorow the Body with a Pike, and ſhot thorow the head with a Piſtoll; ſo hee dyed, and many of his men. They cut off his head, and hanged his quarters vpon poles ouer the Gates of *Kilmalocke*, where, (as wee haue ſaid before) in the preſence of *Perot*, hee bound himſelfe with great obteſtations to be loyall to his Prince. The Queen writes conſolatory Letters to *William* of *Bourg*, (full of loue and ſorrow) for the loſſe of his ſonnes, creates him Baron of *Caſtell-Conell*, and rewards him with an annuall penſion. Whereupon, the old man (confounded with ſo vnexpected ioy) dyed ſhortly after.

He fights with thoſe of Bourg.

Fitz-Morris is ſlaine.

William of Bourg, made Baron.

He dyes for ioy.

Drury, Lord Deputie, was now come almoſt to *Kilmalock*, and ſends for *Deſmond*, who came before him, promiſeth faith and obedience to the Queene, and bound himſelfe by oath, that he and his would warre againſt the Rebels. Whereupon, he is diſmiſſed, to collect his men, and returne to the Deputie. *Iohn Deſmond*, the Earles Brother, who was ſubſtituted in *Fitz-Morris* his place, by treachery intercepts and kills *Herbert* and *Priſie*, Engliſhmen, with the Companies which they led, and he was wounded in

Iohn Deſmond kils the Engliſh.

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in the face. This loſſe was ſupplied with ſixe hundred Souldiers out of *Deuonſhire*: *Perot* is ſent out of *England* with ſixe Ships of warre, to defend the mouth of the Harbour.

The Lord Deputy ſick.

At which time, the Deputie being vehemently ſicke, and growing daily worſe & worſe, muſt of neceſſity go to *Waterford* to recouer his health, and left his place to *Nicholas Malbey*, Preſident of *Connach*, and Gouernour of *Mounſter*, an old and a renowned Souldier.

N. Malbey Gouernour of Mounſter.

Returning, the Wife of *Deſmond* offers her onely Sonne and Heire in hoſtage for the Father. For, after he departed from *Kilmalock*, he appeared not, although *Malbey* often-times, by Letters, admoniſhed him of his duety and promiſe, and not willing to delay, remoues towards the Rebels in *Conil*, a wooddy and boggy Country: where *Iohn Deſmond* put his men in array, and diſplayes the Popes conſecrated Banner; he intertaines it, and ſignes giuen, they ioyne, where both ſides fought furiouſly; Fortune at length yeelding to the vertue of the Engliſh, *Iohn* was the firſt that fled, and left his men to the ſlaughter; amongſt whom, *Allan* the Diuine is found, who incouraged them to the battle, by promiſing the victory.

Defeats the Rebels.

The Earle of *Deſmond*, who was a ſpectator from ſome Hill neere to that place, the ſame night writ diſſemblingly Letters congratulatory to *Malbey*, and, vnder a colour of friendſhip, warnes him to remoue his Campe from thence. *Malbey* ſends backe the Meſſenger, with Letters, commanding the Earle to come to him, and ioyne his forces, whom when in vaine he had expected foure dayes, hee remoued to *Rekel*, a little Towne of the Earle of *Deſmonds*. Now the Earle, who had ſo long both in countenance and words egregiouſly maintained his diſſimulation, leaues to be the ſame man, and plainely puts on a Rebels minde, and the ſame night, it being darke, the Rebels inuaded *Malbey's* Campe, which they found ſo fortified, that they

The Earle of Deſmond manifeſts himſelfe a Rebell.

they returned backe, as from a thing infected. The Gouernour, thinking this to be a fit place to difioyne the Rebels forces, put a Garriſon there, and from thence marched to *Asketon*, a Caſtle of the Earles, ſtanding vpon a Hill, inuironed with the Riuer *Asketon*, which was garded by Souldiers. But, before he would lay ſiege to it, he writ againe to the Earle, repreſenting vnto him the Queenes mercy, the ancient dignitie of the Houſe of *Deſmond*, the glory of his Anceſtors, & the infamy that he ſhould leaue to his poſterity, exhorts him, not to be tainted with the name of Rebell, but returne to his duetie. He, to the contrary, armes his minde with obſtinacy, and his Caſtle, on all ſides, with *Spaniſh* and *Iriſh*. At what time, *Drury*, the Deputy, dyed at *Waterford*; a man of approued worth, who from his youth had beene trayned vp in the exerciſe of Warre in *France*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

The death of Drury, Lord Deputy.

Together with the death of the Deputie, dyed *Malbey's* authoritie in *Mounſter*, who, when he had put his men in Garriſon, went to *Connach*, the Prouince of his gouernement. The Rebels take heart by the death of the Deputie, and deliberate how they might vtterly draw themſelues from vnder the *Engliſh* command, and are of opinion to blocke vp the Garriſons on all ſides, and ſtarue them by famine. *Iames Deſmond* then beſiegeth *Adare*, where *W. Stanley*, and *G. Carew*, were in Garriſon. But the beſieged, apprehending famine as the extremitie of all euils, ſo wearied the beſiegers with often eruptions, that they raiſed the ſiege, and gaue them libertie to forrage the Countrey neere about them: which they did luſtily and valiantly; *Iames* himſelfe was wounded there.

The Rebels thereby incouraged.

In the *interim*, the Councell of *England* choſe for chiefe Iuſtice of *Ireland*, *William Pelham*, with the authoritie of Lord Deputie, vntill they had choſe one; and the Earle of *Ormond*, Preſident of *Mounſter*, who ſent the Earle of *Deſmonds* ſonne to *Dublin*, there to be kept for hoſtage.

William Pelham is Lord Chiefe Iuſtice of Ireland.

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Aduoniſheth the Earle of Deſmond of his duety.

Pelham goes towards *Mounſter*, ſends for *Deſmond*; but hee excuſeth himſelfe by Letters ſent by his Wife. For that cauſe, *Ormond* is ſent, who warnes him to ſend *Sanders* the Diuine, the Souldiers that were ſtrangers, and to deliuer vp into his hands, the Caſtles of *Carigo-foyle*, and *Asketen*, to ſubmit himſelfe abſolutely, and turne his forces againſt his Brethren, and the other Rebels, aſſuring him grace if hee did it; if not, to be declared a Traitor, and an enemy of the Countrey: but by ſubterfuges and flyings off, hee dallies and playes with theſe things.

Proclaimes him Traitor.

In the beginning of Nouember, hee was proclaymed Traytor, and guiltie *Læſæ Maieſtatis*, becauſe hee had dealt with forraine Princes for the ſubduing and ouerthrowing of the Countrie, and intertained *Sanders* and *Fitz-Morris*, Rebels; cheriſhed the *Spaniards* which were driuen from the Fort, cauſed faithfull Subiects to be hanged, diſplayed againſt the Queene the Enſigne of the Pope, and brought ſtrangers into the Kingdome. This declaration being publiſhed, the Lord chiefe Iuſtice gaue Commiſſion to *Ormond* to goe on with the warres. *Deſmond*, turning his deſignes into another part of the Countrey of *Mounſter*, and ſacketh *Yoghall*, ſurprizeth without reſiſtance, a Sea-Towne, and ſtrong enough.

The Earle of Ormond purſues the Rebels.

Ormond waſtes all farre and wide about *Conile*, the onely refuge of the Rebels, brings away their Flockes, and giues them in prey to the Souldiers, hanged the Maior of *Yoghall* before his owne doore, for refuſing to receiue the *Engliſh* Garriſon, fortified the Towne, and after, prepares himſelfe to beſiege the *Spaniards* in *Strangicall*. But they beforehand with-drew themſelues from that danger. Neuertheleſſe, the *Engliſh* purſued them, and left not one of them aliue, and moleſted the Rebels in all parts of *Mounſter*.

The Earle of Deſmond writes to the Lord Chiefe-Iuſtice.

Deſmond, and his Brethren, although they lay hid, writ long Letters to the Lord chiefe Iuſtice, that they had vndertaken the protection of the Catholique faith in *Ireland*, by

by the Popes authoritie, and the aduice of the King of *Spaine*; therefore they courteously warne him, that in so pious and meritorious a cause, he would ioyne with them, for the saluation of his owne soule.

(***)

THE THREE AND TVVENTIETH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1580.

THe Lord chiefe Iuſtice pleaſantly ieſting at theſe things, returnes to *Mounſter*, cals thither the Nobilitie, detaines them with him, not ſuffering any to depart, without giuing Hoſtages, and promiſe to imploy all their power and ayde with him and *Ormond*, againſt the Rebels. Who ſpeedily diuiding their forces, make diligent ſearch for the Rebels, conſtraine the Baron of *Lixnaw* to yeeld, beſiege the Caſtle of *Carigofoyle*, (kept by *Iules* an *Italian*, with ſome few *Spaniards*) and with their great Ordnance hauing made a breach in the Wall, which

was

was built but of dry ſtone, entered: killed part of the Garriſon, hanged the reſt, and *Iules* himſelfe. Then the Caſtles of *Ballilogh* and *Asketen* perceiuing the *Engliſh* to approach, ſets them on fire, and leaues them. *Peter Carew*, and *George* his brother, are made Gouernours of *Asketen*, with a new Garriſon of the *Engliſh*, they waſte the Lands of *Mac-Aule*; from thence, the chiefe Iuſtice, by a watery Mountaine, enters *Shlewlougher* in *Kerrie*, brings away great quantities of cattell, and defeats many Rebels. *Iames*, the Earle of *Deſmonds* brother, hauing pillaged *Muske-roy*, appertaining to *Cormag-Mac-Teg*, (whom the chiefe Iuſtice by Law ſet at libertie, as well deſeruing for his ſeruice againſt the Rebels) met with *Donel*, brother to *Cormag*, who hauing ſlaine many, and recouered the ſpoyle, tooke him, being wounded to death, and deliuered him to *Wararm S. Leger*, Marſhall of *Mounſter*, and to *Walter Raleigh*, a new Commander: They proceed againſt him in iuſtice, and hauing conuinced him, executed him for a Traitor, and ſet his head for a ſpectacle vpon the Gate of *Corcage*. The Earle of *Deſmond* himſelfe being ouer-whelmed with miſery, and no where ſafe, remoues euery houre, ſends his Wife to the Lord chiefe Iuſtice to aske pardon, and imployes his friends to *Winter*, (who with a Nauall Army watcht the *Spaniard* in the mouth of the Hauen) that he might be tranſported into *England* to begge the Queens pardon.

Iames taken, being wounded to death.

Deſmond miſerably oppreſſed.

The Lord chiefe Iuſtice hearing that *Arthur*, Lord *Gray*, who was appointed Deputy of *Ireland*, was landed, leaues the command of the Army to *George Bourchier*, ſecond ſonne to the Earle of *Bath*, and, by eaſie iourneies, returnes to *Dublin*, to deliuer vp the gouernement of the Kingdome to his Succeſſor. As ſoone as the Lord *Gray* was arriued, being informed that ſome Rebels, conducted by *Fitz-Euſtat*, and *Pheog-Mac-Hugh*, the moſt renowned of the famous Houſe of the *Obrins*, who, after their ſpoyles and

Arthur, Lord Gray, Deputie of Ireland.

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He pursues the Rebels.

robberies, made their retreat to *Glandilough*, fiue and twenty mile Northward from *Dublin*, to win reputation; and to breed terrour at his beginning, hee commanded the Captaines, who were come from all parts, to salute him, to gather troupes, and to goe with him, to set vpon the Rebels, who were retyred to *Glandilough*, a Vale full of Grasse, the most part of it fertile, and fit to feede Cattell, situated at the foote of a steepe Rocke, full of Springs, and so enuironed with Trees and thicke bushes, that the Inhabitants of the Countrey knew not the wayes in it. When they were come to the place, *Cosby*, the Leader of the light-armed *Irish*, (which they call, *Kearnes*,) who knew the situation well, aduertized the others of the danger in entering into that Valley, being so fit a place for ambuscadoes. Notwithstanding this aduice, they must vndertake it, and hee exhorteth them to behaue themselues couragiously: and himselfe, being threescore and ten yeeres of age, marched in the Front, and the others followed him. But they were no sooner gone downe, but they were showred vpon with musket-shot, like hayle driuen by a tempest, from the bushes where the Rebels were placed, and not a man of them to be discerned. The most part of them were slaine there, the rest retyring, and clyming vp the Rockes and ragged wayes, with much adoe came to the Deputie, who stood vpon a Hill expecting the euent, with the Earle of *Kildare*, and Sir *Iohn Wingfield*, Master of the Ordnance, who knowing the danger, would not suffer *George Carew*, one of his Nephewes, to goe thither, reseruing him for greater honours. *Peter Carew* the younger, *G. More*, *Audeley*, and *Cosby* himselfe, were slaine there.

They kill the English.

Italians and Spaniards land in Ireland.

Shortly after, seuen hundred, or threabout, of *Italians* and *Spaniards*, commanded by *San-Ioseph* an *Italian*, sent by the Pope and the King of *Spaine*, vnder pretext to establish the Romane Religion; but the end of it, was to diuide Queene ELIZABETH's forces, and to call home

those

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those which shee had in the Low-Countries, landed at *Smerwick*, without any resistance, in regard that *Winter*, who had waited for them in that place, seeing the Equinox of Autumne past, was returned for *England*; fortified the place with Bulwarkes, and named it the Fort *Del-Or*. But as soone as they had knowledge that the Earle of *Ormond*, Gouernour of *Mounster*, was comming towards them, they, by the aduice of the *Irish*, quitted the Fort, and went to the Valley of *Grauingel*, being of difficult accesse, by reason of the Mountaines and Woods which enuironed it. The Gouernour tooke some of them by the way, who being examined what number they were, and what designe they had, confessed, that they were seuen hundred, that they had brought armes for fiue thousand, and looked daily for greater numbers from *Spaine*: That the Pope and the King of *Spaine* were resolued to driue the *English* out of *Ireland*, and to effect the same, had sent store of treasure to *Sanders*, the Popes Nuncio, to the Earle of *Desmond*, and to *Iohn* his brother. The same night, the *Italians* and *Spaniards* not knowing which way to turne themselues, in regard they could not remaine in Caues and Dennes, which were retreats for Cattell, by the benefit of the darke night returned to the Fort, and *Ormond* was camped before it; but wanting Cannon, & other things requisit for battery, was constrained to attend the Lord Deputies comming, who was speedily there, and with him, *Zouchey*, *Raleigh*, *Deny*, *Mackworth*, *Achin*, and other Captaines. At the same time, *Winter*, being reproued for his comming away, returned from *England* with his Ships of Warre.

They raise a Fort.

They are besieged.

The Lord Deputie sent a Trumpet to the Fort, to aske those that kept it, Who brought them into *Ireland*? By whom they were sent? and wherefore they had built a Fort in Queene ELIZABETH'S Kingdome? and to command them presently to quit it. They answered, that they were sent, some from the most holy Father the Pope of

They answer to the Deputies demands

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of *Rome*; and the reſt, from the moſt Catholique King of *Spaine*, to whom he had giuen *Ireland*, Queene ELIZABETH being falne from it, by reaſon of her Hereſie: and therefore would keepe what they had gotten, and get more if they could. Whereupon the Deputie, and *Winter*, hauing conſulted of the manner how they ſhould beſiege it, cauſed the Sea-Souldiers, by night, and without noyſe, to bring Culuerings from the Ships, and, hauing made a Bulwarke vpon the ſhoare, drawes them eaſily forward, and places them for battery. The Land-Souldiers bent their greateſt Ordnance to the other ſide, and plaid vpon the Fort foure daies together. The *Spaniards* make many ſallies out, but euer to their loſſe; and the *Engliſh* loſt but one man, who was Sir *Iohn Cheeke*, a braue and valiant young Gentleman, ſonne to Sir *Iohn Cheeke*, a noble Knight, moſt learned and iudicious.

They diſagree.

Their Generall ſhewed himſelfe a Coward.

San-Ioſeph, who commanded the Fort, a very Coward, and vnfit for the warres, being affrighted with this continuall battery, thinkes preſently of rendring it, and ſeeing *Hercules Piſan* and the other Captaines ſtriuing to diſſwade him from it, (as an vnworthy thing to be done by Souldiers, and inſiſt, that by their faint-heartedneſſe, they ſhould not diminiſh the courage of the *Iriſh*, who were comming to their ſuccour, and prepared to ſuſtaine the aſſault) with a remarkable cowardlineſſe, ſounds the intentions of the Souldiers, and ſeditiouſly threatning the Captaines, in the end brought them to condiſcend to render it vp. So, ſeeing no ſuccour neither from *Spaine*, nor from the Earle of *Deſmond*, the fifth day of the ſaid ſiege, they put forth a white Flagge, and demanded a Parley. But it was refuſed them, becauſe they tooke part with Rebels, with whom they were not to parley. After, they deſired, that they might goe out with bagge and baggage, which was alſo denied them. Alſo, that it might be permitted to the General, and the chiefe Commanders: but that likewiſe was denied them,

They aske a parley.

them, though it was requested with much importunitie; and the Deputie speaking outragiously against the Pope, commands them to yeeld vpon discretion. Insomuch, as not being able to obtaine any thing else, they put out the white Flagge againe, and all together cry aloud,

They yeeld vpon discretion.

Misericordia, Misericordia.

And giue themselues vp to the Deputies mercy: who presently tooke counsell what course hee should take with them. But, in regard they equalled the number of the *English*, it was to be feared, seeing the Rebels were aboue fifteene hundred; and that, lest the *English* (who were destitute of Meat, & Apparell, if they should not be comforted and refreshed with the spoyles of the enemy,) might be moued to reuolt; also, there being no shipping to carry them into their owne Countrey; it was resolued (against the Deputies will,) who (full of mercy and compassion) wept for it, that all strangers, the Commanders excepted, should be put to the Sword; and the *Irish* to be hanged, which was presently executed. Neuertheless, the Queen, who from her heart detested to vse cruelty to those that yeelded, wished that the slaughter had not beene, and was with much difficultie appeased and satisfied about it. This is all that which passed in *Ireland*, which I was willing to follow, with a continued declaration; to the end, that the order of the History might not be interrupted, though many things passed amongst them, which I should haue remembred before, if I had followed the order of the time.

Strangers slaine with the Sword, the Subiects hanged.

Vpon the beginning of this yeere, the ornaments of the head, which exceeded in dressings, and Clokes which came downe almost to the heeles, (no lesse seemly than of great expence) were reformed by a Statute, and Swords reduced to three-foot length, Poniards to twelue inches from the

Excesse in apparell reformed.

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hilt, and Target-Pikes to two. And foraſmuch as the City and Suburbs of *London* were ſo increaſed in buildings, by reaſon of the multitude of people which flowed thither from all parts, ſo as the other Cities and Townes of the Kingdome were decayed; that if it had not beene looked to in time, the ordinary Magiſtrates would not haue ſufficed to haue gouerned ſuch a multitude; nor the Countries neere about, to haue fed them; and if any Epidemicke infection ſhould haue happened, it would haue infected the ioyning-houſes that were filled with Lodgers & Inmates. The Queen made an Edict, prohibiting any new dwelling-houſe to be built within three thouſand paces of the Gates of *London*, vpon paine of impriſonment, and loſſe of the materialls which ſhould be brought to the place to build withall; and euery one forbidden to haue more than one Family in a Houſe.

The taking of Malines in Brabant.

In the Low-Countries, Generall *Norris*, and *Oliuer Temple*, with ſome companies of *Flemmings*, ioyned to their *Engliſh* forces, at the breake of the day, ſet Ladders againſt the walls of *Malines*, a rich Towne of *Brabant*, tooke it, killed a great number of the inhabitants, and religious perſons, the taking whereof got them ſome commendations of valour, but they polluted it with a vile pillage, and rauenous ſacriledge. For they did not onely with great inſolency take away the goods of the Inhabitants, but ſet vpon the Churches, and the holy things, to the violating euen the dead. And we haue ſeene (I am aſhamed to ſay it) many of their Tombe-Stones tranſported into *England*, and expoſed to ſale; to ſet out publique witneſſes of this impietie.

The ſacriledge of the Engliſh.

An Earthquake.

It wil not be amiſſe to remember the great Earth-quake, which is a thing that very rarely happneth in *England*. The third of Aprill, about ſixe of the clocke in the euening, the skie being calme and cleare, *England* ſhooke in a moment from beyond *Yorke*, and the Low-Countries as farre as

Collen;

Collen; insomuch, that in some places, Stones fell downe from Houses, and Bels in Steeples were so shaken, that they were heard to ring, and the Sea it selfe, it being a great calme was exceedingly moued. And the night following, the Country of *Kent* shooke; and likewise the first of May, in the night. Whether this was caused by the Windes which were entred into cliffes and hollow places of the earth, or by waters flowing vnder the earth, or otherwise, I leaue that to the iudgement of the Naturalists. After this, followed a commotion against Papists throughout *England*, but themselues were authors of these beginnings.

The Papists begin to be afflicted.

The English Seminaries, who were fled into *Flanders*, at the perswasion and instigation of *William Allan*, borne at *Oxford*, (accounted and esteemed by them a very learned man) assembled themselues together at *Douay*, where they begun to set vp a Schoole, and the Pope appoynted them an annuall pension. Since, *Flanders* beeing moued with troubles, the *English* Fugitiues, banished by the command of *Requesens*, and the *Guizes*, allied to the Queene of *Scotland*, did the like, in establishing such other Schooles for *English* youths in the City of *Reims*: and Pope *Gregory* the Third, in *Rome*, who as fast as time depriued *England* of Priests and Seminaries, he furnished the Land with new supplies of their young ones, who sowed the seedes of the Roman Religion all ouer *England*, for which cause they were called,

The beginning of English Seminaries.

Seminaries.

Their Doctrine is then thought.

As well as those who were there bred and borne.

As among other things, the Ecclesiasticall and Politicall power, the zeale borne to the Pope the Founder thereof, the hatred of Queene ELIZABETH, and the hope conceiued to reestablish the Roman Religion by the Q. of *Scotlands* means, were debated and disputed of. Diuers so perswaded,

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swaded, verily beleeued, that the Pope had by diuine right, *full power* ouer all the Earth, as well in Eccleſiaſticall as Politicall matters, and by this *fulneſſe of power*, power to excommunicate Kings, and free-Princes, to depriue them of their Crownes and Scepters: after, the abſoluing their ſubiects from all oath of fidelity and obedience to them. This cauſed the grant of Pope *Pius* the Fifth's Bull declaratory, publiſhed *Anno* 1569. the Bull of Rebellions kindled in the North parts of *England* & *Irelãd* (as I haue already ſpoken of) alſo that many deſiſted from Diuine Seruice, who before ſeemed to frequent the Church with much zeale and integrity, and that *Hans*, *Nelſon*, and *Maine*, Prieſts, and one *Shrood*, durſt affirme and maintaine, that Queene ELIZABETH was a Shiſmatique, and that ſhe therefore ought to be depoſed of Regall rule, and ſo degraded; for which they were ſoone after iuſtly put to death.

The euent proceeding thereof.

New Seminaries are ſent into England.

Such Seminaries were ſent in diuers places, both in *England* and *Ireland*; firſt, ſome young men prematurely inueſted in that order, and inſtructed in the ſaid Doctrine; then after, as they increaſed, a greater number, for the adminiſtrating the Sacrament of the Roman Church, and preaching, as they ſeemed to make ſhew of; but indeed, as Queene ELIZABETH her ſelfe, and the Lords of her Maieſties moſt honourable Priuy Councell found out, it was meerely to ſeduce her ſubiects, to withdraw them from all obedience and loyalty due to their Soueraigne; to oblige them, by reconciliation, to put in practice and truely execute the Sentence of Pope *Pius* the Fifth, pronounced againſt her Maieſty; and by this meanes to make way to the Pope and *Spaniſh* deſigne for the inuading of *England*.

To what end.

And, as it was knowne, that to the infringing and contemning of the Lawes authority, diuers Children & young men of ſundry Callings, were daily vnder-hand ſecretly ſent beyond the Seas, in thoſe Seminaries, where they (hauing

uing made a vow to returne) were receiued; that from thence new ſupply of others, vnknowne, came priuatly into *England*, and that ſtill more were expected to come with ſuch Ieſuits, who then made here their firſt entrance and abode; ſo, an Edict was proclaimed in the moneth of *Iune*, expreſly charging and commanding all ſuch who had children, Wards, kindred, or ſuch others in the Regions beyond the Sea, to exhibit and giue vp their names to the *Ordinary* within ten dayes after, to ſend for them to come ouer within the prefixt time of foure moneths; and preſently after the ſaid return, euery one ought to declare and giue notice thereof to the *Ordinary*; prohibiting likewiſe, to lay out or furniſh with money ſuch as ſhould ſtay or dwell out of *England*, either directly or indirectly; neither to nouriſh, relieue, or lodge ſuch Prieſt deriued of thoſe Emiſſaries, nor Ieſuits, vpon paine (for them who ſhould doe otherwiſe) to be reputed and held for fautors of Rebels, and ſupporters of ſeditious perſons, to incurre the ſeuerity and rigour expreſt in the Lawes of the ſaid Kingdome.

Ieſuites doe ſteale priuately into England.

A Proclamation againſt Seminaries and Ieſuites.

Before this Proclamation was publiſhed, the Papiſts feined to haue too late taken aduice of the incommodities that this Bull produced; they made a ſhew to be extreme ſorry that euer it was ſent ouer; they ſuppreſt *Sanders* Apology, and prohibited to diſpute any more ſuch queſtion concerning the Popes authority to excommunicate and degrade Princes: But all this, moſt cautelouſly and cunningly, as the euent made it euident; for this diſputation increaſed daily amongſt them, (as naturally men are moſt addicted to things prohibited) ſith *Robert Perſons* and *Edmond Campian* (*Engliſh* Ieſuites) being ready to come into *England*, to ſet Romiſh affaires forward, obtained of Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, power to moderate this ſeuere and ſharpe Bull, in theſe termes:

Robert Perſons and Edmond Campian, Engliſh Ieſuits, came into England.

Power granted to the Papiſts.

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IF it be asked to our Soueraigne Lord, the explication of Pope Pius *the Fifth's Bull against* ELIZABETH *and her adherents, the which the Catholikes desire to be thus vnderstood; that it may oblige for euer Her and the Heretikes; but no wayes the Catholiques, so long as affaires & matters shal thus stand, as they are at this present, but only whē it is so as it may be publiquely executed and generally effected. These Graces haue beene granted to* Robert Person, *and to* Edmond Campian, *vpon their departure and iourney for England, the* 14. *of Aprill, in presence of Father* Oliuero Manarco.

Who and what haue beene these Iesuits.

This *Robert Person* was a *Somersetshire* man, of a vehement and sauage nature, of most vnciuill manners and ill behauiours.

Edward Campian was a *Londoner*, of a contrary carriage, both were *Oxford* men, and I knew them while I was in the same Vniuersity. *Campian*, being out of Saint *Iohns* Colledge, profest the place of Atturney in the said Vniuersity, in the yeere 1568. and beeing establisshed Arch-Deacon, made a shew to affect the Protestant faith, vntill that day he left *England*. *Person*, being out of Balioll Colledge, in which he openly made profession of the Protestant Religion, vntill his wicked life, and base conuersation, purchasing him a shamefull exile from thence, hee retyred himselfe to the Papists side. Since, both of them returning into *England*, were disguized, sometimes in the habit of Souldiers, sometimes like Gentlemen, and sometimes much like vnto our Ministers; they secretly trauelled through *England*, from house to house, and places of Popish Nobility and Gentry; valiantly executing by words and writings their Commission. *Person*, who was establisheed chiefe and superiour, being of a seditious nature and turbulent spirit, armed with audacity, spoke so boldly to the Papists, to depriue

priue Queene ELIZABETH of her Scepter, that some of them were once determined to accuse, and put him into the hands of iustice. *Campian*, though something more modest, presumed to challenge by a writing the Ministers of the Church of *England*, to dispute with him touching the Romish beleefe, which hee maintained; he put forth a Latine Pamphlet, containing tenne Reasons, indifferently well penned: as did likewise *Person*, another seditious booke in *English*, raging against one *Charcke*, who before had ingeniously and mildely written against *Campians* Chalenge. But *Whitaker* answered home to the said *Campians* pretended Reasons, who being taken and rackt a yeere after, was produced for the Dispute, but he neuer had so much a doe as to maintaine them, neither answered hee to that expectation which himselfe had formerly giuen.

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And the Popes faction (for Religion was then turned into faction) wanted not other men, who vowed and bent their vtmost power and endeuours at *Rome*, and elsewhere in the Courts of forrein Princes, to moue warre, and excite trouble against their natiue Countrey; nay, rather than faile, they published in Print Pamphlets, shewing, that the Pope, and the King of *Spaine*, had conspired to subdue *England*, and expose it as a prey; to no other purpose, than to increase the affection and courage of their owne people, to affright and terrifie others; and by this meanes, to seduce and with-draw them from that loue and loyaltie which they ought to their Soueraigne Princesse and Countrey. Queene ELIZABETH perceiuing euidently how much shee was offended and threatned by the Armes and subtlety of the Pope and *Spaniard*, after hauing acknowledged the singular goodnesse of God, declared by a Booke printed;

The English Fugitiues doe moue and excite strangers to war against their Prince and Countrey.

THat shee had not attempted any thing against any other Prince, but in defence and conseruation of her owne Kingdome, neither had shee inuaded

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Queene Elizabeths declaration against them.

innaded any others Countrey, although ſhee had beene both by iniuries ſufficiently prouoked, and by fit opportunity inuited thereunto. That if any Princes ſhould enterprize to inuade her Realmes, ſhe doubted not, but to be (by the Diuine aſſiſtance) well able to defend them. That ſhee had to that end taken a ſuruey of her forces, both by Sea and Land, and ſtood readily prepared againſt the attempts of her enemies, exhorted her loyall Subiects, to perſiſt with vnremoueable ſtedfaſtneſſe in faith and duety towards GOD, and her Miniſters. Such as had renounced all loue to their Countrey, and obedience to their Prince, ſhee commanded to carry themſelues moderately, and not prouoke the ſeueritie of iuſtice. Neither would ſhee in pardoning her euill Subiects, ſhew her ſelfe cruell to her ſelfe and her good people.

The ſeuerall Sects of Holland.

And not onely theſe perfidious Subiects, but Strangers likewiſe out of *Holland*, (being a fertill Prouince in Heretiques) began at that time not onely to diſturbe the peace of the Church, but alſo of the Common-wealth of *England*; by inſinuating themſelues, vnder a colour of ſingular integrity and ſincerity, into the opinions of the ignorant vulgar; and with a ſtrange and new manner of preaching, (which men rather wondered at than vnderſtood) they poſſeſt the mindes of many with certaine damnable Hereſies, which were euidently contrary to the Chriſtian faith; they called themſelues of the *Family of loue*, or *Houſe of Charity*, and perſwaded ſuch as they had drawne to their Sect, that thoſe only were the *Elect*, and to be ſaued, which were of that *Sect*; all others were Reprobates, and ſhould be damned; and that it was lawfull for them to deny by oath what they pleaſed before any Magiſtrate, or any other, which were not of that Family. And of this fantaſticke vanity they diſperſed bookes abroad, which were in-

intuled,

1580.

The house of LOVE.

tituled, *The Gospell of the Kingdome*; *The Sentences of Instruction*; *The Propheſie of the ſpirit of loue*; *The publication of the peace vpon Earth, by H. N.* They could not be induced to manifeſt the name of the Author; but it was afterwards found to be one *H. Nicholay* of *Leyden* in *Holland*; who out of his blaſphemous mouth preached, That he was partaker of Gods Diuinity, and God of his humanity. The Queene, in good time, to repreſſe theſe Heretiques (knowing that all Princes ought aboue all to haue an eſpeciall care of Religion) by an Edict enioyned the Ciuill Magiſtrates to aſſiſt the Eccleſiaſticall in burning of thoſe Bookes.

A Proclamation againſt theſe Sects.

About this time, *Francis Drake* returned into *England*, abounding with riches, but more illuſtrious and exceeding in glory, hauing ſayled about the terreſtriall Globe with happy ſucceſſe, being (if not the firſt that had aſpired to this glory) yet the firſt next *Magellan*, who dyed in the middeſt of his courſe. This *Drake* (that I may report no more than what I haue heard from himſelfe) was borne of meane parentage in the County of *Deuonſhire*; at his Baptiſme, *Francis Ruſſell*, afterwards Earle of *Bedford*, was his Godfather. Whileſt he was but yet an Infant, his Father embracing the Proteſtant Religion, was by vertue of the Law of *Sixe Articles*, made by King HENRY the Eighth againſt the Proteſtants, called in queſtion: whereupon he left his natiue ſoyle, and paſſed into *Kent*. King HENRY the Eighth being deceaſed, hee obtained a place amongſt them of the Fleet-Royall, to reade Prayer; a ſhort time after, he was choſen Deacon, & being made Vicar of *Vpnore*, vpon the Riuer *Medway*, (where the Nauy lay at Road) he was conſtrained by pouerty to place his ſonne with a neighbouring Pylote, who, by daily exerciſe, hardened him to the Saylors labours in a little Barke, wherewith hee ſayled vp and downe the Coaſt, guided Ships in and out of Harbours, and ſometimes tranſported Merchandize into *France* and *Zeland*. This young man, being diligent and

Francis Drake.

His originall extraction.

Francis Drakes education.

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plyable, gaue ſuch teſtimony of his care and diligence to the old Pylote, that he dying iſſueleſſe, in his Will bequeathed, as a Legacy, the Barke to him, wherewith *Drake* hauing gathered a pretty ſome of money, and receiuing intelligence that *Iohn Hawkins* made preparation of certaine Ships at *Plimouth*, for the voyage of *America*, which was called the New-World, he made ſale of his Barke, and, accompanied with certaine braue and able Mariners, he left *Kent*, and ioyned his labours and fortunes with *Hawkins*, in the yeere 1567. but with vnfortunate ſucceſſe. For the *Engliſh* being (as is related) ſurprized by the *Spaniards*, in the Port of Saint *Iohn de Vllua*, hee, with the loſſe of all his meanes, hardly eſcaped. Fiue yeeres after, (that is to ſay, in the yeere 1572.) hauing gathered together a ſufficient ſumme of money by his traffique and Pyracy, with an intent to recouer his loſſes which he had receiued by the *Spaniards*, (which a Preacher of the Nauy eaſily perſwaded him to be lawfull) he made a voyage the ſecond time into *America*, with a Ship of Warre called the *Dragon*, with two other ſmall Ships, without the knowledge of any but his Companions, where hee ſurprized a Towne, called *Nombre de Dios*, in the paſſage to the Ile *Dariene*, which he preſently loſt. Then, receiuing intelligence by the fugitiue Negro's, (which are called *Cimarons*) that certaine Mule-driuers were to tranſport a great quantity of Gold and Siluer to *Panama*) hee ſet vpon them, and pillaged them vpon the way, carrying the Gold into his Ships, but the Siluer, becauſe he could not commodiouſly tranſport it ouer the Mountaines, he left it, and buried part thereof in the ground: after that, hee burned a large Store-houſe of Merchandize, called the CROSSE, vpon the Riuer *Chirague*: And as he ſometimes made excurſions vpon the neighbouring places, he diſcouered from the top of high mountaines, the South Sea; hereupon, he was ſo inflamed with a deſire of glory and wealth, that hee burned with an earneſt

Drakes expedition in America.

earneſt longing to ſayle into thoſe parts; and in the ſame place, falling vpon his knees, he heartily implored the Diuine aſſiſtance to enable him, that he might one day arriue in thoſe Seas, and diſcouer the ſecrets of them; and to this, he bound himſelfe with a religious vow. From that time forward, was his minde night and day troubled, and as it were excited and pricked forward with goads, to performe and acquite himſelfe of this Vow.

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A Vow.

Now, beeing abundantly rich, ſilently reuolued theſe thoughts in his minde; *Iohn Oxenham*, who in the former voyages had beene a Souldier, Mariner, and Cooke vnder him, hauing by his valour obtained the name of Captaine among the Saylors, to tread in the foot-ſteps of his Maſters fortune, in taking the Mules loaden with wealth, and to ſayle the *Auſtrale*, or *Meridian*-Sea, he, in the yeere 1563. begun to ſayle in thoſe places, with a Ship onely and equipage of ſeuentie men, where, being arriued, hee communicated his deſigne to the *Negro's*, and learning out that thoſe Mule-driuers, who vſed to tranſport riches to *Panama*, were conueyed with armed men, brought his Ship to Land, hiding her vnder thicke bowes in place ſecure, cauſing likewiſe his greateſt Cannons to be brought aſhoare, with victuals and prouiſion; afterwards, he and his people, with tenne *Negro's*, who were their Guides in that Countrey, came to a Riuer which ends in the Meridian-Sea, and there cut Trees wherewith they built a ſmall Ship, with which he traded in the Iland called *Margaret*, which abounds in Pearles, ſituated in the ſame Sea, and not farre off: in which hauing ſtayed tenne daies for the Ships comming from *Perou*, he tooke one which carried ſixty pound weight of Gold; and another, with an hundred pound weight of Siluer, and in thoſe Ships hee returned into the ſaid Riuer. This Prize being ſoone diuulged by thoſe *Spaniards* which *Iohn Oxenham* had releaſed, and ſet on ſhoare, *Iohan. Ortega*, a Spaniard, forthwith purſued him with an

Iohn Oxenham ſayleth into America.

Iſla de Perlas.

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hundred men, and finding that there was three waies to enter the Riuer, hee ſtayed a time, not knowing which to take, but at laſt he plainely diſcouered *Oxenhams* trace, by reaſon of the number of feathers of ſuch Fowles and Hens as the *Engliſh* had eaten, which were ſwimming vpon the water; and following them, he found the Gold among the buſhes and thickets, and the *Engliſh* in diſcord and ſtrife about the bootie; who neuertheleſſe prouiding to their common neceſſity, fell vpon the *Spaniards*, who were in greater number: for the moſt part of the *Engliſh* were killed, and the reſt were taken, among which, *Iohn Oxenham*, who was brought to *LIMA*, and there examined whether he were entred into the King of *Spaines* Dominions, with Queene ELIZABETH'S leaue and permiſſion, or no? and not able to ſatisfie them with any anſwere, hee was moſt lamentably put to death, and cruelly executed as a Pyrat and common enemy of humane kinde, with the Pylot, and others: and thus his worthy enterprize was preuented, which was both great and memorable.

Iohn Oxenham depriued of life, falls from a great and famous enterprize.

Drakes ſecond voyage.

Drake, not knowing what was become of *Oxenham*, that he might get into the South Sea, which hee ſtill meditated vpon, and try his fortune there, departs from *Plimouth* the thirteenth of December 1577. with fiue ſhips, and one hundred ſixtie three men, of which number there were ſcarce two who knew his deſigne, or whither they were bound, and arriued on the fiue and twentieth at *Canten*, a Cape or Promontory in *Barbary*: then, hauing refreſhed themſelues at *Maio*, a very pleaſant Iland, and abounding with ſweet Grapes, at *San-Iacobina*, they tooke a Portugal laden with Wine, and hauing ſet the Mariners a-ſhoare, carryed the veſſell, with *N. la Foreſt* the Pylote, away with them, to ſerue them for a watch and skout vpon the Coaſts of *Braſil*, which were well knowne vnto him. From thence he paſſed to the Ile of *Folgo*, which caſteth out ſulphurous flames: and from thence to *la Braue*, vnder which the Mariners

riners assure vs that the Sea is very high. And as he came vnder the Equinoctiall, prouiding for the health of his people, causeth euery one of them to be let blood, and after hauing bin long becalmed, and endured much Lightening and Thunder, he found he had made very little or no way in three weekes, and been 55. daies without seeing any Land, vntill in the end he discouered the Countrie of *Brasill*.

Doughtey beheaded.

The 26. of *Aprill*, being entered the riuer of *Plate*, they saw an infinite number of Sea-calues, and from thence being brought to Saint *Iulians*, they found a Gibbet standing there, which (as it is thought) *Magellan* set vp, when he was forced thereabouts, to punish some sedicious persons. Where Mr. *Iohn Doughtey*, a wise and valiant Gentleman, and of chiefe command vnder *Drake*, was condemned by the verdict of twelue men, according to the English custome, and beheaded, after he had receiued the Communion with *Drake* himselfe. The most impartiall of all the Company, did iudge, that he had indeed carried himselfe a little sediciously, and that *Drake*, hauing an eye not so much vpon such as might surpasse him in Sea-faring renowne, as vpon those which were like to equall him, did rid his hands of him as of a Competitor. Others, presuming to haue more knowledge of his intentions, affirme, that *Leicester* had commanded him to make him away, vnder some pretext or other, in reuenge that he did auerre oftentimes, that he had made away my Lord of *Essex* by his deuices.

Passeth the straightes of Magellan.

The 20. of *August*, hauing no more then three Shippes, (for he had cast off the other two at Sea, which were the lesser, after hee had taken in the men, and what else was ought worth) he came to the straight of *Magellan*, which is a Sea full of Hands, and circled in with high Mountaines, the Element being full of Snow, and the wether very cold, past it, the sixth of *September*, and entred into the South

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Sea, which is called *Peacible*, or *Still*, which he found neuertheleſſe much troubled, and his Fleet through the vehemencie of the Tempeſt, carried about an hundred Leagues into the Ocean and ſeparated: At the ſame time they ſaw an Eclipſe of the Moone, the fifteenth of *September*, at ſixe of the Clocke at night. I ſpeake this in fauour of Mathematicians, againſt that which others doe report. They ſaw alſo that part of the heauen next the South Pole, adorned with very few ſtarres, and of farre leſſer magnitude then thoſe in our Hemiſphere, and not aboue the third part of the greatneſſe of ours. And that the two little Cloudes, which are of the colour of the *Milke-way*, which we call the little Cloudes of *Magellan*, are not farre diſtant from the Pole.

Eclipſe of the Moone.

South Stars.

Little clouds of Magellan

Of theſe Ships which the wind had thus hurried away, the one, in which Captaine *Iohn Winter* cõmanded, plying vp the ſtraights of *Magellan* againe, returned ſafely into *England*, and is the firſt that euer paſſed that way. *Drake*, who was then driuen alone by this tempeſt with his Ship, vnto 55. degrees to the Weſt, and hardly could recouer the breadth of the ſtraights, ran along the Coaſt, and, contrary to that which is figured in the Maps, he found that theſe Lands fetch a great compaſſe about, before they trend vp into the Eaſt.

Being come the laſt of *Nouember* to the Ile of *Mouſcha*, he ſent his Mariners aſhore for freſh water, two of which were taken and detayned by the Inhabitants. Being departed from thence, he meets with an *Indian*, who was fiſhing in his Canoe, who thinking that his men had bin *Spaniards*, told them, that at *Villa Parizo*, in the Roade, there was a great *Spaniſh* Ship laden, and brought them thither. The *Spaniſh* Mariners, which were but eight, and two Negroes, ſeeing the *Engliſh* ariue, and taking them for *Spaniards*, began to beate vp their Drummes, and drawing of their Wines of *Chillie*, to inuite them to drinke. But the *Engliſh* boording them, put them all vnder hatches, rifle the

Drake finds booty both by land and ſea.

next

next Towne, called Saint *Iacobin*, and the Chappell alſo, the ſpoile whereof was for Mr. *Fletcher*, Miniſter to the Fleet: Afterwards they put all the men of their Prize on ſhore, except the Pilot, being a *Grecian*, and carrying both the Ship and him away, they found therein foure hundred waight of Gold of *Baldiue*, ſo called by the name of the place, becauſe it is truely refined.

Meets by chance with great wealth

After that, *Francis Drake* landed at *Taurapaze*, where he found a *Spaniard* faſt aſleepe vpon the Sea ſide, and neere vnto him two great Barres of maſſie Siluer, to the value of foure thouſand Ducats, which hee cauſed to bee carried away, without ſo much as awakening the man. Then being entred into the Hauen of *Aricæ*, he found there three ſhips, without Maſter or Sailors; and within, 57. ingots of ſiluer, each of them weighing twenty pound waight, beſides other marchandiſe. From thence hee ſailed to *Lima*, and meets with twelue ſhips in the Roade, whoſe Tackling and Armes had beene brought aſhore: There was in them a great deale of Silke, and a little coffer full of coined money, but there was not ſo much as a Boy left to looke to them, ſo great they accounted the ſecurity of that Coaſt, for the diſtance of places, and alſo becauſe the nauigation was vnknowne, no feare they had of Pirates. And indeed, no man from *Magellan* euer ſailed thoſe Seas before *Drake*, but onely the *Spaniards*, who haue built there all ſuch Ships and Nauie as are there. *Drake*, hauing committed thoſe Ships to the Ocean, hee made haſte with all ſailes ſpred, after another ſumptuous Ship, very rich, called *The Caco Fogue*; whereof he had notice, was departed from *Lima*, & bound for *Panama*; but he firſt meeting with a ſmall ſhip, from which he got 80. pound weight of Gold, a Crucifix of pure gold, diuers Emeralds of the length of a finger, and ſome Munition: The firſt day of *March* he ouertooke this *Caco Fogue*, and after he had beaten downe with a Cannon ſhot the fore-Maſt, boords her, and takes it, finds therein, beſides

Sir Francis Drake takes a Spaniſh ſhip called Shite-Fire, which hee made ſhite Siluer.

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beſides many precious ſtones, 80. pound waight more of gold, 13. coffers full of coyned money, and his ballaſt was pure ſiluer: all which he cauſed to be brought aſhore, and leauing the ſaid Ship, the Pilot, who was within, gaue *Drake* this pleaſant farewell: We will exchange names of our Ships:

Call yours, *Cacofogue*; and ours, *Cacoplate*:

which is to ſay, yours ſhall bee named *Shite-fire*, and ours *Shite-ſiluer*. Since that time he met with no rich prize. So omitting the relation of thoſe ſhips of *China*, of the golden Eagle, of thoſe faire Negroes which the *Spaniard* gaue him for ſparing his ſhip, and the pillage of a little Village called *Aguatulcum*; I will ſpeake of his returne.

He thinkes of his return.

Drake eſteemed himſelfe abundantly rich, and indifferently well ſatisfied of the particular wrong which he had receiued of the *Spaniards* in S. *Iohn of Vllua*, thinkes now of his returne, and becauſe it ſeemed to him full of eminent perils, to repaſſe through the ſtraights of *Magellan*, aſwell by reaſon of the raging Tempeſts vſuall there, as of diuers Shelfs and Rockes vnknowne, and likewiſe fearing leſt the *Spaniards* ſhould there watch for his comming backe, as indeed *Francis* of *Toledo*, Vice-Roy of *Peruia*, had to that end ſent thither *Peter Sermiente* with two ſhips of Warre, as alſo to fortifie the ſtraights of that Sea, if any were; *Drake* then tooke his way toward the North, at the latitude of 42. Degrees, to diſcouer in that part if there were any ſtraight, by which he might find a neerer way to returne; But diſcerning nothing but darke and thicke cloudes, extremity of cold and open Cliffes couered thicke with ſnow, hee landed at the 38. Degree, and hauing found a commodious Rode, remained there a certaine time. The inhabitants of that Countrie were naked, merry, luſty, iumping, leaping, and dancing perpetually, ſacrificing, and ſhowing by ſigne

and

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and words, that they would elect *Francis Drake* for their King: neither could it be coniectured that euer the *Spaniard* had bin there, or so farre in that Countrie: *Drake* named that very countrey, being fat and good, full of Deeres and Conies,

Drake discoueres a land, which hee called the Nouam Albion.

The new Albion.

Causing a great Poste to be there erected, vpon which there was ingrauen an Inscription, which shewed the yeere of our Lord, the name of Queene ELIZABETH, and their landing there, and vnderneath a piece of siluer of Queene ELIZABETHS Coine was nailed to the said Poste.

He arriued at the Molucques.

Afterwards hauing weighed Anchor, in the moneth of *Nouember*, he arriued in the Ilands of the *Molucques*, where the King of the Ile of *Ternata* receiued him graciously, and from thence, sayling vpon that sea full of Rockes and Ilands, his ship was, the ninth day of *Ianuary*, driuen to the top of a Rocke couered with water, where it remained in great danger seuen and twenty houres, and was accounted no better then lost, by all the men of the ship, who fell deuoutly vpon their knees, praying hartily vnto the Lord, expecting hourely to perish, with all the aboundance of riches heaped vp together with so much paine: But after they had hoysted their *Sprit-Sayle*, and cast into the Sea 8. Peeces of Ordnance, and diuers marchandizes, a fauourable wind rose, (as sent of God) which bore the ship aside, and withdrew it from aboue the Rocke.

Falls into a great danger

He passeth beyong the Cape of Bona Esperance.

After this, he landed at *Iaua major*, greatly afflicted with the Poxe, which the Inhabitants doe cure, sitting in the heate of the sunne, to drie vp the poysonous and malignant humor. Where hauing tryed the humanity of the little King of the Countrey, he tooke his way towards the Cape of *Bona esperance*, which was celebrated as very remarkable, by the Mariners, which had formerly seene it. He landed

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vpon that coast to take in water, but found no fountaine there: if he had not in time prouided of water, when it rained, they had all beene in great distresse for sweet water. At last, he tooke in some at *Riogrand*, from whence hee finished his iourney into *England*, with a fauourable wind; which brought his Ship the ninth of November, 1580. safe into the Hauen of *Plimouth*, where he tooke shipping, after his being abroad about the space of three yeeres: during which time he worthily sayled round about the Earth, to the admiration and laudable applause of all people, and without purchasing blame for any other things, than for his putting to death *Doughty*, & for leauing at the mercy of the *Spaniards*, that *Portugal* Ship by him taken at the mouth of *Affrica*, neere vnto *Aquatulqua*, and for hauing most inhumanely exposed in an Iland, that *Negro* or Black-more-Maide, who had beene gotten with Child in his Ship.

Returnes into England.

Queene ELIZABETH receiued him graciously, with all clemency, caused his riches to be sequestred and in readinesse, whensoeuer the *Spaniard* should re-claime them: Her Maiesty commanded likewise, that for a perpetuall memory to haue so happily circuited round about the whole Earth, his Ship should be drawne from the water, and put aside neere *Deptford* vpon *Thames*, where to this houre the body thereof is seene; and after the Queenes feasting therein, shee consecrated it with great ceremonie, pompe, and magnificence, eternally to be remembred; and her Maiesty forthwith honoured *Drake* with the dignity of Knighthood. As these things were performed, a slight Bridge, made of Boords, by which people went vp into the Ship, was broken downe by the Multitude, and about a hundred persons fell with it; they neuertheless receiued no harme at all: insomuch, that the Ship seemed to haue beene built in a happy coniunction of the Planets. That very day, against the great Mast of the said Ship, many verses, composed to the praise & honour of Sir *Francis Drake*,

Drakes ship is consecrated to perpetuall memory.

Francis Drake is knighted by Queene Elizabeth.

were fastned, and fixed; among which, these in Latin were written by a Scholler of the Colledge of *Winchester*:

PLVS VLTRA, *Herculeis inscribas* (*columnis*, Drace,
Et magno, dicas, Hercule maior ero.

Escri DRAC ces deux mots sur les piliers du Temple
Qui fut sacré iadis à Hercule guerrier,
PLVS OVLTRE, & quelque grand qu'ait esté son laurier
Di que le tien doibt estre & plus grand & plus ample.

DRAKE, on the Herculean columnes these words write,
Thou farther wentst then any mortall wight.
Though Hercules for trauell did excell,
From him and others thou didst beare the bell.

DRACE, *pererrati quem nouit terminus orbis*,
Quemq; simul mundi vidit vterq; Polus.
Si taceant homines, faciunt te sydera notum.
Sol nescit comitis non memor esse sui.

DRAC qui as parcouru tous les quartiers du monde,
Et les Poles as veu, Quand les gens manqueront
A chanter tes vertus, les Astres le feront.
Le Soleil n'oublira celuy qui le seconde.

Braue DRAKE, that round about the world didst saile,
And viewedst all the Poles, when men shall faile
Thee to commend, the starres will do't & the Sunne
Will not forget how with him thou didst run.

Digna ratis quæ stet radiantibus inclyta stellis,
Supremo cœli vertice digna ratis.

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CE NAVIRE qui rend à tous
homines notoire
La gloire d'vn grand Chef,
merite que les Dieux
Mettent autour de luy des
Astres radieux,
Et au plus hault du Ciel estre
écla tant de gloire.

THAT SHIP whose good successe
did make thy name
To be resounded by the
trump of Fame:
Merits to be beset with
Stars diuine,
Instead of waues, and the
Skie to shine.

Nothing anger'd worse Sir *Francis Drake*, than to see the Nobles and the chiefest of the Court, refuse that Gold and Siluer which he presented them withall, as if hee had not lawfully come by it. The Commons neuertheless applauded him with all praise and admiration, esteeming, he had purchased no lesse glory in aduancing the limits of the *English*, their honour and reputation, than of their Empire.

The King of Spaine by his Ambassadour demandeth Drakes goods which he had pirated.

Bernard Mendoze, then Ambassadour for *Spaine*, in *England*, murmuring at it, and, as not well pleased, demands vehemently of the Queene the things taken. But he was answered:

He is answered.

THat the Spaniards had procured vnto themselues that euil through their iniustice towards the English, in hindering, against the right of Nations, their Negotiations; That Sir Francis Drake *was alwaies ready to answere the Law, if by iust inditements, and certaine testimonies they could conuict him, to haue committed any thing against equity. That to no end but to giue satisfaction to their King, the riches he brought in were sequestred, though her Maiesty had spent (against the Rebels which Spaine had moned and instigated in Ireland and England against her,) more money than* Drake *was worth. Moreouer, that her Maiestie could finde no reason why* Spaine *should hinder her Subiects, and those of other Princes, from sayling to the Indies: that shee could not be*

perſwaded that they were his owne, although the Pope had ne'r ſo much giuen them to him: that ſhee acknowledged no ſuch Prerogatiue in the Pope, much leſſe the leaſt authority, as to oblige Princes, who owe him no obedience at all, vnder his to power inueſt & put the Spaniard, as in fee and poſſeſsion of that New-World; alſo, that ſhee could not ſee how he could deriue the leaſt right, but by thoſe deſcents and landing here and there of his Subiects, who built there ſmall cottages to inhabit, and named the Promontorie; Things neuertheleſſe that can purchaſe no propriety. So that by vertue of ſuch donation of other mens goods, which in equitie is nothing worth, and of this proprietie that is meerly imaginary, hee cannot iuſtly hinder other Princes to negotiate in thoſe Regions; but they, without infringing any waies the Lawes of Nations, may lawfully bring in Colonies in thoſe parts that are not yet inhabited by the King of Spaines Subiects, ſith Preſcription without poſſeſsion, is of no validity: euen as to ſayle vpon the mayne Ocean, that the vſe of the Sea as of the Ayre is common to all, and that publique neceſsitie permits not it ſhould be poſſeſſed; that there is nor people, no particular, that can challenge or pretend any other right therein.

The Spaniard hath part of Drakes money delinered backe.

Neuertheleſſe, ſince this, great ſummes of money were pay'd backe to *Piedro Sebure*, a *Spaniard*, who ſtyled himſelfe Attourney, for the recouery of the Gold and Siluer, though hee could ſhew no ſuch Letter of procuration or receits. And it was diſcouered (but too late) that he made no retribution at all to particulars, but ſpent it againſt Queene ELIZABETH, vpon the *Spaniards*, who maintained the warre of *Flanders*.

Iackman and Pets Nauigation to ſeeke away to the East-Indies.

While Sir *Francis Drake* circuited ſo proſperouſly the World, *Iacman* and *Pet*, renowned Pylots, ſent by the Merchants of *London* with two Ships, did ſeeke with leſſe

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happy ſucceſſe, a ſhort way or paſſage, to ſayle into the Eaſt Indies, by the Sea of *Cronio*, but hauing paſt ſome miles beyond the Iles *Vaigats*, they found ebbing and flowing ſo vncertaine, ſo many ſhelues, and ſo great ſtore of Ice, that they could not poſſible goe any further, hauing much adoe to returne.

The death of the Earle of Arundell, who was the firſt that brought the vſe of Coches into England.

At the beginning of this yeere, died *Henry Fitz-Allen*, Earle of *Arundell*, and with him the name of that moſt noble Houſe, which had flouriſhed in honour aboue three hundred yeeres, ſonne to *Richard Fitz-Allen*, ſprung from the *Albaines* ancient Earles of *Arundel* and *Suſſex* (in the reigne of EDVVARD the Firſt,) which title they had without creation, in regard of the poſſeſſion which they had of the Caſtle and Lordſhip of *Arundell*: This man being heaped with honour, had beene a Priuy-Councellor to all the Kings vnder whom he liued, and performed great offices vnto his end. Vnder HENRY the Eighth, he was Gouernour of *Calice*, Marſhall of the Army at *Bullen*, and Lord Chamberlaine: At the inauguration of EDWARD the Sixth, hee was Lord Marſhall of *England*, in which charge he continued at the Coronation of Queene MARIE; and was after made Lord High-Conſtable, Lord Steward of her houſe, and Preſident of her Councell; Vnder Queene ELIZABETH, hee was made the ſecond time Lord Steward. And when he began to grow old, he ſought to marry her, for which he loſt much of her fauour; afterwards, he intermeddled in the Duke of *Norfolkes* matters, and openly withſtood the marriage of the Duke of *Aniou*. He profeſſed himſelfe an open-hearted man, and made it appeare that he loued not the *French*; and would often ſay, that his father dwelling in *Suſſex*, neighbour vnto *France*, would teach him not to beleeue them. He had three Children by *Katherine* his Wife, daughter to *Thomas Gray*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, which children hee ſuruiued; *Henry*, being young and of great hope, dyed at *Bruxels*;

Iane,

Iane, who was Wife to the Lord *Lumley*; and *Marie*, who married *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*, and bare vnto him *Philip*, Earle of *Arundel*, of whom wee will speake in his owne place.

The Lord Gray repreſſeth the Rebels in Ireland.

Arthur, Lord *Gray*, Deputie of *Ireland*, being gone againſt the *O-Conores*, who were ſtirring vp new troubles in *Ophalia*, by Law executes *Hugh O-Moloy*, a ſeditious man, and pacifies this Countrey, and that of *Magohiganores* and *Ocaroles*, and in the very bud cruſhed a great conſpiracie that was a growing and beginning to ſpread. For ſome of the chiefeſt Families in *Lemſter*, and many others that were originally *Engliſh*, driuen partly by the affection they bore to the *Romiſh* Religion, and partly for their hatred to the new-come *Engliſh*, (who ſince their comming had excluded them, contrary to the Law, from all gouernments and Magiſtracy, as if they had beene naturall *Iriſh*) had conſpired to kill the Lord Deputie and his Family, to ſurprize the Caſtle of *Dublin*, wherein was all the prouiſion of war, and to kill all the *Engliſh* that were in *Ireland*: and this conſpiracy was ſo cloſely carried, that it was neuer conferred vpon with more than two in a company. Neuertheleſſe, among ſo many complices it came to light, and was extinct with the death of a few men: and amongſt them of chiefeſt note, was *I. Nogent*, Baron of *Füske*, a man ſingular in fame and life, who was (as the *Iriſh* report) ſeduced by the craft of thoſe that enuyed him, and his conſcience aſſuring himſelfe of his innocency, choſe rather, (though the Deputie promiſed to giue him his life, if hee would confeſſe himſelfe guiltie) to dye an innocent by an infamous death, than to liue in infamy for betraying his innocency. And verily, howſoeuer the truth of this buſineſſe was in it ſelfe, the Queene was much offended with the Lord *Gray*, for the death of thoſe men, whom the Earle of *Suſſex*, being more offended therewith (for rarely is true loue betweene great Ones) the more ſtirred vp, by reaſon of the cruelty

Innocency is an aſſured comfort.

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cruelty which before hee had vſed toward the *Spaniards* which yeelded; and now againſt Subiects, that he had diminiſhed the glory of his Princeſſe, and augmented the number of her enemies. Howbeit, hee forbare not to terrifie *Turlough-Leinich*, who began to raiſe tumults in *Vlſter*, and driue him to conditions of peace. Whereby hee likewiſe brought the *O-Brins*, the *O-Mores*, and the *Cauanaghies*, Rebels in *Lemſter*, humbly to deſire peace, and to offer Hoſtages. Theſe matters of *Ireland*, though time doth much diſioyne them, for the helpe of memory, I haue thought to put them together.

Rebels ſuppreſt.

The Earle of Lenox is enuied of the Scots.

In *Scotland*, ſome Miniſters, and ſome of the great Ones, conſidering the Earle of *Lenox*, of whom I haue ſpoken, to be ſtrong in the Kings fauour, ſtirred vp *Iames Stuart*, of *Ochiltrie*, Captaine of the Guard, (who carried the title of Earle of *Arran*, I know not by what grant, from *Iames Hamilton*, Earle of *Arran*, a man of an vnable ſpirit, for which cauſe he was ordained his Tutor) to be his Emulator. But the King quickly reconciled them. When this would not ſucceed, they brought him, as much as in them lay, to be in hatred within the Kingdome, and accuſed him to Qu. ELIZABETH, to be ſent by the *Guizes* to ouerthrow Religion, to procure the liberty of the captiue Queene, and to diſunite the amitie which was between the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*. They are eaſily beleeued, and notwithſtanding that he purged himſelfe by Letters to the Queene, and made profeſſion of the Proteſtants Religion, ſerious deliberation is hereupon taken in *England*.

They accuſe him in England.

Conſultation holden againſt him.

The Councell of *England* was afraid that he would oppreſſe thoſe *Scots* that ſtood beſt affected to the *Engliſh*, and fauour the incurſions which were made vpon the Borders, and allure the King to marry in *France*, or elſe-where vnknowne to the *Engliſh*; and that the King, now in his youth, would moleſt the affaires of *England*; and beeing come

come to more maturitie of age, would assume the title of King of *England*, as his Mother had done. Which if he did, the danger would fall more heauily from him than from his Mother, in regard his birth gaue him an assured hope of two Kingdomes, and gaine more friends to fauour his cause, and that the *Scots* trayned vp in the ciuill warres, and the warres of the Low-Countries, were more expert to learne warlike offices. Therefore from hence it is thought good, by some meanes or other to infringe the fauour and authoritie that *Lenox* had with the King, or to driue him out of *Scotland*, and that without delay; becauſe rumours were giuen out, that *Balfour* was sent for out of *France*, (who had found, I know not what Writing of his owne hand, to conuince him of the Murder of the Kings Father) to ruine *Morton*, and that he had for no other end obtained the gouernement of the Castle of *Dunbriton*, but to set in stranger-forces into *Britaine*, or to transport the King into *France*. It was likewise said, that he had perswaded the King, to resigne the Kingdome to his Mother, who had beene vniustly and by a most wicked example deposed by her Subiects; after, hauing taken her faithfull promise to resigne it by and by after vnto him againe by a lawfull resignation, which would be a solid confirmation to him, and a meanes to extinguish all factions, and make him knowne to all, to be lawfull King.

They rayse false reports against him.

After this, Sir *Robert Bowes*, Treasurer of *Barwicke*, is sent into *Scotland*, to accuse *Lenox* of these things before the King and his Councell, and to aduertise the King of the eminent dangers thereof. As soone as hee had beene admitted, hee demanded that *Lenox* might for a while be remoued from that place; but the Councell would not agree vnto it, as being a thing new and vnheard of, to cause one of the Kings Councell to be put out from the Councell, without shewing cause. Also, they made a doubt whether or no the Queene had giuen him that in charge

The Scots will not admit Bowes to accuse him.

Booke 2. 1580.

expreſly, and therefore willed him to ſhew his inſtructions, which he refuſed to doe, ſaue to the King, and to one or two others; And ſeeing that he could not be heard, hee was preſently called backe, and tooke leaue of the King, when it was little thought on, complayning that the wholeſome admonitions of a well-deſeruing Queene were reiected.

Hume excuſeth it.

Shortly after, *Alexander Hume* is ſent from *Scotland*, to excuſe theſe matters, hee had not admittance to the Queene, but was ſent to the Lord *Burghley*, Treaſurer, who grauely and ſuccinctly gaue him to vnderſtand:

Burghley's admonitions to him.

THat it was not any contempt of his perſon, that was cauſe why the Queene would not permit him to ſee her, knowing very well by experience that he was well affected to Religion, to his Prince and Countrie, and moſt ſtudious for the peace of both the Kingdomes, but out of a iuſt ſence and ſorrow for the contempt which was ſhewed towards her Maieſtie, and of the truſt of her Ambaſſadour, who had contained himſelfe within the preſcribed bounds of his Legation: Layes all the blame vpon the new and ill-aduiſed Councellors: excuſeth the King, as not being of age to haue much experience, and wiſhed him to lend an eare to the holy and wholeſome counſels of the Queene, who truely bare him a maternall affection; and not to make leſſe account of them, than of thoſe from a French kinſman, the King of France his ſubiect, who laboured to marry him to a French woman of the Romiſh Religion, and peraduenture goes about (now the Hamiltons *exulting) to be deſigned the Kings Lieutenant. Let the King (*ſaith he*) remember that no paſſion is more feruent than ambition; and let the Scots remember what troubles the French had cauſed in Scotlãd, if the Queen by her wiſdome and power had not preuented it.*

So

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So *Hume* was sent backe into *Scotland*, and all of purpose to strike terrour into the King, and to make him beleeue that the Earle of *Lenox* had some pernicious designe against him and the Kingdome. Neuertheleſſe, within a while after, *Morton*, who was most addicted to the *English*, was accused by *Arran*, *Læsæ Maiestatis*, and cast into prison.

Morton imprisoned.

(***)

The end of the second Booke of the Annals and History of that mightie Empresse,

Queene ELIZABETH,

of most happy and blessed memory.



THE HISTORIE OF THE MOST HIGH, MIGHTY, AND Euer-glorious *Empresse*, ELIZABETH, *Inuincible Queene of* England, Ireland, &c. *True* Defendresse of the Faith, of immortall Renowne, and *neuer-dying Fame and Memory.*

OR,

ANNALES OF ALL SVCH REMARKable things as happened during her blest Raigne ouer her Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*; as also, such Acts as past betwixt her MAIESTY *and* Scotland, France, Spaine, Italy, Germany, *and the* Netherlands.

The third Booke.

Faithfully translated out of the *French*, and publisht in *English*, with the KINGS leaue and Authority, granted by his most Excellent *Maiestie*, to ABRAHAM DARCIE.

THE

HISTORIE

OF THE MOST

High, Mighty, and Renowned

PRINCE,

ARTHUR,

KING OF GREAT BRITAINE

These Noble Knights, for their worth and Vertues, were honoured with the dignity of Knighthood by Qu. Elizabeth; most of them in that Honourable & euer-remembred Voyage of C. Howard, Earle of Notingbã, L. high Admirall, and that renowned Souldier, the late Generous Earle of Essex, &c. in Spaine, before Cadiz, taken & ransacked by the English, Iun. 26. Anno 1596.

To the euery way Noble, and *accomplished with all vertues,*

Sir WILLIAM HARVEY, *Lord* HARVEY, *Baron of Rosse.*	Sir EDVVARD CONVVAY, the Kings Secretary of State.
Sir ORACE VERE.	Sir ARTHVR THROCKMORTON.
Sir ROBERT MAVNCELL.	Sir FRANCIS POPHAM.
Sir WILLIAM MOVNSON.	Sir RICHARD WESTON.

**Their Honourable Predecessours were for their deserts, aduanced both to Honour & Dignity.*

Sir Ch. Hatton was Lord Chancelor of England vnder Qu. Elizabeth: he dyed in Hatton house, the 20. of November, 1590.

The Right vertuous & generous,

Sir THOMAS *HATTON. *AND* CHRISTOPHER *HATTON.	Sir CARIE *RAVVLEIGH. EDVVARD *WRAY, *Esquire.*

* Wray *Lord Keeper of the priuy Seale.*

Sir * Walter Rawleigh *Knighted and employed about diuers worthy affaires of waight and consequence by Queene Elizabeth.*

I Here presume to consecrate to your perpetuall Honour, this Booke, which vnder the Honourable Shield of your Noble protections I haue sought to shelter, * knowing the Fame of this Heroicke Empresse to be no lesse deare vnto you, then your Illustrious Persons are carefull to propagate to all Posterities, your cleere and vntainted Names, which by your pious liues, and religious

* And wherefore? It is that these Noble persons haue by their worthy liues, purchased Honour to their noble selues, or else their Predecessors haue by their Vertues, deserued both Honour and Dig-

nity from this vnparalel'd Empresse; who as she was a true aduancer of Vertue, and destroyer of Vice, did liberally bestowe her Royall gifts of Honour vpon those and their Ancestors.

ous conuersations, you haue engrauen in the Temple of Eternity: your vertues cannot but cherish this History, which containes the life of so matchlesse a Queene, whose Diuine perfection the whole world admired, as one who was the perfect Patterne of Princesses, and the true Mirour & Honour of Virgin-kinde. I confesse, many (far better able then I a Stranger) could haue discharged this Enterprise with far more skill, and both in smoother and more elegant termes, if they had beene willing to honour their Labours and Industries with so rare and worthy a Subiect. But howsoeuer, I was willing the best I was able, to pay this my humble Duty to Her blessed Memory, and to your Honorable selues, by my poore endeuours to make knowne the desire I haue to intitle my selfe,

A true denoted to your resplendent vertues,

ABRAHAM DARCIE.

Booke 3.

THE HISTORIE OF THAT EVER Most blessed and Glorious Empresse, Queene ELIZABETH of happy renowne and matchlesse Fame.

OR ANNALS

Of all such things of note as hapned during her happy Reigne, as well in *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, as *Scotland*, *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Netherlands*.

The third Booke, and the foure and twentieth yeere of her Raigne, Anno *MDLXXXI.*

HEreupon, in the beginning of Ianuarie next, was *Thomas Randolph* Captaine of the Light-horse, sent into *Scotland*, with cōmand that he should attempt nothing that might any way bee preiudiciall to the present religion, or the peace of the two Nations: he was also to sollicite in the behalfe of the Lord *Morton*, that *Lenox* might be sent out of *Scotland*; and such of the Nobility as fauoured the English faction might

Randolphes intercession for Morton against Lenox.

Booke 3.

bee encouraged. *Randolph* the better to effectuate his message for the good of *Morton*, maketh recitall of his many great merits and good services done to his Maiesty, the inueterate malice of his aduersaries, the high respect and honor they ought to haue of Queene ELIZABETH, who expected nothing lesse then to haue her suit now reiected in so honest a cause. The King answered, that by the duty of his royall charge hee was to execute iudgment and iustice vpon a person so conuicted in matter of Maiesty, that he ingeniously acknowledged the Queenes manifold fauours; nor would hee act any thing might any way bee iustly offensiue to her Maiestie.

The King of Scots his answer.

Then after *Randolph* being admitted into the Assembly of the States of the Kingdome, reckoneth vp the well knowne benefits which both the King and Country had earst receiued from the Queene, namely:

Randolph complaineth to the Nobles of Scotland,

HOW by the blood of the English their Country had beene deliuered from the French; and of their King, his Kingdome and Religion she had euer been a chiefe supporter: but for any way seducing the King (although some but most falsly did intimate so much) or seeking to hold one foot of ground in Scotland, *shee neuer entertained such a thought; yet were they not ignorant that she wanted not opportunity, the King being in his cradle, the Queene-mother in Prison, and the Nobles in combustion. But on the contrary, all her royall care was for the conseruation of their King, her neere and deare kinsman, and allyed to her in a triple bond of neigborhood, religion and consanguinity: nor had shee euer found him or any of his Regents or Vice-Roies defectiue towards her in their loues before this* Aubigny *of* France *came into* Scotland: *but since his ariuall hee wholly vsurped the Regall authority, hee had withdrawne all affection from the*

the English, to bestow it vpon the French, who before his arriuall neuer somuch as acknowledged their King, had remoued from his person his most trusty friends, brought in strangers, had conferred with forraigners by letters (which he shew'd) for inuading England, *that he had brought the Scotish Presbytery into contempt with the King, as a people altogether turbulent & seditious, had peruerted the administration of iustice vpon the borders. Nor could her Maiesty endure a Prince so vertuous, so neerely allyed vnto her, to bee thus abused and caried away by such sinister practices.*

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Notwithstanding this, for the present there was nothing done either for *Morton*, or against *Lenox*, whom the Scots for the most part supposed no way guilty of such aspersions or calumnies as had beene obiected.

Randolph seeing that, thought hee would try another conclusion, consorts himselfe with the friends of *Morton* and *Lenox* aduersaries, bewaileth the miserable estate of *Scotland*, representeth to them the imminent perills which hang ouer the heads of the King, the Country and them all: complaineth that the Queens message by way of intercessiō hath beene slieghtly respected, suggesteth with them secretly to attempt to gaine that by force of Armes, which they cannot get by faire meanes, promising to further and furnish them out of *England* with men, money and munition. This Oratory of his proued so perswasible with them, that thereupon the Earles of *Argathel*, *Mont-Rosse*, *Angus*, *Mortons* Nephew by the brotherside, *Glencarne*, *Reuthen*, *Lindsey* & others became all of his side. But soone after they fell at discord amongst themselues, and seeing the King wholly caried away with the fauour of *Lenox*, nor no whit danted for the English forces which were now vpon the borders, and had already encountred theirs: generally respecting the kings personall presence with them (though a child) were not affraid

Endeauoreth to raise Rebellion.

Booke 3.

to bend all the powers they could make vpon *Lenox*, and thought it was enough to haue pity on *Morton*, notwithstanding the Earles of *Angus* and *Marre* practised couertly and cunningly with *Randolph* in the behalfe of *Morton*, and against *Lenox*; whereof *Whittingham* hauing aduertised the King, *Angus* was commanded to retire himselfe beyond the riuer *Spea*; & *Marre* to yeeld vp the Castle of *Sterlin* into the Kings hands: *Randolph* hauing an apprehension of feare, got him priuately into *Barwicke*; and seeing matters proue desperate, aduiseth *Angus* & *Marre* to prouide for themselues either in submitting themselues to the King, or to seeke the protection of the Queene of *England*. The Englisſh forces were no sooner withdrawne from the borders, but *Morton* conuicted of murthering the King had his head cut off: for he had confessed (as the report went) that *Bothwel*, & *Archebauld Douglas* had imparted their intent of making away the King, but in so tumultuous a time as that was, hee durst not reueale it. Nor could hee deny but that since the Kings death, hee had beene very inwardly conuersant, and more familiar then before with *Douglas* the Kings murtherer, and had promised by his letters if *Bothwel* should at any time be accused, to defend him the best he might. Instantly *Douglas* and others the friends of *Morton* fled into *England*.

Getteth him out of Scotland.

Morton beheaded.

His friends fled for England.

In the Low-Countries against the Graue *Van Reneberg* who had there valiantly serued the King of *Spaine*, and now laid siege to *Stenwicke* in *Friezland*, the States sent the Englisſh vnder the conduct of their General *Norris*, who with no lesse courage then good successe after he had twice releeued the besieged with victuals, caused the Enemy to raise his siege. But after that, comming to fight with *Verdugues* the Spaniard, & hauing the victory in his hands, his enemies put to flight, (suddenly fortune changing) he is beaten off the field, dangerously wounded, and many of his men slaine, amongst which (not to nominate the rest) were these men of

Norris victorious in Friezland.

Is discomfited.

note,

note, Captain *Cotton*, *Fitz-Williams* and *Bishop*. I know not well whether I should here recite a Combate which was betweene *Thomas* Chieftaine of the * Wallons, and Generall *Norris*; but *Norris* by the Law militarie being not permitted to admit of, because he was Generall of the Armie, his Lieutenant *Roger Fitz-Williams* accepted the Challenge, which two after a while trauersing their ground to and fro without one drop of blood-shed, betooke themselues to drinke freely together, and so of enemies became friends and parted. Yet here wee must not omit to obserue, that our Englishmen who of all the Northerne Nations haue beene most commended for sobrietie, haue learned since these Low-Country warres so well to fill their cups, and to wash themselues with Wine, that whilest they at this day drinke others healths, they little regard their owne. And that this vicious practice of drunkennesse hath so ouerflowed the Land, that lawes proscripts of restraint, are vsually made for the drying vp of the same.

* *Albanois.*

A ridiculous combate.

Drunkennes brought out of the Low-Countries into England.

But whilest they were all this while contending in the Low-Countries for Dorppes & Villages, the King of *Spaine* getteth into his hands the rich Kingdome of *Portugall*. For *Henry* which was King, hauing paid Natures tribute the yeare before, left the Realm to diuers Competitors, amongst whom *Philip* King of *Spaine*, sonne of his eldest Sister (puissant enough in force, though not in right) by reason of his priority in blood and descent, comming of the elder line, and being Male, thought with his friends himselfe worthiest to bee preferred to the succession of the said Kingdome, before the women, the yonger sort, and such as did lesse participate of the blood. The Duke of *Sauoy* reiected for that he came of the yonger Sister; *Farnese* sonne to the Prince of *Parma*, borne of the eldest Daughter of EDWARD, brother King HENRY, and KATHERINE of *Brabant*, second daughter to the said EDWARD, grounding themselues only vpon the benefit of *Representation* (a simple fiction) could not annihilate

The King of Spaine possesseth Portugall.

By what right.

Booke 3.

nihilate the true Title of Inheritance, nor intercept the King of *Spaines* lawfull succession, and this the Spaniards stood to maintaine.

And as touching *Don Antonio* Prior of *Crates*, sonne to *Lewis* the second brother of King HENRY, he was *ipso facto*, reiected, for that he was illegitimate. The King of *Spaine* neuertheless propounded the matter twice to his Clergy and men of Law to decide the cause, charging them in the name of God, and vpon their faith and saluation, to tell him freely whether hee had rightfull claime or no to that Kingdome. They hauing with vnanimous voice assured him that it was proper to him, he quickly (putting forth first the Duke of *Alua*) put to flight *Antonio* elected of the people, and within 70 dayes brought all *Portugall* vnder his iurisdiction.

The Queene of France her title to Portugall fetcht farre and reiected.

But touching the Right of *Katherin de Medicis* the Queen of *France*, who claimed it from *Alphonsus*, and the Earles of Boulogne for 320 yeares agone, that the Spaniards laughed at, as a Title out of date, and fetcht from the old Propheteſſe the Mother of *Euander*, a thing iniurious to so many of the Kings of *Portugal*, which had lawfully and lineally succeeded one another, and therefore ridiculous to both Spaniards and Portugals. Whereat the Queene incensed with anger, and considering how mightily the Spaniard (now in his ascendant) enriched himselfe farre and neare by the accession or surcrease of this new-got Kingdome, his Ilands, and the East Indies, breeding a feare within her, to her selfe, and the Princes her neighbouring friends, aduised them, and amongst the rest the Queene of England, that it was already high time to stay the Spaniards in his mounting, and to stop him vp within his owne bounds, before his ambition should extend any further.

Inciteth the Q. of England secretly against the Spaniard.

Queene ELIZABETH who was not to learne what shee had to doe in that nature for her selfe and her friends; and foreseeing how dangerous the growing greatet of the neighbour Princes would be, lent eare thereto with no light attention.

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tion: but with great and Royall kindneſſe entertained *Antonio* baniſhed out of *Portugall*, and recommended to her from *France*, thinking that *Spaine* could not take exception thereat, becauſe hee was of her Alliance, iſſued from the Blood Royall of *England*, and of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, as ſhee well knew, nor in any Treaties that euer had paſt betwixt *Spaine* and *England*, was any caueat at all inferred, forbidding *England* to receiue or to haue commerce with the Portugals.

Antonio baniſht Portugall, commeth into England.

At the ſame time, for the more confirmation of aſſured amitie, the Queene of *France* and the King her ſonne, proſecuting the mariage of the Duke *d' Anjou*, addreſt an honourable ambaſſage into England: for the conſummation thereof came ouer *François de Bourbon* Prince of Daulphiné, *Arthur de Coſſe*, Cont de Secondigny, Marſhal of *France*, *Louis de Luſignan*, *M. de S. Gelais*, *Lanſac*, *Salignac*, *Mauuiſſer*, & *Bernarde Briſſon*, Preſident of the Parliament of Paris, and one of the learnedeſt men of *France*: and others, who as they they were of Honorable ranke, were very nobly receiued, and banqueted in a Banquetting-Houſe built on purpoſe neere Weſtminſter, richly adorned with rare and ſumptuous furniture; and Titls and Tournaments proclaimed, which were preſented in a moſt princely manner by *Philip* Earle of *Arundell*, *Fred:* Lord *Winſor*, *Philip Sidney*, and *Fulk Greuill*, Knights, againſt all commers, with ſundry other courtly ſports, and Princely recreations, not neceſſarily coincident to our Hiſtory.

Delegates ſent into England from France about the Duke of Anjous mariage.

To conferre with them concerning theſe Nuptials, were appointed the Baron of *Burghley*, Lord high Treaſurer of *England*; the Earles of *Suſſex*, *Lincolne*, *Bedford* and *Leiceſter*, together with Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, and Secretary *Walſingham*: Amongſt whom theſe matrimoniall Contracts following were concluded vpon.

The

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Couenants of mariage concluded vpon.

THe Duke d' Anjou, *and the Queene of* England, *within six weekes after the ratification of these Articles shall personally contract mariage here in* England. *The Duke and his associates, seruants, and friends, being no English subiects, shall haue libertie to vse their owne Religion, in a certain place, in their houses, without molestation or impeachment.*

He shall not alter any part of the Religion now receiued in England. *Hee shall inioy and haue the Title and Dignity of King, after the mariage shall bee consummate; but notwithstanding shall leaue intirely to the Queene the managing of affaires. And whereas his demand was, that immediately after the celebration of the mariage, he should be crowned King instantly to inioy the title and dignity during the gouernment of the Kingdome, in the minority of their children: The Queene answered, she would propound and further it at the next high Court of Parliament, to be holden within fifteen dayes after the ratification. Letters Patents and other things shal be passed in both their names, as in the time of* Philip *and* Marie. *The Queene by Act of Parliament shall ordaine an Annuall pension for the Duke, but the valuation thereof shall bee left to her pleasure; she will also ordaine the said Pension to continue if he shall survive her. The Duke in Dowry shall bestow on the Queene to the value of forty thousand Crownes* per annum *out of his Duchy of* Berry, *and shall forthwith infeofe her therein. As touching their Issue, it shall likewise be enacted by Parliament in* England, *and registred in the Annals of* France *as followeth; That the Heires of them as well Males as Females by maternall right of Inheritance should succeed to the Crowne of* England. *And if there bee two males, the elder shal succeed to the Crown of* France, *and the*

the yonger shal haue the hereditary Right of his Mother. And if one sole male, he shal come to both the Crownes, and shall reside in England *euery two yeares, eight moneths. And if the Duke shall not attaine the Kingdome of* France, *the children shall succeed in* Appanage. *If he suruiue the Queene, he shall haue the tuition of his children till the sonnes shall accomplish the age of eighteene yeares, and the daughters fifteene : But if hee die before, the tuition shall be left to the Authoritie of the Parliament. Hee shall not promote any stranger to any Office in* England, *nor shall hee change any ancient Rite or Custome. He shall at no time carry the Queene or her Children out of the Realme, without consent of the Nobilitie. If shee dye issueless, hee shall no longer challenge any right in* England, *nor carie or conuay any of her Iewels out of the Land: he shall suffer euery one, and all places of the Kingdomes to bee guarded & kept by the natiue English; & shall not take or cause to be taken away any munition of Warre. Hee shall not engage* England *into any foraine warres. Hee shall to his power procure the Land peace with other Nations. The Queene shall onely enioy the Supremacie, nor shall assume any Title which may happen to fall vpon the Duke, as it were* holding by the custome of England. *The Duke by this match intendeth not to preiudice the Right of his succession to the Kingdome of* France. *The present Contract shall bee read, published, and kept vnder Record in all the Courts of* France *and* England, *within six moneths after the Espousals, with the Authoritie of the most Christian King, for the ratification of these Articles.*

There shall bee made a Treatise, Confederation, and League betwixt England *and* France. *These things shal be confirmed* de bona fide, *with an Oath on the part of the King of* France, *as well for him as for his*

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his Heires, who shall deliuer Letters of the confirmation thereof with all possible expedition hee may, carying assurance that the Articles in the present Treaty contained, shall be kept inuiolably also.

A reseruation added.

A reseruation apart was added vnder the hands and seales of all the Commissioners, implying thus much: That ELIZABETH *was not bound to the consummation of the mariage, till the Duke & she should haue commutually satisfied and reciprocally setled each other in certaine things betwixt themselues; and concerning these points, they were within six weekes by writing to certifie the King of* France.

Before the six weekes were expired, Secretarie *Somer* was sent into France about this businesse. But the King refuseth to giue him audience, vrging the instant celebration of the mariage already concluded; as if there had been nothing else remaining to bee done. *Somer* shewing vnder signe and seale that there was first a *defensiue* league *& offensiue* to bee performed, maintaineth the contrary. To moderate the matter, there was sent ouer Sir *Fran: Walsingham*, with Sir *Henry Cobham* Leiger Ambassador in *France*, and *Somer*, who deliuered this or the like speech.

The King of France vrgeth the mariage.

ALthough the vulgar sort doth censure hardly of the procrastinating of this contracted mariage, Queene ELIZABETH *intendeth nothing more, then to content her people, who are instant to haue her marry, that they may be secured of a succession in her children. Her Maiestie being sought to by the Duke of* Anjou, *by good right hath his loue preferred before all other Princes, by reason of his vertues and resplendent race, and shee protesting to beare vnto him most soueraigne loue, holding off from the consummation of mariage, onely vntill she could haue know-*

The Queen of England deferreth.

Booke 3.

Wherefore.

knowledge from her people, how they ſtand affected thereunto, holding it a point of wiſdome in the meane time rather to foreſee, then to repent too late, ſeeming in theſe reſpects to demurre the more, by reaſon of the ciuill warres in France, *the vnfortunate Duke of* Anjous *vndeſeruedly falling out of the Kings fauour, and in* England *an auerſion of heart in moſt of the beſt of her Subiects, ſince the firſt motion of the mariage, yet all this breeds nor brings no diminution of true loyall loue in her Maieſty towards the ſaid Duke. Alſo it was at this time out of ſeaſon for the French King, to vrge a preſent conſummation, knowing the Duke was newly entred into warre againſt the King of* Spaine, *the which he might not ſuddenly abandon, or relinquiſh, without great diſhonour to himſelfe, diſcommoditie to the Kingdome of* France *and* England; *as alſo the ruine of* Flanders, *the Spaniard there growing dayly greater and greater. Moreouer, inſtead of continuing peace at home, (for which the people prayeth) they muſt of neceſsitie bee brought to bloody warres, the Queenes husband being ſo deepely engaged thereinto. For theſe reaſons, from henceforth that Treaty of ſudden mariage is to ſurceaſe, vntill the Duke of* Anjou *were diſ-intangled out of theſe warres, and that interchangeable conditions of* Offenſiue *and* Defenſiue Alliance *bee paſſed betwixt the two Kingdomes of* France *and* England.

And aſſuredly the Queene deſired it aboue all things. But the French would promiſe no other thing but to paſſe to couenants of mutuall defenſiue, and as for the offenſiue, would heare it no further ſpoken of, vntill the Nuptials were celebrated.

Duke d'Anjou returneth againe into England.

Within a ſhort ſpace after, the Duke (whom the States had elected Gouernor of *Flanders*) comes into *England*, af-

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ter he had happily raiſed the ſiege of *Cambray*, at the charge and coſt of Queene ELIZABETH, who had ſupplyed him with great ſummes of money by the hands of *Henry Seimor*, *Palauicine* an Italian, and *Eex* a Frenchman. The hope he relyed vpon was this; that if he ſhould not preſently diſpatch the mariage, yet ſhould hee ſo effect, that by the fauour of the Queene (whom the Dutch honoured as an earthly Goddeſſe) he ſhould bee the better welcome to the Low-Countri-men at his returne.

Queene Elizabeth giueth a Ring vnto the D. of Anjou.

He ariued ſafe in *England*, and was magnificently entertained, and receiued with all royall courteſies could be expected, euident teſtimonies of honour and loue, which her Maieſtie ſhewed apparantly, inſomuch that on a time on the day of the ſolemnization of her Coronation (he being entred into amorous Diſcourſe with her Maieſtie) the great loue which ſhee bore him, drew a Ring from her finger, which ſhee gaue him vpon certain conditions meant and agreed vpon betwixt them. The aſſiſtants tooke that for an argument and aſſurance that a mariage was by reciprocall promiſe contracted betweene them. Amongſt others, *Aldegondy* Gouernor of the City of *Antwerpe*, diſpatched meſſengers ſuddenly ouer, into the Low-Countries; where for great ioy at the hearing thereof, both in *Antwerpe*, and all ouer *Flanders* were made bonefires, and their great Artillerie ſhot off. But this bred ſundry opinions among the Courtiers: For as ſome reioyced exceedingly, others were aſtoniſht at it, & ſome quite ſtrucke downe with ſadneſſe. The Earle of *Leiceſter* who had laid a ſecret plot to preuent the mariage, the Vice-Chamberlaine *Hatton*, and *Walſingham*, were moſt of all malecontented, as if the Queene, Religion and Kingdome had been vndone. Her women which were about her fell all in ſorrow and ſadneſſe, and the terror they put her into, ſo troubled her minde, that ſhe paſſed all that night without ſleepe amongſt her houſhold ſeruants, who made a conſort of weeping, and ſighing. The next

A motion of ſundry conceits in Court.

The Queen greatly diſquieted.

mor-

morning finding the Duke, and taking him aside, had serious discourse with him. The Duke retiring himselfe, after hee left her, into his Chamber, plucketh off the Ring, casteth it on the ground, taketh it vp againe, rayleth on the lightnesse of women, and inconstancie of Ilanders.

Her Maiesty thinks what inconueniencies might ensue in contemning and despising the Match with the Duke of Anjou.

As she was perplexed with these passions, shee called to minde what once the Lord *Burley*, and the Earle of *Sussex* had told her, that there was no *Alliance offensiue* to bee hoped for, without marying with the Duke; nor being alone and without assistancy, was able to withstand the greatnesse of the Spaniard. That the Spaniard offering his daughter in mariage to the King of Scots, hee would easily draw the Papists in *England* to be his adherents; and all the Fugitiues, Rebels, discontented persons, and such as were *sine spe, & sine re* (whereof the number was great) to be on his side. that al good people were now out of hope euer to haue issue of her body of the Blood Royall by this mariage; and now hauing their hearts alienated from her, hereby would cast their eyes and affections vpon some other of her *Competitors*. That also shee could not but highly displease the King of *France*, and the Duke his Brother, who after the imploiment of so much time, the holding of so many Counsels, the sending of such honorable Ambassadors, and the expences of so much money, could hardly endure to finde himselfe in fine derided, what colour so euer should be cast ouer the matter: And to raise mony for the Duke of *Anjou*, to imploy him in the warres of *Flanders*, assigning him an annuall Pension for the time to come. There remained also a scruple vpon her conscience, that he so deluded of her, might match himselfe in *Spaine*, and then shee should bee in danger on both sides, as well from *France*, as from *Flanders*, as euery one could breathe into her eares, and her selfe presage.

Some thought, that amidst this anxiety of doubtfull thoughts which troubled her minde about this mariage, the necessitie of the time and matter, made her put on a resolu-

Booke 3. Reaſons diſſwading her from marying.

tion that it would ſtand more with her honour, and the good of her Common-weale to liue ſingle, then to be maried; foreſeeing that if ſhe ſhould marry with a ſubiect, from ſuch diſparitie would grow diſgrace to her ſelfe, and kindle heart-burnings, ſecret diſpleaſures, and domeſtique troubles and hatred. If with a ſtranger, ſhe ſhould bring her ſelfe and ſubiects vnder a foraine yoake, and Religion in hazard; remembring withall how vnfortunate that match of her Siſter MARIES with King *Philip* was, and that of her great grandfather EDWARD the fourth, who was the firſt Engliſh King, ſince the *Norman* conqueſt, which tooke a ſubiect to wife. She feared alſo to transfer vpon a husband that glory, which whilſt ſhe liued vnmarried remained with her entire: withall, ſhe was diuerted in minde from mariage, by reaſon of the great perils ſhe ſhould be ſubiect to, by conception, and child-bearing, as diuers women and Phyſicians bore her in hand.

A booke publiſhed in print againſt the mariage.

Her Maieſtie likewiſe burned with choller that there was a booke publiſhed in print, inueighing ſharply againſt the mariage, as fearing the alteration of Religion, which was intituled, *A gaping gulfe to ſwallow vp* England *by a* French *mariage*. In this Pamphlet the Priuy Councellors which fauoured the Match were taxed of ingratitude to their Prince and Countrey: the Queene as not vnderſtanding well her ſelfe, by the way of flattery is tauntingly touched: the Duke *d' Anjou* and his country of *France* in contumelious tearmes ſhamefully reuiled: the mariage condemned, for the diuerſitie of Religions, by poiſonous words and paſſages of Scripture, miſerably wreſted, would ſeeme to proue that the Daughter of God, being to match with the ſonne of *Antichriſt*, it muſt needs bee the ruine of the Church, and pernicious to the State; neither would Queene ELIZABETH bee perſwaded that the Author of this booke had any other purpoſe, but to bring her into hatred with her ſubiects, and to open a gap to ſome prodigious inno-

innouation: it being so that shee neuer had respected so much the power shee had ouer her people as the loue they bore to her, and (as Princes are accustomed) was neuer more carefull then of her royall reputation: notwithstanding the writer of that booke neuer once made mention of meanes to establish in future securitie her selfe or Realme, or for auoiding danger, or how the States of the Land had in former times most importunately perswaded her Maiestie to mariage, to giue an assured remedy against imminent euils. And this she published in writing, condemning the Author of the Libell, made knowne the Dukes propensitie of minde towards her selfe, and to the Protestants Religion, grieuing to offer iniury to so worthy a Prince, who neuer had once motioned to haue any change in State, Commonwealth, or Religion. Shee also commended Sir *H. Simier*, the Duke's Agent for his modesty, and wisedome, whom some had before in malignant speeches calumniated: intimating to the people also that this Libell was a deuice of Traitors to stir vp hatred abroad, & seditions at home, commanding it should be burnt in the presence of Magistrates.

The Queens Declaration against this pernicious Libell.

Since that, shee begunne to bee the more displeased with Puritans then she had been before-time, perswading her selfe that such a thing had not passed without their priuitie: and within a few dayes after, *Iohn Stubbes* of Lincolnes Inne, a zealous professor of Religion, the Author of this Ralatiue Pamphlet (whose Sister *Thomas Cartwright* the Arch-Puritan had maried) *William Page* the disperser of the Copies, and *Singleton* the Printer were apprehended: against whom sentence was giuen that their right hands should be cut off by a law in the time of *Philip* and MARIE, against the Authors of *Seditious Writings*, and those that disperse them. Some Lawyers storming hereat, said the iudgement was erroneous, and fetcht from a false obseruation of the time, wherein the Statute was made, that it was onely temporarie, and that (Queene MARIE dying) it dyed with,

The Author discouered and he that had dispersed the bookes.

Booke 3.

with her. Of the which Lawyers, one *Dalton* for his clamorous speeches was committed to prison, and *Monson* a Iudge of the *Common-pleas*, was sharply rebuked, and his place taken from him, after that Sir *Chr. Wray* chiefe Iustice of *England* had made it manifest by Law, that in that Statute there was no errour of time, but the Act was made against such as should put forth, or divulge any seditious writing against the King; and that the King of *England* neuer dyed; yea, that Statute likewise in the first yeare of Queene ELIZABETH was reuiued againe to the Queene and her Heires for euer.

Right hands cut off.

Not long after vpon a Stage set vp in the Market-place at *Westminster*, *Stubbes* and *Page* had their right hands cut off by the blow of a Butchers knife, with a Mallet strucke through their wrests. The Printer had his Pardon. I can remember that standing by *Iohn Stubbes*, so soone as his right hand was off, put off his hat with the left, and cryed aloud, *God saue the Queene.* The people round about him stood mute, whether stricken with feare at the first sight of this strange kinde of punishment, or for commiseration of the man whom they reputed honest, or out of a secret inward repining they had at this mariage, which they suspected would be dangerous to Religion. These things passed within a little after the Dukes ariuall in *England*: and whilest hee stayed here, the Queene to take away the feare conceiued by many, that Religion should change, and Papists should be tolerated by the importunity of *Campian* the Iesuite (of whom I haue spoken) *Ralph Sherwing*, *Luke Kirby*, and *Alexander Brian*, who were indicted by an Act made in the 25 of *Edward* the third, for attempting the ruine of the Queene and Kingdome: for adhering to the Bishop of *Rome* the Queenes Aduersarie; for raising sedition in her Realme, and gathering forces together, to the vtter subuersion of her Dominions, of which they were found guilty and so condemned: for that they obstinately defended the Papall Authoritie against the Queene, they were put to death.

For

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For *Campian* then condemned, being demanded whether Queene ELIZABETH were right or lawfull heire? answered nothing; and againe, If the *Pope* should inuade the Land whether he would take his part or the Queenes? hee openly said, the Popes, which hee testified vnder his hand-writing. After these, some others were executed for the like matters, and for ten whole yeares space together since the Rebellion but fiue Papists. But I leaue the handling hereof to the Ecclesiasticall History; neuertheless with permission, I will briefely here obserue and note some such occurrences, as are adioyning with those of States. These times were such, as that the Queene (who was neuer of opinion that mens consciences should bee constrained) often complained to haue beene of necessitie forced to these punishments, lest vnder a pretext of conscience, and Catholike Religion, she should endanger her selfe, and her louing subiects: neuertheless her Maiesty beleeued not that the most part of these poore and miserable Priests had plotted the destruction of her country; but that their Superiors made vse of them as instruments of their mischiefe: for as much as they which were sent, were wholly subiect to the power and authoritie of them which had sent them. For when as such as were now and afterwards apprehended, were demanded, *whether by the Authority of the Bull of* Pius *the fift, the Queene of Englands subiects were so freed of their Oath of Allegeance that they might take Armes against her? whether they esteemed her a lawfull Queene? whether they approued the opinions of* Sanders *and* Bristow, *touching the Authoritie of this Bul? to which partie they would incline, if the Pope should warre against the Queene?* Some of them answered so doubtfully; others with such pertinacy; and some with such preuarication, or keeping silence, so mocked the questions propounded to them, that diuers Papists begunne to suspect that they nourished some falshood: and *Bishop* although ingenious, most zealous for the Roman Religion writ against them, shewing

The Iesuite Edm. Campian with other Priests are put to death.

The punishing of Catholikes needfull.

Suspition of them increased.

By their tergiuersation.

Booke 3.

shewing that this Cannon which had passed vnder the name of the *Lateran* Councell, vpon which was absolutely grounded the oath of absoluing subiects from their Obedience and fealty to their Princes, and for the deposing of them, was nothing else, but a Decree of *Pope Innocent* the 3, which neuer was receiued in *England*, as also that that Counsell was repeal'd and annihilated, wherein nothing was done by the Fathers of the same at that time.

The more the number of the Priests comming by stealth into *England* increased, the more increased suspitions of them, who secretly practised to grope the hearts of men, preached that it was lawfull to depose Princes excommunicated, muttered and murmured, that such as were not of the Roman religion, were to be depriued of all regall power and Dignity, and that such as had taken religious Orders were exempt from all obedience to Princes, nor were any such held to be subiect either to them, or their lawes. That the Pope had supreme power ouer the whole world, yea euen in politick affaires. That the Magistrates of *England* had no lawfull institution, and therefore were not to bee obeyed as Magistrates. And that whatsoeuer Queene ELIZABETH had done since the publication of the Bull *Declaratory* of *Pius* the 5, was by the Lawes of God and Man disanull'd and to be held for naught. And some of them denyed not in publike hearing, that they were sent for no other causes into *England*, then to absolue euery one seuerally and apart, of all oath of fidelitie and obedience towards the Queene, as the Bull had absolued all in generall, which they did in taking confessions of their reconciliation. And this they seemed to doe with more ease, in promising Absolution from all mortall sinne; and with more securitie, because it was done priuately, and *vnder the Seale of Confession.*

False positions spread abroad.

THE

THE FIVE AND TWENTIETH YEERE of Her Raigne.

Anno Dom. M.D.LXXXII.

THese and the like things brought vpon Papists new and sharper lawes, made by Act of Parliament at Westminster in the moneth of *Ianuary*, where all such were declared guilty of high Treason, which disswaded any of her Maiesties subiects frō their obedience to their Prince, or from the Religion now profest in *England*, or that should reconcile any to the Church of *Rome*; or which should haue beene so perswaded, turned, or reconciled. Two hundred markes fine, and a yeares imprisonment inflicted vpon those which should celebrate Masse so long till they had paid. And such as had willingly beene at any of their Masses, one hundred markes, and one yeares imprisonment: and such as were not found to resort to their owne Parish Churches to diuine seruice, for euery

New Lawes against Papists.

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euery moneths omiſſion ten pounds. Which was maliciouſly vnderſtood, and interpreted by the Papiſts of Lunarie months, who before had paid but one ſhilling to the poore for euery Sunday or Holidayes abſence. But I referre it to the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie, to intreat of theſe things more at large.

The Duke d'Anjou fayleth into Flanders.

The Duke *d' Anjou* after ſome three moneths abode in *England*, tooke his way towards *Flanders* in the moneth of February. Queene ELIZABETH in perſon accompanied him to *Canterbury*: and commanded the Earle of *Leiceſter*, the Lord *Charles Howard*, the Barons of *Hunſdon*, *Willoughby*, *Winſor*, and *Sheffeild*; Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, Sir *George Bourchier* Knights, and diuers other noble Gentlemen, to accompany him to *Antwerpe*; where he was created Duke of *Brabant*, of *Lymbourg*, *Lotharing*, &c. For the confederated States of *Flanders* had from thence proclaimed the King of *Spaine* falne from his Principality for infringing their Lawes; broken his Seales, caſt downe his Armes, and ſo abſolued the people from all oath of Fealtie, ſo that it was lawfull and free for them to elect another Prince. The Duke permitted all thoſe the vſe of the Romiſh Religion, which would ſweare Allegeance to him, and abiure the Spaniard. After this hee betooke himſelfe to the field, where he loſt *Aldenard*, and tooke in *Aloſt*. But ſix hundred Engliſh ſouldiers exclaiming of General *Norris* his imperious ſeueritie ouer them, forſaking him, fled to the Spaniard, vnder the leading of Captaine *T. Norris*, *Barney*, *Corniſh*, and *Gypſon*, who expoſing themſelues to all perils, and being baſely reſpected, were paid with ſlow and late repentance and infinite miſeries, the paine of their perfidiouſneſſe.

Hee is made there Duke of Brabant, &c.

Certaine Engliſh reuolt from him.

Generall Norris careth himſelfe generouſly, and behaueth himſelf valorouſly.

But notwithſtanding, General *Norris* with three hundred horſe, and the reſt of his foot-companies, got the renowne of a valorous and moſt iudicious Warriour, for his couragious encountering the Duke of *Parma*, who fell vpon him with

with a farre greater power, the whileſt he warily and wiſely made his retreat into the City of *Gand*, in ſight of the two Dukes of *Anjou* and *Orleans*, admiring his martiall valour from off the Ramparts, where they ſtood to behold him. But why inſiſt I vpon theſe matters? The Duke *d'Anjou* hauing now without ſucceſſe ſpent huge ſummes of money ſent him out of *England*, weighing with himſelfe that only apparant Titles were beſtowed vpon him; and conſidering that all the managing of theſe matters were in the power of the States, aſſayed by a precipitate counſell, with his Armie to enter by force *Antwerpe*, and ſome other townes; but all in vaine, and with the loſſe of many of his men; and ſhortly after was conſtrained ſhamefully to quit & leaue *Flanders*.

The Duke d'Anjou departed from Flanders with ſhame.

It ſhall ſuffice to note in a word, in paſſing, that nere vnto CHAPELLE in the month of May, in the 12 degree of *Gemini* appeared a Comet or blazing ſtarre, with bright ſhining beames, ſtreaming ouer the right ſholder of the Dragon. About that time happened a horrible tempeſt in *Norfolke*, with fearefull flaſhes of lightning and thunder of long continuance, with violent furious winds, and hailſtones of three inches about.

A Comet.

Queene ELIZABETH for better ſecurity, and to fortifie her ſelfe the more abroad againſt the *Spaniard*, whom ſhee knew to be infeſt againſt her, for that ſhe had furniſhed the Duke *d'Anjou* with moneyes, admitted into the fraternity of the order of Saint *George*, *Frederick* the ſecond, King of *Denmarke*, who had alwaies ſhewed himſelfe moſt affectionate towards her Maieſty; and to inueſt him therewith, ſent ouer Sir *Peregrin Bertie*, whom ſhee (as her Maieſty was euer nice in conferring honors) had with ſome difficulty, honoured with the title of Lord *Willoughbey* of *Eresby*, before he had giuen any proofe of his martiall vertue; howſoeuer the Ducheſſe of *Suffolke* his mother was daughter, and ſole inheritrix to the ancient Baronry of *Willoughby* of *Eresby*.

Queene Elizabeth beſtoweth the Order of the Garter vpon the King of Denmarke.

Booke 3.

The King of *Denmark* with ioyfulneſſe put the * chaine of Roſes about his necke, and the Garter about his legge, the other Robes he locked vp in his Cheſt, but refuſed to put them on, becauſe they were exotick, or to take the oath; for that he had taken one afore, when by the French King hee was inſtalled Knight of the Order of Saint *Michael*. The whileſt the Lord *Willoughby* was in *Denmarke*, he propounded to the King a complaint from the Engliſh Merchants, concerning the raiſing of Impoſts and cuſtomes, for that in times paſt for paſſing the *Oreſunde*, or ſtraits of *Denmarke*, they vſed to giue for euery ſhip but a Roſe-Noble, which made the fourth part of an ounce of gold, & as much for the fraught, with ſome ſmal peeces of ſiluer for the fire-beacons giuing light by night, vvhich vvere to direct them by their Sea-markes ouer the Shallowes, and by the Shelues, bankes, & Rocks. He treated alſo for the Merchants, that the tribute vvhich they call their LAST GELT might be remitted, by the vvhich they begunne (vvhen the Warres were ſo hot betwixt the Kings of *Denmarke* and *Sueden*) to exact, by vvay of borrowing, the thirtieth part of all manner of Merchandizes, vvith promiſe to repay them, or the value of them againe, the warre once ended. But theſe as matters of importance vvere referred till another time. For Princes doe ſeldome or neuer abate of their Cuſtome, Taxes, or Impoſts, eſteeming that ſuch things as theſe (vvhich they call Royalties) belonging to the rightfull liberty of euery Kingdome, are not things ſubiect to be moderated, or abrogated by any ſtrangers.

Queene ELIZABETH the better to ſecure her ſtate at home, imployed Sir *Walter Mildmay* to comprimiſe buſineſſe with the Queene of Scots. But finding that the *Guiſes* had conſulted with certaine Engliſh Fugitiues, about the ſetting her at liberty, and gathering forces together, vnder the pretext of ſending ſupplyes to the Duke of *Anjou* in *Flanders*, vvhich in very deed vvere to haue beene paſt ouer from

* Or, the Coller of Eſſes.

The Merchants complaint not regarded.

The Treaty with the Queene of Scots is deferred.

from the Hauens of *Aux*, or *Ew*, (obscure harbours of *Normandy*) into *England*, which the French King hauing notice of, out of his loue to Queene ELIZABETH certifieth her thereof, and stayed them: hereupon the matter was intermitted, and the Queene of Scots affaires deferred.

But by the vvay to meet with the *Guises* attempts in *Scotland*, whither it is supposed he employed the Earle of *Lennox*, to dissolue the League betweene the King of *Scots*, and the Englisn, whilest *Will: Ruthen* (lately created by the K. Earle of *Gowry*) begunne to be mutinous. He (for that hee vvould not degenerate frō his Father) bearing a mortall malice to the Kings Mother, together with others of his confederacie were to put in practice the best wits they had for the vvorking of the Duke of *Lennox* and the Earle *Arran* both out of the Kings fauour and company, vnder a colour of Religion, the Kings securitie, and the league of amity vvith *England*. Now behold their subtilty and crafty proiects. They begin to perswade *Lennox* vvho had been established L. High *Chamberlain* of *Scotland*, to exercise the rigor of his iurisdiction, though then out of vse, for no other purpose but to purchase his owne disgrace with the people, vvhilest the Presbytery out of their Pulpits should declaime against him as a Papist of the faction of the *Guizes*, and a rude and seuere Executioner of the Law; & should publikely foretell and denounce his ruine and destruction. When as therefore *Lennox* was departed from *Perth* where the King remained, to execute his office at *Edenburgh*, and the Earle *Arran* absent from the Court, *Gowrey*, *Marre*, *Lindsey*, and others, taking their opportunity, inuited the King to the Castle of *Ruthen*, being there, they held him in such feare that hee durst not walke abroad: such of his seruants as he thought best of, they sent away: the E. of *Arran* they arrested and cast into prison, and compelled the King by the intercession of Queen ELIZABETH, to recal the Earl of *Angus* out of exile, and to sends the Duke of *Lenox* into *France*, who as he was a Noble man

Gowry and others begin tumults in Scotland.

Gowries conspiracie. They intercept the King.

The Duke of Lennox driuen out of Scotland.

Booke 3.

man of milde disposition, and altogether inclin'd to the publike peace and good of the Land, by the Kings perswasion, but their impulsion, although he might easily haue stood vpon his guard, and withstood them, departed quietly from *Dunbriton*, where he tooke shipping for *France*. Not content with this, they forced the King by his Letters to signifie to Queene ELIZABETH this his interception, and that it was a meeting made by his willing consent with some of his Lords, concerning speciall businesses. But *Buchanan* they could not possibly perswade to approue this Act, or by composing any booke of this subiect, nor by perswasions of a messenger; but he wept bitterly and sorrowed grieuously, that he had to-fore taken the Rebels part against the Prince, and soone after dyed. A man (as himselfe sings in his Poems) though borne in a countrey barren for learning, yet hee attained to the soueraigne degree of Poesie; so as by right hee ought to bee accounted the Prince of Poets of our age.

An Embassie from the French King, sent to deliuer the King of Scots.

The French King hauing had certaine intelligence of the passages in *Scotland*, sendeth both with one message *Mons: de la Moteff* through *England*, and *Mons: de Manninguille* by Sea into *Scotland*, by all possible means to haue the King set at liberty, to confirme the French faction, to draw the King into loue & amity with *France*, and to let him vnderstand, that his mother to make him be knowne true and legitimate King by Christian Princes, and all *Scotland*, setting aside all partialitie, out of her motherly piety and indulgence yeelded him freely the title of the Kingdome; and admitted him into the society freely to Raigne. Shee (distressed Queene) in the meane time, afflicted with many miseries, the calamities of a prison, & in indurance, without hope of deliuery, bewayled the dismall fortunes of the King her sonne with her owne, in a large Letter written in French to Queene ELIZABETH, which the tender loue of a mother, and the disquietnesse of her Spirit, extorted from her,

the

the which out of the originall Copy of her owne hand-writing, I haue more briefely recollected, as followed.

Booke 3.

Mary Q. of Scotland, her Letter to Quene Elizabeth.

AFter I was certainly informed, that my ſonne was intercepted and detained in captiuitie (as my ſelfe haue beene for ſome yeares) a ſudden feare ſuggeſted into my minde, that hee, and I were to drinke of one cup of ſorrow: I cannot therefore in opening my ſad afflicted heart, but vtter my anguiſh, to imprint them if it may be vpon yours, offer the ſame to your conſcionable commiſeration, that the ages to come may know my innocency, and their tyrannie, by whoſe meanes I endure theſe intolerable indignities. But for that, their ſubtil plots and miſchieuous practices haue all this while been preferd with you before my iuſt complaint, it being in your gracious power to doe equity and iuſtice, where violence treadeth downe vertue, and might ſuppreſſeth right: I doe appeale vnto God immortall, whom alone I know to haue power ouer vs; Princes coequall in right and honour, and him (in whom there is no place for fraud, or falſhood) I will inuoke, that at the laſt day hee will recompence vs according to our demerits, howſoeuer my Aduerſaries the whileſt haue cautelouſly cloaked their treacheries from men (and perhaps from you.) I beſeech you now then in the name of God, and by his all-powerfull Maieſtie I adiure you, to call to minde, how cunningly ſome ſent forth in your name to me, could ſtirre vp the Scots my ſubiects, whileſt I liued with them, into open rebellion againſt me, and haue been the firſt mouers of all the miſchiefe, which euer ſince hath hapned in that countrey, as euidently appeareth by ſundry plain teſti-

The Q. of Scots deploreth herſons intercepting, and her owne deſolation.

Booke 3.

monies thereof, and Mortons *confession from his own mouth, who for such matters grew vp to great honors, whom if I could haue prosecuted, according to his desert; and if your assisting the Rebels had not been, they could neuer haue stood vp so long against mee, and my friends, as they did.*

When I was detained Prisoner in Lake-Leuin, Sir Nich. Throckmorton, *was the first that came to me in your name, who perswaded me to quit the Kingdome vnder Letters Patents, signed with my hand (which he assured me should be of no effect, as all the world knoweth them so to be) vntill that you had assisted the Authors of these Letters, with your fauour and Armes. But say in good sooth, would you acknowledge that your subiects should haue such power ouer you? The regall power I had in the meane time, by your aide & aduice, was taken from me, to be conferred on my sonne, a yong child, by reason of his Infant-age vnfit to manage the administration of a Kingdome. And when as of late, I determined to make him a lawfull resignation, for the certaine establishing of him in the Kingdome, hee was by force of Armes caried violently away by Traitors; who, doubtlesse had no other intent, then to depriue him (as they did me) of the Crowne, and perhaps of his life. After I got out of* Lake-Leuin, *and was to raise Armes for the suppressing of the Rebels, I sent you then the Diamond, which formerly you had giuen me, as a pledge of mutuall loue betwixt vs, when you made me many large promises, and faithfull protestations to succour and support me against the Rebels, when also you promised, that if I should come towards you, you would meet me in person vpon the frontiers, and would assist me. I relying vpon these promises so often and so seriously iterated (although your messengers had many times before deluded me) resolued to resort to you, as to*

a Sanctuary.

a Sanctuary. And assuredly, I had come, had I but found the way as open to me, and as easie to passe, as it was for those who reuolted against me. But before I could come at you, I was arrested vpon the way, guarded with troops of men, shut vp in strong places, and since that time haue endured things worse then death.

I know you will obiect some intercourses of businesse haue past betwixt the Duke of Norfolke *and me; but I assure you there hath neuer any thing past, preiudiciall to you or your Kingdome, as also your chiefe Counsellors haue giuen approbation thereto, as I can proue, who likewise promised mee by the way of attestation to procure your consent. And how I pray you should these so great persons promise your consent to a thing which might despoile you of honour, life, and Diadem? And notwithstanding, you would that euery one should be so perswaded.*

Besides, as diuers of the Rebels, by a tardy repentance re-aduising themselues, and by a Commission held betwixt our Deputies at Yorke, *vnderstood how wickedly they had dealt with me, they being besieged with your Souldiers in* Edenburgh-*Castle, two of the principall dyed miserably; the one by poison, the other in a halter. And that came to passe, for that twice I had dismist the Armies at your request, in hope of peace, which God knowes, whether euer my Aduersaries once haue thought on.*

Lidington and de Grange.

Since that, I had resolued to try whether patience can haue power to conquer cruelty, in suffering all extremities that can be imposed on a poore Prisoner. All conference with my sonne by Letters or Messengers, for this yeare, hath been denyed me, renting if it were possible the sonne from the mother by a sad separation of spirits.

I haue often propounded Articles of peace and con-

Booke 3.

cord to bee confirmed betwixt vs at Chatesworth by the most Christian Kings Ambassadors eleuen yeares agone, both to your Deputies, and to your selfe, and by my owne the last yeare, I dealt sincerely with Beal. But these profers were still reiected, delayes interpos'd, my best meaning euer suspected, and the affection of my true-intending heart continually condemned. Nor haue I reaped any other fruit by my long suffering, but that by a Prescription, I am dayly handled worse and worse, not indeed as a Prisoner, but as some abiect seruant of base condition. But truely I cannot longer endure these indignities, howsoeuer the matter shall fall out, if I die, I will manifest the Authors of my death; if I liue, I shall so effect (I hope) that the malicious practices of my Aduersaries shall dye, and passe the remainder of my dayes in more tranquilitie.

Wherefore, to take away all occasions of scandall betwixt vs, let the testimonies of the Spaniards, which were lately taken in Ireland, and all the examinations of the Iesuites be produced against mee. Let mee be arraigned openly, come in who can to accuse me, prouided withall I may haue the liberty to defend my selfe, and not be condemned before I be heard. The malefactors and vilest Prisoners are permitted to defend themselues and to confront their accusers. Why then am I denyed this lawfull libertie, being an anointed Queene, your neareſt Kinswoman, and the next lawfull heire to your Kingdome? But this last is that excruciates my Aduersaries, whose chiefest studies are bent to breed debate betwixt vs. Alas, alas! and why should this vex or afflict my enemics, when as I protest before God, and on my honour, I haue not thought this long time of any Kingdome but that of heauen. Neuertheless, you are bound by oath, royall duty, and Iustice, not to disturbe or impeach, after my death, my sonnes most certaine

Right,

Right, nor to abett, or aide those which seriously and secretly labour his ruine, both in England *and* Scotland, *as is too-too well knowne by the dealings of your Ambassadors in* Scotland, *who haue dealt (no doubt without your priuity) most treacherously with me, and all by the Earle of* Huntingdons *setting on.*

Is there any iust dealing in this, that a Mother should not be suffered to succour her sonne in distresse? nay, not so much as to be let vnderstand how he doth? If such as you sent for my sonnes good, had taken my aduice by the way, they would haue beene the welcomer to him, and I the more obliged to you; nor was there any reason you should so long conceale their goings thither, nor then keepe mee so straightly shut vp: but to speake freely, I beseech you let no more such be imployed for Scotland. *Thus much I dare promise my selfe, that* Hunsdon *will doe nothing but that standeth with his honour, nor* Huntingdon *any thing may tend to my good, for that which he hath already practised against me.*

I entreat you therefore by the bond of that consanguinitie which is betwixt vs, to bee circumspect for the safety of my sonne, not to intermeddle your selfe with the businesses of Scotland, *before you haue consulted with mee and the King of* France, *and hold all those for Traitors which keepe my sonne in hold, not suffering him to goe any where, but at their pleasure. In fine, I coniure you by the Crosse and Passion of Christ our Redeemer, that after so many yeares of desolation, I hauing libertie, may vpon iust tearmes, be suffered to retire my poore weake body into some quiet place out of* England, *there to refresh mee before my death, after the long and loathsome time of my imprisonment. This doing, you shall eternally oblige vnto you me and mine, but aboue all my sonne. Nor wil I euer*

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ceaſe to craue this, till you haue granted it me, my indiſpoſition enforcing this importunity. Let mee be vſed hereafter a little more gently, otherwiſe I ſhall not be able to endure; nor put mee off, to the diſpoſing of any, but of your ſelfe. What good or euill hereafter ſhall betyde me, I will impute all to you, vouchſafe mee this fauour, to let me know your pleaſure, either by your letter, or by the French Ambaſſador. I can repoſe no confidence in thoſe things, which the Earle of Shrewsbury *hath imparted vnto me, they are ſo mutable. I writ of late to your Councell, but you ſent me word, to acquaint none but your ſelfe with my buſineſſe: for there was noequity in it, in giuing them ſo much power to afflict me. And I cannot apprehend it otherwiſe, but that ſome ill-willers of mine, were the occaſioners of it, for feare that others, duly conſidering my iuſt complaints, in regard of your honor, & their duties, ſhould haue oppoſed thẽſelues. And now the laſt thing I am to deſire, is, that I may haue ſome reuerend Catholicke Prieſt to inſtruct me in Religion, for the ſaluation of my ſoule. This is a laſt duty not to be denyed to wretches of meaneſt ranck. You ſuffer the Ambaſſadors of foraigne Princes to vſe their Religion, and my ſelfe ſometimes haue granted toleration of ſeuerall profeſſions to my ſubiects: If this be denyed mee, I hope to bee excuſed before God, and I feare mine Aduerſaries ſhall not paſſe vnpuniſhed. Aſſuredly it will be a preſident to other Chriſtian Princes to exerciſe the like ſeuerity amongſt their ſubiects of different Religions, if this bee offered me, an abſolute Princeſſe, & of your neareſt alliance. As I am, I will euer be affected to you, in deſpight of my Aduerſaries; and ſtomacke they me neuer ſo much. I deſire not to haue my family increaſed, but I vpon neceſſity intreat to retain two of my maid-ſeruants to attend me in my ſickneſſe: let not mine enemies aſſwage their cruelty*

vpon

vpon me, in causing me to bee denied so small an office of humanity. Whereas I am taxed by the Earle of Shrewsbury, *to haue dealt otherwise (then I promised* Beal) *in surrendring my title in* Scotland *to my son, without your priuity: Beleeue not* Beals *suggestions, for I past no promise, but vpon certaine conditions, which I am not bound to performe on my part, vnlesse they be performed on yours: I haue yet receiued no answer thereof, and they haue beene long time silent; but for all that, in* Scotland *they haue not ceased their trecherous practizes to the ruine both of me, and my son; I cannot take this long silence, but for a deniall, and so I haue certified your Councell by Letters. That which the King of* France, *and the Queene his mother haue communicated to me, haue I sincerely communicated to you, and required your aduice, but you haue not vouchsafed me one word in writing, or by word of mouth: I cannot before I shall know what it is, submit my selfe to your Councell, concerning my affaires and Country; for that were extreame indiscretion. You know how my Aduersaries triumph in* Scotland *both ouer mee, and my imprisoned son: I haue attempted nothing in* Scotland *to your preiudice, but to stablish a solide peace in the Realme, hauing by so much the more a greater care then your Councellors, by how much my interest there, is more then theirs. I haue desired to gratifie my son with the title of King, to confirme him, and to burie all discords. Is that to take the Diadem from him? But the enemies of me, and my family, will not haue it confirmed: It is that that they dread, whilst they carie in their heart a witnesse against themselues, & finding themselues culpable of euills apprehend they should bee dealt with accordingly.*

Let not these, and others my aduersaries so blind your eyes, that during your life, and in your sight, they shall beare

Booke 3.

beare downe your neareſt kindred, and ruinate both the Crownes: as to that end they are plotting villanies againſt me, againſt my ſon, and perhaps againſt you alſo. Can it be any pleaſure, or honor to you, that I and my ſon, that you and we are by their meanes ſo long ſecluded, and kept aſunder? Reſume your naturall goodneſſe and meekneſſe, oblige your ſelfe to your ſelfe, and ſeeing you are a Princeſſe, be tender hearted to me a Princeſſe, the neareſt of your conſanguinity, that all things being ſet in quiet betwixt vs, I may paſſe the more peacefully out of this life, and that the ſighes and ſobbes of my afflicted ſoule aſcend not to God on high. To whoſe diuine power I preſent my daily prayers, that theſe my iuſt complaints, and ſorrowfull laments my take place with you.

From *Sheffield*, 8. Nouemb. 1582.

Voſtre treſ-deſolée plus proche parente, & affectionnée ſœur

MARIE R:

THE

Booke 3.

THE SIXE AND TWENTIETH YEERE of Her Raigne.

Anno Dom. M.D. LXXXIII.

ELIZABETH Queen of *England* being sundry wayes moued with these Letters (after she had giuen permission to the French Ambassador *La Mottef*, together with *Dauison* her owne Ambassador, to goe into *Scotland*; and had chosen out a time, wherin he might opportunely meet with the Duke of *Lenox* vnawares, then returning out of *Scotland*) she her selfe kindely receiued *Lenox*, yet gently blaming him for being somwhat slack in the Scottish affaires; and forthwith sent *Beale* Clerke of her Priuie Councell, for the dispatch of her Letters, (being indeed a man very austere and sharpe) to the Queene of Scots, to manifest the discontent

The Duke of Lenox's returne through England.

Booke 3.

of Queene ELIZABETH at the sight of her complaining Letters, and by the same meanes to treat with the Earle of *Shrewsbury* concerning her enlargement, because she oftentimes before, with sundry Letters had sollicited for it, and intreated that shee might yet at last (her security being established to her) inioy her libertie, and be an associate with her sonne, in the administration of Scotland.

Vpon these things was the Priuy Councell of *England* assembled: where after serious debating, and deliberate consultations, it was at length agreed that the Queene of *Scots* should be set at libertie vnder these following conditions:

It is consulted about the deliuery of the Q. of Scots.

THat if shee and her sonne would promise, not to enterprise any thing to the preiudice of Queene ELIZABETH, *or the Realme of* England. *That shee would confesse, that whatsoeuer* Francis *the second, King of* France *her husband, had vndertaken and performed, was altogether against her will and liking; and that shee would disproue and disanull it as vniust. That shee would confirme the Treaty holden at* Edenbourgh. *That shee would freely and ingenuously confesse and discouer all other complots & intendments which were since that time forged; and would vtterly condemne the same. That if shee would enter into obligation not to plot or doe any thing, directly or indirectly, to the impeachment of the gouernment, or administration of the Kingdome of* England, *either in things Ecclesiasticall or Ciuill; but to resist and hinder all those that should vndertake (in what manner so euer) any thing to the contrary, and to withstand them as enemies. That she would not during the life of Queene* ELIZABETH *claime any Right or Title to the Kingdome of* England, *and after her death to submit and referre the right of succession to the iudgement of the Estates. If she also, to cut off all equiuocations, and mentall*

tall reseruations, and to foreſtall all pretended excuſes, (that ſhee as a Priſoner accorded and condiſcended to theſe conditions, or being in a manner conſtrained) would confirme all theſe by her aoth, and the publique authoritie of the States of Scotland. If the King likewiſe would ratifie the ſelf-ſame conditions both by oath and writing, and for the more aſſurance would deliuer hoſtages for the performance.

As concerning the aſſociation which the Queene of *Scots* demanded to haue with her ſonne in the gouernment of the Kingdome, it was holden expedient by the Councell, that the Queene of *England* ſhould not intermeddle therewith. But if they could agree vpon the aſſociation between themſelues, then ſhould the League be ioyntly treated of with them both; but if otherwiſe, then apart with either ſeuerally.

Thus theſe things were debated on; yet without any ſucceſſe. For the Scots which were of the Engliſh faction, altogether reiected them, crying out aloud, that certaine Scots ſworne enemies to *England*, by the Councell of the Queene of Scots, were recalled out of *France*, and that *Holt* an Engliſh Ieſuite was ſecretly ſent into *Scotland*, there to attend a fit opportunitie to inuade *England*. Then there aroſe ſtrife betweene *Monſieur de La Motteſ*, and *Monſieur de Maninguill* Ambaſſadors of *France* of the one part, and *Bowes* and *Dauiſon* Ambaſſadors for *England* on the other ſide, which of them by inſinuating ſhould induce the King to the greater affectation of their Nation, or purchaſe the greater number to their party, vntill at length that with oblique deſignes they ingenuouſly became Counſellors either to other. The King himſelfe became as it were Mediator, and knowing how to temper things honeſt with things profitable, without prouing any way deficient either to the Church or the Common-wealth, hee wiſely endeuoured rather to calme the raging ſtormes of theſe factions then intermeddle with them.

The Scots of the Engliſh faction are againſt it.

The Engliſh and French in emulation, ſtriue to obtaine the fauor of the King of Scotland.

Booke 3.

them. But the Ministers of *Scotland*, being by a certaine zeale prouoked against the French; vpon the same day that *La Mottef* was by the Citizens of *Edenborough* inuited to a Feast, appointed a Fast; and the whole day vvith taunts and mocks, derided and scoffed the King of *France*, the Duke of *Guise* and the Ambassadors. And as the Ministers did this openly; so certain of the Scotch Nobilitie, (parties with the English) ceased not to persecute the French Ambassadors secretly in such sort, that first *La Mottef* retired himselfe, and after him *Maninguil*; leauing notwithstanding some certaine seeds of discord amongst those who had seaz'd and kept the Kings Person.

The King of Scotland seekes the loue of the Queene of England.

As soone as they were departed, the King presented by Colonell *Stuart*, and *I. Coluil*, all affection and seruice to the Queene of *England*, requesting her counsell for the allaying of troubles, and also for the contracting of a mariage. But then those that were keepers or detainers of the Kings person, seeing that the French Ambassadors were departed out of *Scotland*, began to take courage, which after was increased by the death of the Duke of *Lenox*: who finding small comfort from the French King, that then was intangled with diuers intestine troubles; and striuing likewise to please Queene ELIZABETH, departed this life at *Paris*: and by the testimonies which he gaue on his death-bed, being at the point of death, in the presence of all the assistants, hee declared himselfe to be truely of the Protestants Religion, confuting and conuicting the malice of those that had falsely accused him to be a Papist.

The Lord Esme Stuart Duke of Lenox reputed a Papist by some malicious ill-willer of his, dyed at Paris a true and sincere Protestant.

This the death of *Lenox*, much secured those that detained the King, who reioyced for the still retaining of him in their power: whereupon they began to exult. But see, they little suspecting any such matter, the King; although he had scarce yet attained to the age of eighteene yeares, disdaining to submit himselfe any longer to the rule and gouernment of three Earles, being an absolute King of himselfe: as he be-

fore-

Booke 3.

fore-times had giuen way to the time; ſo now finding a time opportune to his purpoſe, he ſet himſelf at liberty, and with a few ſelected men retired himſelfe to the Caſtle of Saint *Andrewes*, taking occaſion by a rumour that was ſpread, that the Nobilitie diſagreeing amongſt themſelues, had brought with them ſeuerall troopes of Souldiers into that part of the Country, there to hold an aſſembly which hee appointed, fearing leſt he amongſt theſe tumultuous iarres ſhould be expoſed to ſome vnexpected danger. And to that effect he diſpatcht Letters to Queene ELIZABETH, wherein hee promiſed to entertaine a conſtant league of amitie with her, and to embrace her counſell in the eſtabliſhment of his affaires; excuſing himſelfe that theſe things fell out ſo ſuddenly, and vnawares to him, that it was not poſſible for him to giue her notice thereof ſooner. Afterwards, vſing gentler ſpeeches, and milde perſwaſions, ſhewing an affable countenance to thoſe that were his guardians, he admoniſhed them, for the better ſhunning of turmoyles, to retire from the Court, promiſing to them his gracious fauour and pardon, if ſo be they would intreat it. Of theſe *Gowry* onely asked pardon, and ſubmitted himſelfe, vſing this ſmall diſtinction, *That he had offended not in matter, but in forme.* After this, he call'd backe the Earle of *Arran* to the Court, accepting him for one of his fauourites, much labouring to eſtabliſh the hearts of his Nobilitie in a mutuall peace and amitie, and to purge both the kingdome and the Court from inteſtine iarres and diſcord.

The King of Scotland ſets himſelfe at libertie.

His Maieſty vſeth kindly thoſe who formerly had ſeaz'd themſelues of his Royal perſon.

Cals to the Court all ſuch Nobles as ſtood and were of his ſide.

Whilſt he was thus buſied continually in theſe matters, there ariued at his Court Sir *Francis Walſingham*, ſent from the Queene of *England*, out of her earneſt loue & great care that ſhe alwaies had of him, leſt by ill counſels, being of a flexible age, he ſhould bee diuerted from the amity of *England*, which would bee to the preiudice of both the Kingdomes. *Walſingham* at his ariuall found the King accompanied with the chiefe and flower of his Nobility, and the affaires

Walſingham is ſent into Scotland from Q. Elizabeth

Booke 3.

affaires of *Scotland* better ſetled then hee expected. Being receiued & admitted, after much diſcourſe he rehearſt thoſe admonitiõs takẽ out of *Iſocrates* which the Queen before in her letters had inſtructed him with: *That he which commands ought ſo to cheriſh truth, as to giue more credit to its ſimple affirmation then to the oaths of others: That he ſhould take heed of euill counſellours, remaining ſtill conſtant & alway like himſelfe.*

The King of Scotland anſwers him freely.

The King made this free and hearty reply: *That what he writ more then his thoughts meaning, was againſt his will, much refuſing, yet inforced by the compulſion of others, that he being a free Prince, ought not to bee reduced to ſuch ſtreights that others ſhould force counſellors vpon him, whom hee altogether miſliked: That he had done nothing but for his owne honour and ſafeguard: That the pledge of his loue, which he before had vowed to his indeared Siſter the Queene of* England, *hee now freely and deſeruedly offered; and that now hee could produce more fairer fruits of amitie, being obeyed of all his Nobilitie then before when he himſelfe was made obedient to one and to another, and rul'd as it were rather by intreating, then by power or commandement.*

Walſinghams remonſtrations to his ſacred Maieſtie.

After this, *Walſingham* requeſted the King not to impute to Queene ELIZABETH any thing that had happened in *Scotland*, ſhewing him how good & profitable their friendſhip had hitherto been, and how expedient both for himſelfe as alſo for either Kingdome, if ſo bee ſhee ſuffered no neglect, but were firmely aſſured; and if the differences and contentions which happened amongſt the Nobility of *Scotland* were but for a certaine *Amneſtia* aboliſhed by the authority of the Parliament: that thoſe that were remoued from the Court ſhould bee taken into grace: that Religion ſhould be conſerued entire in it ſelfe; and a firme league eſtabliſhed betwixt the two Kingdomes. Neither was *Walſingham* any way defectiue in the diſtribution of his money amongſt the Kings Officers and Attendants, that by their meanes hee might effect theſe things. The King thus modeſtly

destly replyed: *That he willingly embraced the friendship of* England, *and would not be wanting in any obseruance towards the Queene; but most constantly defend the Religion receiued.*

The King answered them.

With this answer he graciously discharged *Walsingham*, notwithstanding he suspected him to be transported both against himselfe, and his mother, and with an intentiue prouidence, beyond the expectation of his yeares, hee managed his affaires, and proposed to the great praise of his clemencie, letters of grace to all those that had seized his person, if they within a time prefixt would come and intreat pardon. But so farre they were from asking it, that they priuatly tooke counsell together, and complotted how they might haue him againe vnder their power; which was the cause that he presently commanded them within a certaine time to leaue the Kingdome: whereupon some retired them to one part, and some to another; that is to say, *Marre, Glan, Boide, Zester-wemi*, and *Loch-leuin* into *Flanders*; *Dunfermelin* into *France*, and *Angus* was confined to *Angus* within certaine prescribed limits. Onely *Gowry* hatching in his braines new stratagems, remained in the Realme beyond the prefixed day; but to his owne confusion, as hereafter shall be recited.

The King propounds a Pardon, to those who had seaz'd themselues of his person

Hee commands such as refus'd it to void the Kingdome.

Thus those that before had driuen the Duke of *Lenox* out of *Scotland*, were within the reuolution of the same yeare themselues expulst the Land. And the King to whom *Lenox* in his life time was much indeared, and beloued, after his death cherishing the memory of his goodnesse, he reestablished, and vnclouded his reputation, by suppressing certaine defamatory bookes, which some malignant persons had dispersed to eclipse his worth and vertues; he likewise recalled his children out of *France*; confirmes his sonne *Lodowicke* in his fathers honors; and his daughters after they were growne to ripe yeares, he preferred them in mariage; one with the Lord Marquesse of *Huntley*; the other, with the Earle of *Marre*. And that he might shew himselfe a King by exer-

His Maiesty re-established the Reputation and Honor of the Duke of Lenox, causinglikewise his children to returne into Scotland.

Booke 3.

exercising in due time his authoritie, whereas those of the conspiracie had declared in a publike assembly, instituted by their authoritie, that the arrest & detaining of his person was iustly & lawfully performed, and therupon enrolled the said Declaration amongst the publike Registers: the King on the contrary, in a generall assembly of the Nobilitie and States, declared that it was traiterously done. Notwithstanding, the Ministers, as the supreme Iudges of the Realme, pronounced in a Synode conuocated by their authoritie, that it was most iust, and did hold it fit that those which would not approue thereof, should vndergoe the censure of Excommunication.

The Ministers are against the King of Scotlands Authoritie.

In those dayes the warres betwixt the Emperor of *Muscouia*, and the King of *Swethland* vnder the Artique Circle, must not be left to obliuion. *Iohn King* of *Swethland* perceiuing his powers farre too weake to resist so great an Emperor, sent in Noble Embassie towards Queen ELIZABETH, *H.* of *Wissembourg* his neere kinsman, and *A. Rich* his Secretarie, by Letters to request her Maiestie to intercede by Ambassage to the Emperour for the conclusion of a peace betweene them. Which she presently vndertooke, and without delay performed so well, that with reasonable conditions she induc'd the *Muscouit* to a composition of peace: who forthwith treated with her concerning the alliance, of which I haue often made mention, and that hee might bee allow'd refuge and a retreat into *England*, if any disastrous aduersity should fall vpon him: likewise he desired a Wife should be giuen him out of *England*. But Sir *Hierome Bowes*, Knight, being sent Embassadour, found it a difficult matter to content the *Emperour*. For the Muscouite most importunately laboured for an absolute league in such tearmes as hee himselfe should set downe; neither would hee giue any hearing to any remonstrances which hee propos' d, that it was not the duty of a Christian, neither would the Law of Nations permit, that hostile enmities should bee denounced, and practised,

Q. Elizabeth obtaineth of the Muscouian Emperor a peace for the King of Sweden.

That Emperor requires an absolute alliance with England, being a suter to her Maiesty, to grant him an English Lady for his wife.

Sir Hierome Bowes is sent Ambassador to him from England.

practiſed; or open warres begunne, before the party from whom the wrong proceeded, were admoniſhed to repaire the iniury, and deſiſt from it. Booke 3.

The Queene appointed the Siſter of the Earle of *Huntington* to be giuen as a Wife to him. But when ſhee was certified, that the Lawes of his Countrey would permit him at his own pleaſure to repudiate and put away his wiues; Shee excuſed the matter by the ſicklineſſe of the maid, and by the loue of her father, that was not able to beare the abſence of his Daughter in a Country ſo farre diſtant. And alſo that it was not in her power to diſpoſe of in mariage, the daughters of any of her ſubiects, without their parents conſents. Neuertheleſſe, the Ambaſſador ſo farre preuailed, that the eſtabliſhing of the Merchants priuiledge, was granted. But death taking away the Emperour, the yeare following, the affaires of the Engliſh begaňne by little and little to returne towards *Ruſsia*, and the Ambaſſador returning, not without much danger of his life, was with much commendation kindly receiued of the Queene. Hee was the firſt that brought into *England*, where the like was neuer ſeene (if an Hiſtorian may with good leaue make mention of ſo ſmall a thing) a beaſt called *Maclis*, which is a creature likeſt to an Alçe, very ſwift, and without ioynts. And moreouer, certain Deere of wonderfull ſwiftneſſe, which being yoakt and driuen, will with much ſpeed draw men vp and downe in Chariots like horſes.

The Emperor died.

A certaine kind of Deere called Maclis.

But to returne againe to the affaires of *Muſcouia*, *Theodore Iohannide*, ſonne to *Iohn Baſil*, ſucceeded in this great Empire; a Prince by nature of a ſlow capacity, yet he knew well how to follow the aduice of his beſt Counſellors. Hee gaue free paſſage to all Merchants of all Countries into *Ruſsia*; and being oftentimes ſollicited by the Queene of *England* to confirm the priuiledges granted by his father to the *Muſcouian* Company of Engliſh Merchants, importing thus,

Theodore the New Emperor of Muſcouia diſallow'd the company or Monopolie of Englands Merchants.

Booke 3.

that it might not be lawfull but to the Englisſh of the ſaid ſociety, to land vpon the North coaſts of *Ruſsia*, and there to exerciſe their traffique, without paying of any tribute or cuſtome, becauſe they were the firſt by ſea that found a way to thoſe parts. Hee againe requeſted that all the Engliſh in generall, might be ſuffered to traffique in *Ruſsia*, eſteeming it iniuſtice to giue leaue to ſome, and forbid others, ſaying, that Princes ſhould beare an equall hand amongſt their ſubiects, & not conuert into a Monopoly, or the particular profit of ſome few men that commerce by which the right of Nations ought to be common to all. And as for the cuſtom hee promiſed to take by the halfe leſſe of them of that ſocietie, then of others. Other priuiledges hee added in fauour of the Queene, and not for the deſert (as hee ſaid) of that ſociety, of which, ſome he hath obſerued that haue euilly dealt with his ſubiects. Other anſwer could the Queene by no meanes procure, or obtaine; albeit ſhee afterwards ſent about the ſame affaires *Egide Fletcher* Doctor of the Law, who ſet forth a booke called, *The policy or tyrannie of the Ruſsian*, wherein were contained many things worthy obſervation, but it was preſently ſuppreſt, leſt it ſhould breed offence to a princely friend.

Alberto Alaſco a Polonian Nobleman came then to England to ſee Queen Elizabeth.

The ſame Summer came from *Poland*, neighbouring vpon *Ruſsia*, into *England*, to viſit the Queene, one *Albret Alaſco*, *Count Palatine* of *Sirad*, a man moſt learn'd, of comly ſtature and lineaments, wearing his Beard long, richly cloathed, and of gracefull behauiour: the Queene with much bounty and loue receiued him; the Nobles with great honour and magnificence entertained him; and the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford* with learned recreations, and diuers paſtimes delighted him; but after a while finding himſelfe ouercharged vvith debt, he priuily ſtole away.

A wonderfull and fearfull Earthquake in Dorſetſhire.

In this yeare alſo was ſeene in Dorſet-ſhire a thing no leſſe prodigious, then that which was ſeene in the yeare 1571 in *Herefordſhire*. A field of three Acres ſituated in

Black-

Blackmore, both with trees and hedges was remoued out of its owne place into another, leauing in its ſtead a huge vaſte gappe, but the high-way leading to Cerne ſhut vp; whether this was by ſome ſubterranean earthquake, ſuch wherewith (as *Seneca* reporteth) the heads of the gods in the bed of *Iupiter* were turned into the contrary parts: or out of too much moiſtneſſe, cauſed by the ſprings abundantly flowing in thoſe parts, the field being ſituate in the ſide of a Hill, let others make enquirie.

The death of Thomas Ratcliffe, Earle of Suſſex.

This was the laſt yeare to *Thomas Ratcliffe*, being of that Family the third Earle of *Suſſex*, a man of haughty courage, exquiſit counſell, of a ſingular faith towards his Countrie, and of an illuſtrious Progeny. He had to his Mother the Daughter of the Duke of *Norfolke*; for his Grandmother, the daughter to the Duke of *Buckingham*, Conſtable of *England*. Himſelfe alſo had paſt through many great honorable imploiments. As being ſent Ambaſſador by Queene MARIE into *Germany* to the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, to contract a mariage betweene her and *Philip*. Then againe into *Spaine* to the ſaid *Philip*, there to cauſe him to ratifie the conuented Articles. Alſo for Queene ELIZABETH he went Ambaſſador to the Emperour *Maximilian*, there likewiſe to contract a match betweene her and *Charles* Duke of *Auſtria*. Hee was Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, Gouernor of the Northerne Prouinces of *England*; alſo the Queenes Chamberlaine, chiefe Iuſtice in Eire of all her Maieſties Foreſts, Parkes and Chaſes beyond the Riuer Trent; famous for the victories hee had obtained againſt the *Hebrides* and *Scots* that made ſpoile of the frontiers. Dyed at *London*, after he had been afflicted with a long diſeaſe, leauing no iſſue behinde him; albeit hee had had two wiues, the Lady *Elizabeth Wriotheſly*, and the Lady *Francis Sidney*; and his brother *Henry* ſucceeded him in the Earledome.

Henry Wriotheſly likewiſe, Earle of *Southampton*, paid

Booke 3.

Likewise the deceaſe of Henry Wriotheſly Earle of Southhampton.

like tribute vnto death, a man much deuoted to the Roman Religion, and to the Queene of Scots, which hee bought with the anger of his Queene, and reſtraint of libertie. He was ſonne to *Tho: Wriotheſly* (who for his tryed vertues by *Henry* the 8, from the dignitie of Baron of *Wriotheſly* of *Tichfield*, and Knight of the Order of the Garter, was aduanced to that ſoueraigne greatneſſe of being *Chancelor* of *England*, and appointed him one of the ſuperviſors of his laſt Will. And by *Edward* the 6, he was graced with the ſtyle of Earle of *Southampton*.) Hee left by his Wife, Daughter of *Anthony Browne*, Viſcount *Mountague*, *Henry* his ſonne that ſucceeded him, and a Daughter maried to *Thomas* Lord *Arundel*, Baron of *Wardour*.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight, drowned vpon the Sea by ſhipwracke.

It is a moſt difficult matter, and a very hard thing to bring the Colonies in farre countries.

About the ſame time Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* Knight, a man acute and deliberate, eſteemed induſtrious both in Peace and Warre, was by the raging Ocean depriued of life, returning from the North parts of *America*, which we call *New-found-Land*: whither he a little before, hauing ſold his patrimonie, made a voyage in hope to build there a Colonie. And there by the ſound of a Trumpet proclaimed the Countrey to be vnder the Engliſh regency. (For *Sebaſtian Cabot* in the yeare 1497, vnder the Reigne of *Henry* the 7, made the firſt diſcouery therof.) And then diuided the Land ſeuerally to his companions. But he was taught (too late) by the deuouring ſeas, and default of meanes, which forc'd him to breake off his deſignes, teaching others alſo by his example, that it is a matter of greater difficulty, by the expences of a priuate man to plant a Colony in farre diſtant Countries; then he and others, blind in their owne errors, haue to their vtter ouerthrow perſwaded themſelues.

The death of Edmund Grindal, Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury

Vpon the ſame inſtant, *Edmund Grindal* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of *England*, being blind, and aged aboue ſixty yeares breathed his laſt. Who at his returne from exile, which hee endured vnder the Reigne of Queene MARY, was firſt inueſted Biſhop of *London*, then Arch-

Archbishop of Yorke, and finally of *Canterbury*, liuing much honoured with the fauour of Queene ELIZABETH, vntill by the foule deceits and treacheries of his enemies hee was suspected to be a fauourer of the Conuenticles of those turbulent Ministers, and such as were called Prophets. But the reason was indeed, because hee condemned as vnlawfull the mariage of *Iulius* an *Italian* Physician, with another mans wife, which much distasted the Earle of *Leicester*. Such small meanes as he had gathered, he bestowed in the founding of a Schoole at Saint *Bee* in *Cumberland*, where hee was borne, and to the aduancement of Learning on both the Vniuersities.

A wood called Tamarin first brought into England.

The English besides is bound to him for the bringing in of *Tamariske*, or *Tamarin* into *England*: for hauing found by experience that it was a soueraigne remedie against the great and indurate passion of the Spleene, hee was the first that caused it to be planted there.

Iohn Whitgift was his successor, being aduanced from the Sea of *Worcester*, to the Archbishopricke of Canterbury, a man of singular goodnesse and learning. He obtained much commendation for his Iustice in the precedencie of *Wales*, and likewise for his great doctrine in the defence of the Ecclesiasticall policy, which by his worth, wisedome and patience, he dayly increased. The Queene, (who held for a maxime, that she ought not to be more remisse in Eccleſiasticall affaires then in politick) aboue all cõmanded him to re-establish the discipline of the Church of *England*, that as then lay dismembred by the conniuency of Prelates, the obstinacie of innouators, and by the power of some great ones, whilst some Ministers couertly impugned the authoritie of the Queene in things Ecclesiasticall, separating the administration of the Sacrament from the preaching of the Word; vsing to their owne fantasie new rites of seruices in their priuate houses, vtterly condemning the Lethargie, and the appointed manner of administring the Sacrament, as being

Iohn Whitgift is preferred to the Archbishopricke of Canterbury.

Booke 3.

in many things contrarie to the holy Scripture; and therefore many refused to goe to Church, but openly became Schismaticks: the Papists all this while applauding them, and drawing many to their party, as though there had been no vnity in the Church of *England*. To abolish which things, and to reduce them to an vnitie: Hee propounded these Articles to the Ministers, by them to bee subscribed.

He endeuored to vnite the English Church.

First, That the Queene had Soueraigne power ouer all those that were borne within her Dominions, of what conditions so euer they were; and that no other Stranger, Prince, or Prelate, ought to haue any power, either Ciuill, or Ecclesiasticall, within her Maiesties Realmes. Secondly, that the Booke of Common Prayers, and that of the ordination of Bishops and Priests, contained not any thing contrarie to the Word of God, but might be lawfully vsed; and that they should vse that and no other forme of Prayer or administring of the Sacraments. Thirdly, That they should approue and allow of the Articles of the Synode holden at London, *the yeare* 1562, *published by royall Authoritie, and should hold them as conformable to the Word of God.*

But it is incredible what Controuersies and Disputations arose vpon this: what hatred and reproach hee endured of the factious Ministers: what troubles and iniuries hee suffered of certaine Noblemen; who by placing men vnfit in the Church increased their estate, or else had hopes vpon the goods of the Church. But by his constancie, and patience, he ouercame all difficulties, vsing for his Motto this, which he chose not rashly:

Vincit qui patitur.

Neither

Booke 3.

Neither was the Church onely tossed and turmoiled by those people within the Realme: but by others, who had left the Kingdome; as by *R. Browne*, a Cambridge Diuine, of whom the new Sectaries were called *Brownists*: and by *R. Harison*, Master of an inferiour Schoole. For these men presuming to iudge of Religion, according to their owne imaginations; by certaine books which they set forth at that time in the Countrey of *Zealand*, and dispersed through many places in *England*, vtterly condemned the Church of *England* as no Church. Which bookes, notwithstanding, were prohibited by Royall Authoritie, and strongly confuted by many learned men, and two of the same sect also put to death at Saint *Edmundsbury*; yet many were intangled in the snares of this new Schisme.

Brownist Schismatiques.

On the other side, there were certaine bookes, dispersed by certaine Papists against the Queene and other Princes, as excommunicate, which caused diuers admirers of the Papall power to reuolt from her Maiestie. Amongst others *Somerville* was so farre incensed by it, that without acquainting any, he took his way one day towards the Court, breathing forth threats against the blood of Protestants, furiously set vpon two with his naked sword. And being apprehended, he protested he would kill the Queene with his own hands: Whereupon being brought to iudgement, and condemned, he accused *E. Ardern* his father-in-law, a man of ancient nobilitie of *Warwicke*, with his wife and their daughter *Somerville*, with *Halle* a Priest, as complices in the fact. Three dayes after, *Somerville* was found strangled in the prison; *Ardern* being condemned was the day following hanged and quartered: as for the women and the Priest, they were pardoned. Euery one imputed the bad euent of this Gentleman (who indeed was allured by the deceits of the Priest, and condemned by his owne confession) to the malice of *Leicester*, which he had incurred by rashly opposing him in all things he could, misterming him as an adulterate; and contemning

One Somerville strangled himselfe in prison, and Ardern is hanged.

Booke 3.

The Engliſh betray Aloſt, and doe deliuer it into the hands of the cruell Spaniard.

A miſerable end of Traitors.

The Earle of Deſmond is killed.

temning him, as a man newly ſprung vp of nothing.

Theſe things were thus caried at home. But it hapned abroad about the laſt moneth of this yeare, that the Engliſh which were in Gariſon in (*Aloſt*) a towne in the Netherlands, perceiuing they were neglected, wanting of their pay; and being vnfurniſhed of victuals, they were brought into ſuch ſtreights, that *Pigot* their chiefe Commander with the reſt of the Captaines betrayed the town, and induced by the promiſe of certaine ſummes, they deliuered it ouer into the hands of the Spaniard; and therefore fearing to bee diſgrac'd by their own party, they ioyned themſelues vvith the Duke of *Parma*; from whom likewiſe by little and little they fell off, after they found his faith failing in euery point. But an vnfortunate end betyded to euery one of thoſe that were authors of this treachery. For *Pigot* retiring into *Spaine* in hope of a recompence, was there by them both mocked and derided: ſo returning into the Low-Countries, was by his Country-men apprehended, and ſent into *England*, where he miſerably dyed in priſon. *Datton* from a Traitor turned Pyrat, and was hanged in *England*: *Vincent* likewiſe in *Brabant*. *Taylor* was ſtrooke through the body by the Earle of *Weſtmerland*. And *Walſh* after hee had beene oppreſſed and beaten with infinite miſeries, was murdered in *France*. Thus God the reuenger of all Traitors, followeth Treaſon at the heeles. As *Ireland* the ſame yeere by many notable examples could witneſſe.

For that famous Rebell, and Traitor to his Country, *Gerard Fitz-Gerard*, or *Geraldide*, the eleuenth of that Family, Earle of *Deſmond*; after that his men (who had miſerably vowed ſooner to renounce God then forſake him) were conſumed by ſword and famine; hee fled into certaine vnfrequented Caues where he liued; fruſtrating (almoſt by the ſpace of two whole yeares) the hope of the Engliſh that ſought to apprehend him: at length hee was diſcouered by a common ſouldier, who not knowing him, had almoſt cut

off

off one of his armes: whereupon he discloſed himſelfe, and was, after hee had receiued many wounds vpon his bodie, ſlaine; his head was ſent into *England*, and there placed on a pole vpon London Bridge.

The like vnfortunate end hapned to a man of great power in *Ireland*, extracted of the line of *Maurice* ſonne to *Gerald* of *Windſor*, an Engliſhman, a warrior moſt famous amongſt the chiefe that brought *Ireland* into ſubiection, in the yeare 1570, poſſeſſing great Lordſhips, euen whole Prouinces, with *Kerria* which is a County *Palatine*, and diuers Caſtles, hauing vnder his command many land-holders; beſides 500 Gentlemen at the leaſt of his owne kindred and name. Of all that, & more, of his life alſo, he was depriued, leauing only ſome few of his family behinde him: this his owne and his friends ruine, he himſelfe procured, by violating his faith, which he ought to his Queene by the perſwaſion of certain Prieſts. Amongſt which one *Sanders* an Engliſhman was the principall, who dyed for hunger almoſt in the ſame inſtant, being left of all friends, and diſtracted from his ſenſes by reaſon of the croſſe ſucceſſe of the Rebels, contrarie to his expectation, wandring through Woods, Groues and Mountaines, finding no ſuccour or reliefe. After his death were found in his pocket ſundry Orations and Letters written to confirme and harten the Rebels: ſtuffed with large promiſes of the Pope and Spaniard. Thus the diuine Iuſtice of God (if it were lawfull to iudge) cloſed vp his mouth with hunger, which was alwayes open to ſtirre vp and moue rebellions, and to vomit forth ſlanders and lyes. For he was the firſt (to paſſe ouer other things) that raiſed and diſperſed that horrible ſlander of the birth of Queene ELIZABETHS mother; which thing was not to any of thoſe times knowne, onely the hate of the Papiſts beganne to manifeſt it ſelfe againſt her; neither was it heard of in *England* for the ſpace of forty yeares after, but the circumſtance of time, doth plainely conuict him of falſhood and vanitie,

Nicholas Sanders, an Engliſh Seminarie Prieſt affamiſht himſelfe.

Booke 3.

and himselfe also not agreeing with his owne sayings (as it behooueth a lyer) doth argue the same. Yet there bee some distempered spirits that blush not to stain their Papers with this most impudent lye and slander.

Iacob Fitz-Eustace.

Vicount of Balting glasse fled away out of Ireland.

That is to say the sonne of *Eustace*, Viscount of *Baltinglas*, a man of great esteeme amongst the Nobility of *Ireland*, being terrified with the tragicall successes of these men, tooke his flight into *Spaine*; where after a long and languishing griefe he yeelded vp his Ghost. Hauing before through the zeale which he bore to the Roman Religion taken vp armes with the Rebels against his Princesse; and in a kinde of obscure breuity, writ to the Earle of *Ormond* his neighbour descended from Saint *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, inciting him to do the like, in his exhortation amongst other hee vs'd these words. *If* Saint *Thomas of Canterbury had not suffered death for the Romane Church, you had neuer beene Earle of Ormond.* For *Henry* the second to expiate the murder of S. *Thomas* bestowed large possessions vpon his Ancestors.

Sir Iohn Perot is made Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Sir Iohn Perot.

Knight, who to his great praise had beene Gouernour of *Mounster*; being this yeare created Vice-Roy, or otherwise Deputy of *Ireland*, and presently after receiued the sword of Iustice; he assembled the States of the Land to the holding of a Parliament, in which certaine Lawes were enacted; that the Earle of *Desmond* which was slaine a space before should be condemned of *Læsæ Maiestatis*, and all the possessions as wel of him and others of the Rebels in *Mounster* confiscate. Which the Queene set to sale at a very low and small price; that she might inuite labourers & husbandmen to them, lest such fertile grounds should bee vntilled, and altogether waste (for the rebellion had spoiled and deuasted the same.) But some of those that had Commission for the

Labouring men are sent into Ireland.

the enquiry and searching out of the possessions of the Rebels, and others that were to prize and set the same to hyre, began to expell and chase from their possessions with such violence those who were true subiects, that the Queen was constrained to represse them by an Edict, lest the violent auarice of some particular men might kindle and inflame a new rebellion. In which the Vice-Roy tooke much laudable paines; although by the English he was accused and blamed, for being too indulgent and fauorable to the Irish, and too too rough to them. But he equally distributing iustice to either part by fauouring as well the *Irish*, as the *English*, brought the Prouince into a most desired tranquilitie, and with a milde and gentle command subiected to the obedience of the Lawes, the most barbarous inhabitants of the same: holding the Scotchmen of *Hebrides*, that from their Ilands did breake into *Ireland*, to a hard taske. And inforc'd *Donel Gormi* (that is to say blue) with his brother *Mac-Conel*, who had possest thēselues of the little Country of Glinnes, and *Surley-boy*, (that is to say, Red) their Vncle, that had inuaded the Countrey of Rout, neighbouring and adioyning to the Iland *Richnee*, now called *Raclis*, to such a point, that after many of their kindred were ouercome and slaine by the valorous exploits of Captaine *Meriman*, they receiued the oath of allegeance to the Queene, accepting from her Maiesty certaine Lands in that corner, vnder conditions that they should serue the Kings of *England* onely in their warres, and not any other whatsoeuer without their permission: that they should furnish forth vpon any expedition a sufficient number of horse and foot; and that a certaine number of Beeues and Hawkes should euery yeare be truely paid. Thus much for what hath past in *Ireland*.

The gesture and behauiours of Iohn Perot Vice-Roy of Ireland.

Booke 3.

THE SEVEN AND TWENTIETH YEERE of Her Raigne.

Anno Dom. M.D.LXXXIV.

Troubles in Scotland.

DIVERS Scots that had compacted with *Gowry*, who now againe was plotting of new ſtratagems to get the King of Scots into his power, ſecretly returned from *Ireland* into *Scotland* vpon the entrie of the Spring. There they proteſted openly, that their intent was onely for the honour of God, the truth of Religion, and to ſecure the King, the Realme, and the League with *England*, againſt thoſe that with wicked deuices would ſeduce the King, not being as yet of ſufficient age. The King hauing notice of theſe things, hee forthwith commanded Coloneil *Stuart* to apprehend, before all, *Gowry* the chiefe Architect of the conſpiracy, who preſently retired himſelf to a Port called *Dundey*, as though he would haue departed the Kingdome, whe: he knowing himſelfe

himselfe guilty, despising the Kings authoritie, obstinately withstood them, and defended himselfe in his lodging: but after two houres, he was apprehended, and led to prison.

Booke 3.

The Earle of Gowry is taken.

In the meane while the Conspirators surprising the town of *Sterlin*, they constrained the Castle to yeeld. But vnderstanding that the King was marching towards them in person with an armie; and finding themselues but weakely accompanied, in respect of the number, vvhich *Gowry* had promised them; also in vaine attending succours out of *England*, they forsooke their hold. And as euery one being full of feare, sought to shift for himselfe: the Earles of *Marre*, *Glan*, and *Angus* holding together, vvith others took their flight through many by-wayes into *England*: humbly requesting the Queene to releeue them in their afflictions, and bee an intercessor for them to their King, seeing that they vvere depriued both of their fortunes, and the Kings fauour, by endeuouring for the good of her and her Kingdome. The King on the contrary accused them to the Queene of many hainous things, demanding according to the league of alliance betweene them, that they might bee deliuered into his hands. But there were some about the Court that perswaded the Queene that they were men most obedient to their King, and most desirous of his welfare; that hauing him vnder their custody and power, yet neuer attempted any thing against his state or person; and that law which was vsually expressed in leagues concerning the deliuerie and restoring backe of Rebels, was long since abolished and out of vse amongst Princes. These men also endeuoured to perswade the King of Scots that he should deale more mildly and gently with men of such and so great ranke, and not to driue them (as it were headlong) through despaire to more bad designes. Remonstrating to him, that terrour and violence vvere but feeble and vnhappy props of power, alledging to that end two tragicall examples drawne out of the Scottish Historie, attributing great praises to his mother & *Francis*

The conspirors are dispersed.

Queene Elizabeth succoureth some of them.

The King demandeth them by the League,

but in vaine.

Booke 3.

her husband, that at the firſt riſing of the French ciuill war, paſt ouer the iniuries and offences of the Nobility without regard.

Walſingham fauoureth the fugitiues. Hunſdon againſt thē.

Walſingham, that ſtudiouſly fauoured the fugitiues, by letters commanded that they ſhould bee receiued into the Iſland called *the holy Iland*; but *Hunſdon* (who ſhewed himſelfe a greater friend to the King of *Scots* then any other) oppoſed it, becauſe the iuriſdiction of the place appertained to him, as gouernor of the Eaſt frontiers, hee thought it altogether vnfit, that any entrance ſhould be permitted to the *Scots* in a place of ſtrength, neither would he obey the letters of the Secretary without expreſſe command from the Queene. From hence aroſe a controuerſie, whether a Secretary could by his authority direct or execute the affaires of his Prince, without receiuing ſpeciall command from him, and without the counſell of the gouernor of the place: What was determined thereupon is not manifeſt, but the *Scots* were not admitted into the Iſle. Neuertheleſſe it was eſteemed expedient, that they ſhould be in ſome ſort fauored, tò oppoſe the contrary faction which aroſe in *Scotland*, which was that the Miniſters had ſpred & rumored abroad, that the King was about to forſake his religion, but they could not produce or alledge any argument probable (although they had framed many, but onely that he was wholy tranſported with a filiall loue towards his mother, and receiued as a moſt indeered to him, thoſe which he knew were affectionate to her.

Controuerſie, or the power of a Secretary argued.

The arraignment of Gowry.

In the meane ſpace *Gowry* was brought to iudgment before the Peeres at *Sterlin*. And was accuſed to haue plotted a new conſpiracy againſt the King after he had been confin'd priſoner to his houſe: Notwithſtanding that the King had lifted him vp to great honours, riches, and Commands, and accounted of him as a kinſman. To haue conſulted by night which the ſeruants of *Angus* for the taking of *Perth* & *Sterlin*. To haue reſiſted by force of Armes, the authority royall

all at *Dundey*. To haue concealed the conſpiracy which was complotted to ruine the King, and the Queene his mother. And laſtly, To haue conſulted with the ſorcereſſe *Maclene*. To all this he pleaded innocency, and an vnſpotted faith towards the King. He acknowledged the benefits which hee had receiued. He complained bitterly of the Earle of *Arran* as his enemie, and one thirſting for blood, ſaying that hee was apprehended by his cunning policies, being vpon the point of departure out of the Kingdome, and by him was with the hope both of life & grace which he promiſed him, ſo farre allur'd and treacherouſly ouer-reacht that hee confeſſed all that was obiected to him : and therefore thoſe things ought not in right and equity, or any conſequence, be brought againſt him, being by treachery and deceit extorted from him. As for the reſiſtance which he made hee excuſed, becauſe he perſwaded himſelfe that the letters of protection, ſealed with the Kings great Seale, which hee had with him, were of greater conſideration and value, then which the Earle of *Arran* had written with his owne hand for his apprehending. Hee likewiſe anſwered that hee was not ſo much blame-worthy, in concealing for ſo ſhort a time the conſpiracy againſt the King and his Queene-mother, as hee deſerued praiſe at laſt for diſcloſing of it. And finally, proteſting, that from his heart hee vtterly hated all witches and ſorcerers, he openly ſaid, that if there were any at all, hee verily beleeued that they liu'd in the Courts of Princes. The Peeres, after they had according to the cuſtome ſworne, that they had in no waies moued or incited the Kings Aduocate to accuſe him, they pronounc't him guilty of *Læſæ Maieſtatis*, and in the end his head was cut off, which by his friends was preſently taken and ſtiched to the body, and ſo buried.

He defendeth his own cauſe.

He is beheaded.

Euen in the ſame time whilſt theſe *Scots* enterpriſed theſe things againſt their King, in the ſeruice (as they pretended) of Queene ELIZABETH, to their owne ruine. Certaine Engliſh

Booke 3.

Engliſh likewiſe to do ſeruice to the Queene of *Scots*, began to plot againſt their own Queene things of no leſſe weight, and attended on with the like bad ſucceſſe. Of which was chiefe *Francis Throckmorton* eldeſt ſon of *Iohn Throckmorton* Iudge of *Cheſter*, but by deuices of *Leiceſter* hee was degraded, and puniſhed, becauſe that (if I faile not in theſe law matters) hee had ſtuffed and corrected in many places a copie of iudiciall tranſaction taken out of the originall which was corrupted, and did not preſent it with all faults and defects. This *Francis* became firſt ſuſpected by reaſon of letters which he had written to the Queene of *Scots*, and were intercepted: and therefore he was clapt into priſon, where hee beginning to confeſſe, *Thomas* Lord *Paget* and *Charles Arundell* a Courtier ſecretly left their Country, and fled into *France*, where they with others zealous in the Roman Religion bitterly deplored their misfortune; complaining amongſt themſelues that by the means of *Leiceſter* and *Walſingham*, they had without any deſert vtterly loſt the fauour of their Queene, that they were vnworthily afflicted with iniuries and opprobries, that many ſtratagems were deuiſed againſt them, and diuers ſnares laid, to force them againſt their owne wills and intentions to runne into the crime of *Læſæ Maieſtatis*: neither was there any hope of helpe or ſuccour left for them within the Kingdome. And ſurely at that time, that they might with more eaſe ſound the mindes of men, there were put in practice many fraudulent deuices; counterfeit letters were ſuborned, in the name of the Queen of *Scots*, and the reſt of the fugitiues, with their hands falſly thereto ſubſcribed, and theſe were caſt into the houſes of the Papiſts. Spies were likewiſe ſent forth to gather the diſperſed rumors, and captate ſcattered ſpeeches. Then reporters of tales and falſities were accepted and welcomed; and many vvere ſuſpected: but amongſt others the Earle of *Northumberland*, and his ſonne; the Earle of *Arondell*, vvho vvas cõfined to his houſe, and his vvife vvhich was giuen

The treaſon of Francis Throckmorton.

The Lord Paget retyreth into France.

The complaints of the Catholikes.

Spies are ſuborned.

Many ſuſpected.

giuen in keeping to *Shirley*; *G. Howard* brother to the Earle; and *H. Howard* their Vncle, brother to the Duke of Norfolke; who was oftentimes examined about Letters written from the Queene of Scots; *Charles Paget*, and a certaine fellow as then vnknowne called *Mopus*: and notwithstanding he was wise and innocent, yet he had much to doe to defend and warrant himselfe from their traps. Neither were these artificiall policies, and easie credulities to bee holden or esteemed, as things vaine; when the matter lay vpon the safeguard of the Queene. For then the detestable malice of the Papists began to manifest it selfe, publiquely divulging bookes, wherein they exhorted the seruants of the Queene to doe by her as *Iudith* to her immortall fame dealt with *Holofernes*. The Author of these bookes could not certainly be discouered; but the suspition lighted vpon one *G. Martine* of *Oxford*, a man well learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues; and one *Carter* a Booke-binder, becauſe he causeſd them to be imprinted was put to death.

The malice of the Papists against the Queene.

And forasmuch as by these books the Queens honour was much distained, and she rumoured abroad to bee tyrannous and cruell; She which aboue all things laboured and studied to leaue to the world a happy memory of her goodnesse; She was much moued and incensed against those that had knowledge of the causes which thus prouoked the Papists, as barbarously cruell, and iniurious to her honour. Insomuch that they found it needfull for them, to excuse themselues by divulged writings, importing these protestations of their part.

The clemency of the Queene towards the Papists.

THat they had alwayes entreated the Priests in a more milder fashion then they deserued, neither euer vrged any questions to them concerning Religion; but onely of their pernicious machinations against their Prince and Countrey; moued by strong suspitions with probable signes and arguments

Booke 5.

thereto. That Campian *was neuer ſo extremely tortured, but that hee was able to walke and ſubſcribe his hand to his confeſſions. But* Brian *refuſing either to ſpeake or write his name that was author of thoſe myſticall writings which were found about him, was kept from all food, vntill by writing he demanded it.*

But this yeelding no ſufficient ſatisfaction to the Queene, ſhe commanded the Commiſſaries that were appointed for criminall proceedings, that is to ſay, the examiners, to abſtaine from tormenting, and the Iudges from puniſhing. And a ſhort while after, thoſe ſeuentie Prieſts, whereof ſome were condemned to be put to death, and all of them had incurred the cenſure of the Law, ſhee cauſed to bee baniſhed out of *England*; amongſt which, the moſt eminent were *G. Heywood*, ſonne to that famous Epigrammatiſt, the firſt Ieſuite that entred into *England*; *I. Boſgraue* a Ieſuite alſo; *I. Hart*, of ſingular learning aboue the reſt; and *E. Richton* that monſter of ingratitude, who preſently after, vomited vp the poiſon of his malice againſt the Queene, to whom hee was indebted for his life, and publiſhed it in open writing.

Prieſts are baniſhed.

Edward Stafford Ambaſſador for the Queene in *France*, diligently obſerued, how the Baron of *Faget* and *Arundell* were ariued in *France*: But could not penetrate into their deſignes. Neuertheleſſe he ſollicited the King of *France* to expell as well them as *Morgan* and other Engliſh that vvere confederates and complotters againſt their Queene and Country. But his anſwer was:

Fugitiues demanded of the King of France.

The anſwer of the King of France.

THat if they did plot or enterprize ought in France, the King according to equitie would chaſtiſe them; but whatſoeuer they had done in England, the King would neither enquire after, nor execute the Law vpon them. That all Kingdomes were free, and open to fugitiues, and that euery King ſhould labour to defend the liberties of his Kingdome: That

That ELIZABETH *her ſelfe had not long before receiued into her Realme* Montgomerie, *the Prince of* Conde, *and others of the French Nation. And that (at that time)* Seguri *the King of Nauarre his Ambaſſador, remained in* England, *plotting new deuices againſt the King of* France.

Whilſt theſe things paſt on, *Bernardin Mendoza* Spaines Ambaſſador in *England*, ſecretly paſt into *France*, murmuring and raging, as if he, contrarie to the right of Ambaſſie, had beene forc'd out of *England*; being indeed a man of violent and turbulent nature, and hauing himſelfe abuſed the holy and ſacred rights of Ambaſſadors, did deſerue (according to the opinion of many) after the ancient ſeueritie, to bee purſued with ſword and fire: Hee was commanded to depart the Realm, becauſe he had intermixt himſelfe amongſt thoſe wicked conſpiracies, with *Throckmorton*, and others, that laboured for the bringing in of Strangers into *England*, and diſpoſſeſsing of the Queene: for which being gently reproued, he in ſtead of excuſing and purging himſelfe by a modeſt reply, accuſed the Queene and her Councel about the money which was detained from the Geneuois, for the aide and ſuccours which were ſent to the States of the Netherlands, to the Duke of *Anjou*, and to *Antonio* King of *Portugall*, and alſo for the Pyracies of *Drake*. But leſt the King of *Spaine* ſhould thinke the rights of Embaſſie vvere violated by this, and not the offence of *Mendoza* reuenged, *W. Waade* one of the Queenes Councell for the expedition of Letters, was diſpatched into *Spaine*, there plainely to demonſtrate how miſchieuouſly *Mendoza* had behaued himſelfe in his Ambaſſage. And to ſignifie likewiſe, leſt the Queene ſhould be thought by returning of *Mendoza*, to renounce the ancient friendſhip betweene the Kingdomes, that ſhe was ready to performe all Offices of humanitie towards him, if the King in *Mendoza's* place would ſend any

The Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſent out of England.

Waade is ſent into Spaine.

Booke 3.

Is not receiued.

other more carefull for the maintaining of friendship, prouided that the like might be performed to her Ambassador in *Spaine*. But the King disdaining to receiue or conferre with *Waade*, referred him to his Councell. Whereat *Waade* somewhat incensed, boldly declared, that it had beene an ancient custome ouer all, that the Ambassadors should bee admitted to speake in presence euen of their enemies, and in time of Warre. And that the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, father of the King, gaue admittance to the Herald that denounced warre against him from the King of *France*, refusing to impart to the Councell the tenour of his Ambassie. Now *Idiac* Secretarie to the King of *Spaine* endeuoured himselfe much to come to the knowledge of those matters, but his Art and policies failing him, hee was fully instructed out of *France* of the whole passage by *Mendoza*. Whereupon laying aside the quality of a publike person, he familiarly declared to *Waade*, that to his griefe hee saw many men which bent all their studies to breake and seuer with mischieuous deuices the Leagues and amity of Princes and to increase their enmities. That the iniury was done to the King of Spaine himselfe, and not to Ambassadors: first on the person of *Dispez*, and then of *Mendoza*. That there was no reason why he should any more accuse *Mendoza* to the King, that had receiued for his fault (if hee committed any) sufficient punishment, being so ignominiously and disgracefully sent backe. That the Catholique King had dealt iustly in rendering like for like; and as the Queene had dismissed *Mendoza* without hearing, but appointed him to bee heard by her Councell, the King in like manner had appointed him to the Cardinall *Granuellan*. To this *Waade* made answer, that there was a large difference between himselfe that had neuer giuen the least distaste to the Catholike King, and *Mendoza* who had highly & grieuously offended the Queene, hauing insolently, a great space, disdained and refused to come neere her, and committed many things vnfitting

fitting and vnworthy an Ambassador. Notwithstanding all this, *Waade* could not bee admitted but returned into *England* without being heard. All those crimes for the most part which were obiected against *Mendoza* were taken out of the confession of *Throckmorton*.

For when *Throckmorton* saw himselfe at the point of being apprehended; hee sent vnto *Mendoza* a little trunke, wherein were contained his secrets; neuertheless his other trunkes being diligently searched, there were found two Catalogues; in one of which were contained the names of the Ports which were most appropriate and conuenient for the landing of their troopes; in the other, the names of such Noblemen in *England*, as did entertaine and imbrace the Roman Religion. Which Catalogues when hee saw produced, he cryed out aloud, that they were things suborned, and that he neuer saw them before that time; and that they were purposely inserted into his trunke by some that plotted his destruction: and being tortured to force him confesse, hee still persisted: but tortures being applyed the second time, he confessed all that he knew; and being examined touching the Catalogues to what end they were written, he made this Declaration.

Throckmortons confession.

THat a few yeares since taking his iourney to the waters of Spaw, with one Ieney *and* Englefield, *they consulted among themselues of the meanes by which England might bee inuaded of the strangers, and the forme of the gouernment changed, and to that end the names of the Ports and Noblemen were set downe in those Catalogues. That* Morgan *had signified to him by Letters out of France, that the Catholique Princes had already deliberated vpon the inuasion, and by the auspicious succours of the Duke of Guise to set at libertie the Queene of Scots, the Guise wanting nothing but money and some helping hands in*

Booke 3.

England. That to procure these things C. Paget *vnder the assumed name of* Mopus, *was sent into* Sussex, *where the Guise had determined first to land his troops. That he had communicated the businesse, and shewed the names of the Ports and Noblemen, to* Mendoza, *who was now perfectly instructed by the rest of the conspiracie. Neither doth he deny that hee had promised his owne helpe and industry. And had also aduertised* Mendoza *with what Noblemen being a publique personage, he might conferre with; with whom, he himselfe being but a priuate man, could not without danger hold parley. And with him found the meanes by some of the principall Catholiques, to take vp souldiers in the Queenes name, then when the stranger forces should ariue, to bee ioyned with them.* These things he freely confessed.

He denieth all.

Neuertheless being accused publikely in the Court at *London*, hee precisely denied all, affirming that hee had spoken out of his owne inuention and not the truth, onely to free himselfe from the tortures againe; and openly accused the Queene of cruelty, and those of the Inquest of falshood,

He seeketh an evasion.

framing an euasion for himselfe out of the distance of time which had passed betweene the Commission of the fact, and Iudgement. For in the 13 yeare of Queene ELIZABETH, certaine offences were inserted into the ranke of those of *Læsæ Maiestatis*, for which no man cold be brought to iudgment, if the delinquent were not accused within sixe moneths after hee had offended, and the offence also verified by the oath of two witnesses, or the confession voluntary without constraint by force or violence. That the time was long since expired, therefore hee ought not to bee produced to iudgement. But the Iudges shewed him by ample demonstrations, that the crimes of which hee was accused were of another quality, and therefore by vertue of an ancient

ancient Law enacted vnder the Reigne of EDWARD the 3, he was found culpable and guilty of *Læsæ Maiestatis*, which doth not admit any limitation either of time and proofe; wherupon the fatall sentence was pronounced against him. But he perswading himselfe of the mercy of the Queene, by writing againe confessed all, in more ample manner then hee had done before, all which, through his inconstancy, comming to the Gibbet, he vtterly denyed, but it was all in vaine and to no auaile.

Being condemned he inlargeth his confession. About to die he denyeth all.

William Waad being returned out of *Spaine*, was about this time sent to the Queene of *Scots*, for the holding of a treatie betweene her and *Mildmay*, which two yeares since was propounded, and broken off, as already hath beene shewed. She protested to him by diuers oaths that she had seriously laboured to effect it: and also deuoted to Queene ELIZABETH, both herselfe and all her best indeauors, promising vvholly to depend of her, if she vvould vouchsafe to fauor her with such and so great loue and honour: To these she faithfully promised, that if so be this treaty might proceed, she would make intercession to her sonne, and so effectually, that he should receiue into his gratious fauor *Angus* and the rest of the Scottish Nobles, and the Bishops of *Rosse* and *Glasco* their agents in *France*, should not complot or enterprize any thing against the Queene or Realme of *England*, and that they should from thenceforth cease from the faction of the English rebels and fugitiues.

A new treaty with the Queene of Scots.

Queene ELIZABETH ioyfully receiued these newes, and seeing that the Earles of *Angus*, *Marre*, *I. Hamilton*, & *Glam*, remained at that time fugitiues in *England*, shee made vse of profered occasion, and sent *Beal*, with the Earle of *Shrewsbury* to the Queene of *Scots*, to signifie to her, that if she still persisted in the same opinion which shee had declared to *Waad*, then *Mildmay* should presently be with her, to conclude for her inlargement. And that they should worke so farre with her, that in the interim she would bee an intercessor

Booke 3.

Propositions made to her.

cessor to her sonne the King, for the restoring of the fugitiues, and to perswade him that they had not enterprised any thing against his Maiesty, but onely against certaine rash Counsellors, that with their wicked and peruerse Counsels would corrupt his goodnesse; And finally, that they should sound her as much as possible they could, concerning the practices of the *Guise*, to which (being a woman of a prudent vnderstanding) she made this answer.

She answereth.

THat shee desired nothing more then that the treaty might proceed, and earnestly requested the same of the Queene as of her elder sister, to whom she should giue all respect and honour. That shee had not spoken any thing to Waade *but vnder certain conditions, and she perswaded herselfe that hee was a man freely honest and iust, and would not speake otherwise. As for the restoring of the fugitiues, she thought her helpe very behouefull, and would not faile therein, if there would redound or to her, or to her son any profit or good, and if they would with all humility submit themselues to the King, and yeeld obedience to him: but if not, that the Queene would not assist them, but her sonne, that they might be reduced into order. Furthermore not to dissemble, That she when shee was in a sickly estate, committed herselfe and her sonne, to the faith of their neere kinsman, the Duke of* Guise: *but as for his vndertakings against the Queene she was altogether ignorant; neither, if she had full knowledge thereof would she reueale ought, except she might be certainely secur'd of her liberty, knowing it to be but a smal signe of wisdome to forsake certaine friends for vncertaine hopes. She intreated that she being a free Princesse might not be more cruelly dealt with all, then was Queene* ELIZABETH *being a subiect and imprisoned by her sister Queene* MARIE: *or then the King of*

France

France *not long before dealt with* Nauarre, *being his subiect and rebelling against him. Shee desired also, that the treaty might be brought to some end, before any messenger were sent into* Scotland *about those affaires. And forasmuch as the most Christian King had acknowledged her ordinary Ambassador, and* Seton *whom her sonne sent into* France, *to be Ambassadors from Princes of equall and the same authority, she requested the Queene giuing her that honour that she would, without any preiudice, cause that association of her and her sonne to be published in* Scotland.

She demandeth to be associated in the Kingdome with her sonne.

These things had a good hearing, but soone by obiections of feares frustrated, which were interposed by those that well knew how to increase hatred betweene incensed women: but aboue all, by produced papers, which *Chreicton* a Scottish Iesuit, sayling into *Scotland*, and being apprehended by certaine Pyrates did teare in peeces. But these torne Papers being cast ouer-boord, were by a wind (as *Chreicton* also verified) miraculously blowne into the ship againe; and by *Waad* with great labour and artificiall skill were collected and ioyned together, wherein were discouered new counsels and plots of the Pope, Spaniard, and Guise for the inuading of *England*.

The treaty dissolued by surmises.

This and the various rumours of imminent dangers that were dispersed abroad, were the causes, that to cut off the way to all wicked designes, and ambushes of sedition, and to prouide for the safety of the Queene, vpon whom both the Realme and Religion depended; by the deuice of *Leicester*, most men of all estates and conditions through whole *England*, which were not possest with feare of her, but for her, did binde themselues by a generall loue with their mutuall vowes, subscriptions, and seales in a certaine association to persecute withall their powers euen to the death all such (whatsoeuer they were) as should plot or attempt any thing against her.

An association begun in England.

Booke 3.

The Queen of Scots maketh new propositions.

The Queene of Scots easily vnderstood, that in this generall Association her owne ruine was comprehended: therefore being wearied with her long continued misery, and fearing yet worse, She made this proposition by *Naue* her Secretary, to the Queene and her Councell.

THat if shee could obtaine her libertie, with an euident testimony of loue and sincere affection of the part of Queene ELIZABETH; *Shee would contract and confirme a most straight League of amity with her, and most officiously cherish and affect her aboue all Christian Princes, and blot out of her memory all iniury and offences. She would acknowledge her the true and lawfull Queene of England, and neuer pretend or take vpon her any claime or right to the Crowne during her life, neither would shee euer enterprise any thing either directly or indirectly against her; but for euer renounce all interest in the title and Armes of* England, *which by the command of* Francis *her husband, and the Popes Buls of deposition, she arrogated vnto her selfe. Yea furthermore, would be included in that association, and defensiue League for the Queenes saueguard, without preiudice to that ancient alliance which hath been betweene* France *and* Scotland. *Prouided that nothing be enterprised, during the life of Queene* ELIZABETH, *or after her death, to the preiudice of her, her sonne, and their heires in the succession, before it were first declared before the assembly of the Estates of England. She would for the confirmation of these things, remaine in England for a time as a pledge, and if so be she might bee permitted to depart out of England, she would leaue other hostages. Furthermore, she would not alter any thing in Scotland, onely she desired that shee and those of her Family might be suffered to haue the free vse of*

their

their Religion, in her owne house. Shee would forget and forgiue all iniuries, which shee had receiued in Scotland (with this condition) that whatsoeuer had beene raised to her infamy and disgrace, might be abolished. Shee would recommend to the King such Counsellors as she knew to be studious of peace with England. She would reconcile the fugitiue Noblemen, if it were possible for her: if also they would submissiuely acknowledge their fault, and if the Queene of England would promise to assist the King against them, if after their reconciliation they should fall from obedience. As for the mariage of her sonne, shee would doe nothing without the priuitie of the Queene. Shee desired that because she would doe nothing without the counsell and consent of her sonne, he might be ioyned in this treatie for the more solid and firme assurance thereof. Shee doubted not, but the King of France would intercede, and conioyntly oblige his faith with the Princes of Loraine *to entertaine and effect the conuentions thereof. Shee entreats for a mature and happy answer, lest any discommoditie or hindrance should fall betweene. And finally, requested that shee might bee allowed a little more liberally in her imprisonment, whereby shee might clearely perceiue the loue of the Queene towards her.*

Queene ELIZABETH seemed to take a great delight in these things, as being full of courtesie and honour, and was then almost perswaded to grant her libertie: but there were some in *England* that with new propositions & apprehensions of strange doubts, did disswade her. But the matter being almost knowne all ouer, those Scots of the aduerse faction did labour to trouble and hinder the same, Crying out, that it would be the finall ruine of Queene ELIZABETHS safety if shee were set at liberty, of both the King-

The Scots of the English faction oppose them

domes, if she were admitted to the administration of Scotland conioyntly with her sonne: and lastly of the true Religion through Great Britaine, if she were onely permitted to exercise the Roman Religion.

The insolencie of the Scotch Ministers.

Not contented with this, certaine Ministers in *Scotland* after they had charged the Queen with slanders and calumnies, euen in their Pulpits & common assemblies, they vehemently & bitterly exclaimed against the King and his Counsell: whereupon being commanded to appeare before them, with disdaine and contempt they refused it. As if the Pulpits were exempt from the authoritie of Kings, and Ecclesiasticall persons subiect not to the command of the Prince, but of the Presbytery; contrarie to the Lawes enacted the same yeare by the assembly of the estates, wherein was confirmed the Kings authoritie for euer ouer all his subiects, as well Ecclesiasticall, as Lay-men, that is, the King and his Councell to be fit and competent Iudges in all causes; and whosoeuer denyed or refused the same, to be holden guilty *Læsæ Maiestatis*.

Against the Lawes.

Ecclesiasticall Lawes of Scotland.

The assemblies of Ecclesiasticall persons as well generall as speciall (as also those of the Lay-men) wherein they arrogated to themselues an infinite power of calling of an assembly at their owne pleasure, against the Kings consent, in which they would prescribe lawes to the King and Kingdome, were vtterly prohibited and abolished. The popular equalitie of Ministers was abrogate. The authoritie and iurisdiction of Bishops (whose calling the Presbyters condemned as Antichristian) was established. And all defamatory writings against the King, the Queene his Mother, and the Councell, were interdicted: And namely the History of *Buchanan*, and the Dialogue of the right of the Kingdome, as containing many things worthy to bee condemned and extirpate.

Buchanans writings reproued.

Some of the Ministers receiued these things with such impatience, that they streight left their Countrey, and powred out their complaints and griefes throughout al *England*,

as

as if the True Religion had now beene chased out of *Scotland*. But Queene ELIZABETH with a deafe eare neglected them, deeming of them as authors of nouation; neither would she permit them to preach in *England*: neuertheleſſe she made vse of them to hinder all preiudice and detriment which the Religion in *Scotland* might receiue. And likewise when the Earle of *Arran* was with all respect imployed for the conseruation of the amity with *England*; Shee thought they would opportunely serue to the purpose, that the fugitiue Scots might not be banisht from the assemblies which were instantly to be holden, nor the King diuerted from the friendship of the English. Whereupon a parley was appointed betweene the Earle of *Arran* and *Hunsdon* Gouernor of *Barwicke*. But before it was holden, the fugitiues, and all those which were in the expedition with *Sterlin*, were banished from the Assemblies, which were hastily to be Conuocated. Whom *Arran* likewise in his Parley which presently followed, charged with many weighty accusations; and amongst the rest, that they had of new conspired the ruine of the King. But he deuoutly promised, not to pretermit any thing which hee thought would content and pleasure Queene ELIZABETH; neither would he doe any thing that might endamage her, so long as he remained in grace and fauour with the King. Notwithstanding these things, the Scottish borderers (by the priuat practices of the Spaniard, who laboured to withhold Queen ELIZABETH from the Flemmish warres) being a moneth after brought into *Rhedisdale*, performed there all the deeds of hostilitie; the bordering English in like manner vvith fire and slaughter reuenged themselues of that iniurie vpon *Liddesdall*.

A fained conference.

The Scots and English make incursions one vpon another.

Then was sent Ambassador from *Scotland* *Patricke Gray* heire of that Family, a complete yong man, that thought himselfe equall, if not exceeding, for the dispatch of greatest affaires. The especiall tenour of his Ambassie was for the repressing

The Ambassie of Patrick Gray.

Booke 3.

repreſsing of the incurſions on both ſides, for the reſtoring of goods taken by Pyracie, and for the reconciling (according to the League) of the Scottiſh fugitiues, or elſe remouing of them from the frontiers of *Scotland*, becauſe they continually inuented new ſtratagems, with other of their confederacie in *Scotland*, againſt the King. And the better to obtaine theſe demands, and incline the Queenes mind and affection towards the King more fully, hee promiſed to diſcouer hidden enterpriſes that were plotted againſt the Queene. To the firſt and ſecond Article ſhe anſwered as ſhe thought fitting, but as for the ſending backe of the fugitiues ſhe thus replyed:

THat ſhe was verily perſwaded, that thoſe Noblemen had not ſo much as entertained a thought of enterprizing any miſchiefe, & that that vprore which ſo happened in Scotland, *proceeded not from any euill intent to the King, but of the mutuall diſcords which dayly ariſe amongſt the Nobilitie about the vnder-age of the King, and therefore that belonged to the King to appeaſe, and to tye his ſubiects to him (by ſuppreſsing factions) in one bond of obedience.*

Yet that ſhee might in ſome ſort yeeld ſatisfaction to the Kings iuſt Petition, and alſo receiue intelligence of thoſe ſecret practices, which hee ſpoke of, ſhee commanded the Scottiſh fugitiues to remoue themſelues farther from the limits. But the Queene made ſhew, that what he had reuealed then vnto her, ſhe had knowledge of before. Whereupon aroſe a ſuſpition amongſt many, that the Ambaſſador had beene hyred by ſome, to diſcloſe ſomething to the preiudice of the King and his mother, and had oppos'd againſt the acceptance of theſe moſt iuſt conditions, which the mother of the King had propoſed by her Secretary *Naue*.

Hee is ſuſpected of bad dealing.

Whereupon

Booke 3.

The patience of the Queene of Scots offended.

Whereupon the patience of the Queene Mother that had so oftentimes beene deluded, began now to breake out into flames of griefe and indignation, and the desire which shee had to obtaine her libertie, caused her to lay open her eares and minde to all the pernicious counsels of her friends or enemies. And so much the rather, because, she perswaded her selfe, that the generall association was deuised to take her life from her, because likewise she had intelligence, that by the practices, of someshee was to be remoued from the custodie of the Earle of *Shrewsbury* (who was a iust man, and one that no wayes fauoured their designe) and deliuered into the hands of new guardians. But to bring this more fairely about, lest the singular fidelitie and trust of the Earle of *Shrewsbury* might be thought to be suspected, for it was not thought good to offend the reputation of so great a personage, (albeit it had been diminished with priuate calumnies, by the reproachfull criminations of his importunate wife) certaine suspitions were collected of some designes for her deliuery, through certaine Emblemes which were sent vnto her, importing thus. *Argus* with his many eyes cast into a sleepe by *Mercury*, sweetly playing vpon his Flute, with this Motto.

Eloquium tot lumina clausit,
Vn Beau Discours à ferme aultant de
Lumieres.

Mercurius beheading *Argus*, keeper or watcher of *Io*: A yong branch set in an old stocke, and bound about with cords, whereabout was written:

Per vincula cresco,
Ie crois Par les liens.

A Palme depressed, yet rising againe; with these words;

Ponderibus virtus innata resistit.
La vertu qui vient de Naissance
resiste à l'oppresion.

That Anagram also gaue much distaste;

{ARMATA VERITAS.}
{MARIA STEVARTA.}

Besides all this, Letters were produced, as though intercepted, wherein the friends of the Queen Prisoner did complaine, that they should be depriued of all hope of libertie, if she were deliuered into the custody of Puritans. Vnder this collected pretext, shee was withdrawne from the Earle of *Shrewsbury* (which he had often desired) and committed to the custody of *Drugon Drurey* with others: And that of purpose (as some supposed) that thereby being driuen to despaire, she might be made the readier to entertaine mischieuous counsels, and deuices, and so brought into the Ambushes, which were prepared for her. For the Earle of *Shrewsbury* had beene her guardian for fifteene yeares with such watchfull and warie prouidence, that hee left no place or space for her to enterprise ought against others: nor for others to plot any thing against her. Then shee sollicited with much importunitie the *Pope* of *Rome* and the Spaniard, by *Inglefield*, to finish with all mature expedition, what they had begunne, whatsoeuer betided her. And *Leicester* (who was thought to labour in the peruerting of the lawfull succession) priuately sent murderers (as some report) to dispatch her out of the way. But *Drury* more respecting honesty, and equity, in his heart hated those trecherous designes, would not suffer any to haue accesse vnto her. Some priuate messengers neuertheless conueyed Letters,

She is committed to new guardians.

She earnestly seeketh for liberty.

Things plotted against her.

some

some true, some false vnto her, by which she might be transported, through the imbecility of her sex, to a pernicious ruine, as shall hereafter be related.

That the loue of Queene ELIZABETH might wholy be diuerted from her, it was whispered in her eares, how that *Alan* for the Ecclesiasticall Catholickes of *England*; *Inglefield* for the Lay Catholickes, and the Bishop of *Rosse* for the Queen of *Scots*, by common suffrages, and with the consent of the Pope and Spaniard, had decreed to spoile Queene ELIZABETH of her Kingdome; to disinherite the King of *Scotland* from the same, as manifested Hereticks; to giue the Queene of *Scots* in mariage to a Catholicke Nobleman of *England*; and by the English Catholicks to elect him King, which Election should by the Pope bee confirmed, his children by the Queene of *Scots* to bee openly declared legitimate successours to the Crowne of *England*, and all these things by the faith of one *Hart* a Priest. Who this Englishman should be, *Walsingham* studiously indeauoured to find, but to no purpose: but the suspicion lighted vpon *H. Howard* brother to the Duke of *Norfolke*, one of the Nobilitie, not maried, a great Papist, and mightily fauoured of the Papists.

Counsell holden amongst the Papists.

This yeare obscurely dyed in miserable exile *C. Neuill*, that perfidious rebell against his Prince and Country, being the last Earle of *Westmerland* out of that family, which hath beene so fertile in Nobility, that besides sixe Earles of *Westmerland*, haue sprung of the same name, two Earles of *Salisburie* and of *Warwicke* one Earle of *Kent*, one Marquesse of *Montague*, one D. of *Bedford*, one Baron *Ferrers* of *Ousley*, diuers Barons of *Latimer* and *Abergauenny*, a Queene, fiue Duchesses; omitting Countesses and Baronnesses, with the Archbishop of *Yorke*, and a copious off-spring of Nobility.

The death of the Earle of Westmerland.

NEVILL a most noble, most ancient and illustrious name.

In *England* none dyed more worthy of memory, then *Edmund Plowden*, who as in the knowledge of the Lawes of *England*, of which he well deserued in his writings, he was

The death of Plowden.

Booke 3.

aboue others excellent, so in integrity of liuing amongst those of his profession he was second to none.

Alancon dyeth. The Prince of Orange is slaine.

But in *France*, *Francis* Duke *d' Alançon* left the world, forced by a malady proceeding of the griefe of mind: and in *Holland*, *William* Prince of *Orange*, who with three bullets from a Pistoll was shot through the body.

Queene ELIZABETH much lamented the death of these two, and dispatch into *France* B. to signifie to the King how greiuously she bore the death of the Duke whom shee had found a deare and faithfull friend; likewise to aduertise him of the afflicted estate of the *Netherlands* by the losse of the Prince of *Orange*, and the terrible puissance of the Spaniard, hauing all the Princes of *Italy* at his deuotion, the Pope most affected to him, the Cardinalls as it were his vassals, and many braue and singular men both for peace and warre vnder his pay; that the house of *Austria* in *Germany* was farre and wide extended, hauing all other families allyed to it by mariage, at all times at their seruice; that by the late addition of *Portugall*, and the East *India*, his wealth and forces were so augmented both by sea and land; that he was become farre more powerfull and redoubted, then euer *Charles* his father was; and that he would goe neere, if once hee had brought the *Netherlands* vnder his power, to subiect all the rest of the Princes of Christendome to his greatnesse, vnlesse hee were in time preuented.

The power of Spaine growne terrible.

Booke 3.

THE EIGHT AND TWENTIETH YEERE of Her Raigne.

Anno Dom. M.D.LXXXV.

QVeen ELIZABETH to oblige the King of *France* in a ſtricter bond of friendſhip vnto her, hauing the precedent yeare adopted him one of the Order of the Garter, ſhee ſent *Henry* Earle of *Darby* into *France* with the rites belonging to the ſame order, there more ſolemnly to inueſt him. With great honor he receiued them, and at euening prayers was inueſt therewith: but the Engliſh refuſed to be preſent at the Maſſe: and with holy vowes hee promiſed to obſerue the lawes of the Order, in all points wherein they were not oppoſite to the order of the holy Ghoſt, and St. *Michael*, to which he was before ſworne.

The French King inueſted with the order of the Garter.

At the ſame time a Court of Parliament was aſſembled and holden, wherein *Will. Parry* by birth a Welchman, of obſcure parentage and meane fortunes, by his ſtile a Doctor

Booke 3.

of the Law, but indued with little learning, a man puffed vp, and haughty in mind, very spruse and neat, was of the inferiour house, where hearing a Law demanded against the Iesuits, he onely opposed it, declaiming, that the law was cruell, bloudy, and pernicious to the nation: the reasons being demanded of him, he obstinately refused, except it were in the presence of the Councell royall: whereupon hee was committed to custody; but his reasons being heard, and submission made, hee was againe admitted into the Court. Then presently after, hee was accused of priuate conspiracy against the Queenes life, by *Edmond Neuill*, who layd claime to the inheritance of the *Neuills* Earles of *Westmerland*, and the title of Baron of *Latimer*, as being the next heire male.

Is accused of treason.

This *Parry* (to relate from the depth of the matter) two yeares before, returning from *Italy*, to insinuate himselfe into the Queenes grace, and obtaine credit with her, he secretly made knowne vnto her, that *Morgan* and other fugitiues had mischieuously consulted vpon her death; feigning that he had dealt amongst them to no other end, but to discouer intents, and prouide for the Queenes safety. This was the cause that induced her to giue little credit to *Neuills* accusation; Neuertheless she cõmanded *Walsingham* to examine *Parry*, if that he had (to make proofe hereof) treated with any malecontent or suspected persõ. He plainly denied it, neither (being in other matters of a sharpe apprehension) could he perceiue the euasion which the lenity of the Queene had laid open to him. For had he affirmed that he had dealt with *Neuill* (only to vndermine him) whom before, he had certified the Queene to bee a malecontent and suspected person, doubtlesse he had freed himselfe from danger. But mischiefe once conceiued doth dazell the sight of the most acute vnderstanding. *Neuill* wanting witnesses was brought face to face with *Parry*, who after many sharpe and bitter speeches on both sides, began to giue way, and was committed

He perceiueth not the euasion.

mitted to the Tower of *London*, where he voluntarily made this confession, which in a few words I will comprise.

His confession.

IN the yeare (quoth he) 1570 *being admitted (after my oath taken) into the number of the Queenes seruants, I remained affectionately deuoted to her Maiesty vntill the yeare* 1580, *at which time I was with much ignominy brought in question of my life.* (For he violently had entred into the Chamber of *Hugh Hare* to whom he was indebted, & grieuously wounded him, for which by law being condemned, by the Queens gratious pardon he was acquitted) *From thenceforth I liued much discontented in minde, but obtaining license, I passed into* France, *with a resolution neuer to returne, because I was much addicted to the Catholique religion. At* Paris *I reconciled my selfe to the Romane Church: at* Venice *I had conference with* Benedict Palmy *a Iesuit, concerning the afflicted Catholiques in* England; *and I affirmed that I had bethought of a meanes to ease them, if the Pope, or some other Theologians would instruct and satisfie me whether the deed were lawful or not.* Palmy *praised my intent as a worke of piety, and recommended me to* Campege *the Popes Nuncio at* Venice, Campege *to the Pope. I demanded Letters to goe to* Rome *vnder the publique faith. The Cardinall* Comese *deliuered Letters to me; but being somewhat too briefe and succinct, I demanded others of more ample contents, which I likewise receiued. But then I returned to* Paris; *where I incountred* Morgan; *who gaue mee to vnderstand, that there were some that did expect, that I should vndertake some notable peece of seruice, for God and the Catholique Church. I answered, I was ready at any time euen to kill the greatest subiect in England. And (replyeth he) why not the Queene her selfe? That*

He consulteth with Iesuits about the murthering of the Queene.

With the Popes Nuncio.

With Morgan.

Booke 3.

With Priests.

(qd. I) *may with ease be done: if so be it were manifested to me a deed lawfull: because* Wiat *a Priest (with whom concealing the persons, I had conference hereof) assured me that it was not.* (And *Chreicton* a Scot disswaded me, teaching mee, that mischiefe should not bee done that good might come of it; that God was better pleased with Aduerbs then with Nownes; that a deed be well and lawfully done, then that the deed is good: Neither if I could redeeme many soules by the destruction of one, were I to doe it, without the expresse commandement of God:) *Neuertheless hauing bound my selfe and my faith by my Letters and promises in* Italy, *I thought it would be a crime vnpardonable, now to desist, if onely the Pope would by his Letters approue the same, and grant me a plenary Indulgence, which I with Letters requested of the Pope by* Ragason *his Nuncio in France, who much applauded my designe. Being returned into England, I obtained accesse to the Queene; to whom, in priuate, I vnfolded the whole conspiracie, yet couered ouer with the best Art I could. Shee heard all without any alteration by feare; but I departed with much terrour, neither shall I euer forget what then shee spake;* That the Catholikes should not be called in question either about their Religion, or the primacie of the *Pope*, so long as they were obedient and good subiects. *In the meane time as I dayly laboured in the Court for the gouernment of Saint* Katherines: *I receiued Letters from the Cardinall* Comense, *wherein I found mine enterprize much commended, and an absolution in the Popes name. This I likewise imparted to the Queen. What effect it wrought with her I know not. But it gaue fresh courage to mee, and remoued all scruple. Neuertheless I had no will to offer any violence to the Queene, if she would be per-*

With the Pope himselfe.

He discloseth the matter to the Queene.

swaded

Booke 3.

swaded to deale more mildly with the Catholiques. But so often as I was to come into her presence, I laid aside my dagger, lest I should be transported to murder her. And when I considered, her person, and her truely royall vertues, I was distracted with many doubtfull cares: for my vowes were recorded in heauen, my Letters and promises amongst men. These things did I often tosse ouer in my vnquiet minde; She neuer deserued well of mee, indeed she saued my life, but if in such a cause had shee taken it away, it had beene tyrannie. Thus being discontented with my estate and condition, I left the Court. At last I happened on a booke of Alans *against the Iustice of Great Britaine, out of which I was taught, That Princes excommunicate for heresie, might be lawfully depriued both of rule and life: This vehemently incited me to prosecute my purpose. This to* Neuil *(whom I had inuited to my table) I read ouer, six whole moneths before he did accuse me. After this he came home to me. And let vs heare (quoth hee) somewhat, since we can obtaine nothing of the Queen, and so he propounded some things concerning the releasing of the Queene of Scots. But (quoth I) a matter of more weight, and more aduantagious to the Catholique Church, is now hammered in my head. The next day he likewise visited me, and touching the Bible with his hand he did sweare, he would conceale and constantly pursue all whatsoeuer that might bee profitable to the Catholique Religion; I in the same manner took mine oath. So we determined with ten Knights more, to set vpon the Queene as shee rid through the fields, and there to murder her, which thing till now he hath concealed. But receiuing newes of the Earle of* Westmerlands *death, being transported with the hope of succeeding him; he forthwith, violating his oath, discouered and accused me.* This was his confession in

He waue-reth in his minde.

Alans book addeth fresh courage to him.

Neuil offe-reth him his helpe.

He disclo-seth the matter.

Booke 3.

in the presence of the Lord of *Hunsdon* and *Fra. Walsingham* Priuy Counsellors to the Queene, acknowledging his fault, he craued pardon by his Letters to the Queene, to *Burghley* the chiefe Treasurer, and to the Earle of *Leicester*.

Parry is arraigned.

A few daies after, being brought to iudgement in the Palace of *Westminster*, and the Articles of his accusation being read, he confessed himself guilty. His confession being recorded in the Acts, Iudgment was demanded to be pronounced against him, confessing himselfe guilty. Whereupon *Hatton* thought it expedient, to satisfy the multitude there present, that the crime might openly bee declared according to his confession; which *Parry* of his owne accord confirmed, and desired the Iudges that he might reade it himselfe. But the Clerk of the Crowne did read it, with the letters of Cardinall *Comese*, & those which *Parry* had writ to the Queene, to *Burghley* & to *Leicester*; which he acknowledged for true; yet he denyed that he euer had any absolute determination to kill the Queene. But being commanded to speake if he had any thing to hinder iudgement from being pronounced against him, hee disturbedly answered, as tormented in his conscience for the crime which he had vndertaken, and said, *I see plainely that I must dye, because I was not fast and constant in my resolution.* Being commanded to speake his meaning more amply. *My blood* (quoth he) *be vpon you.* So the sentence of death being pronounced, he began to rage, and summoned the Queene to Iudgement before God.

The fift day after, he was set vpon a Slead, and drawne through the middest of the Citie to Westminster: being at the place of his execution, after he had vaunted how faithfull a guardian he had beene vnto the Queene, hee said hee neuer had any intention to take her life away. Thus in boasting manner, not in a word committing himselfe to God, he was punisht like a Traytor according to the Law,

Punished with death.

in

in the great Palace yard at Westminster, where the States of the Kingdome were in great number assembled for the holding of the Parliament.

In this Parliament, some, either out of a desire of nouation, or reformation, earnestly persecuted the Ecclesiasticall estate, (although the Queene had forbidden it) demanding lawes to represse the iurisdiction of Bishops, in that which concerned the gift of *Faculties*, in the Collation of the holy Orders, Ecclesiasticall Censures, and the oath they take in their office: proposing a new oath to be taken in the Chancery, and Kings Bench: that is, they should not countermand the ciuill Law of *England*. They required that euery Pastor should be resident in his owne Church; and declaimed that the Church of *England* was destitute of learned teachers: when without doubt it could then number vp more learned Diuines, then any former age, or any other reformed Church. But the Queene fauouring aboue all, the Ecclesiasticall moderation, reproued those Nouators, as changing still to worse, and reiected their demands and propositions, as intended to subuert her Prerogatiue, and soueraigne power ouer Ecclesiasticall matters. But as for the Association (which I haue spoken of) it was by the suffrages of all confirmed, and established;

Lawes demanded in the Parliament against Bishops.

Against Non-residents.

The association established.

THat foure and twenty or more of the Queenes Priuy Councell, or of the Nobilitie, chosen by the Queenes Letters Patents, should make inquest after those, that would inuade the Kingdome, incite rebellion, or attempt to offend or offer violence to the Queenes Person, for or by any one whomsoeuer that shall lay claime to the Crowne of England. And that he for whom or by whom any such thing is attempted, shall be altogether vncapable of the Crowne of England, *and depriued of all right, and pursued to the death by all the Queenes subiects: if by these foure and*

Booke 3.

twenty Noblemen they shall be iudged culpable of inuasion, rebellion, offence, or violence, and so publikely declared.

Lawes against Iesuits and Priests.

Lawes also were enacted for the defence of the Queene against the Iesuites and Popish Priests; which did then inuent by the Bull of *Pius Quintus* the Pope, many mischieuous and dangerous matters; That is to say:

That they should depart the Realme within fortie dayes. And that those which should after that time come or stay in the Kingdome, should bee holden guilty of Læsæ Maiestatis: *And all such as wittingly or willingly did receiue or nourish them, should be guilty of*

Felony.

Felony. (For so are all capitall Crimes vnder *Læsæ Maiestatis* called:) *That those which were brought vp amongst the Seminaries, if they returned not within sixe moneths after the denunciation made, and submitted themselues to the Queene in the presence of a Bishop, or two Iustices, should be holden guilty of* Læsæ Maiestatis. *But of those that submitted, if within ten yeares after they should approach nearer to the Court of the Queene then ten thousand paces, their submission should be void. That those that should any manner of way send money to the Seminary students, should bee lyable to the punishment of*

Præmunire.

Præmunire (that is perpetual exile, with the losse of their goods) *if any of the Peeres of the Realme, that is, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles and Lords, shall transgresse these Lawes, hee shall vndergoe the iudgement of the Peeres. Whosoeuer shall haue knowledge that any Iesuites, and such as haue any secret abode within the Kingdome, and not make discouery of them within twelue dayes, shall be punished according to the Queenes pleasure, and abide imprisonment. If any one shall be suspected of the number*

ber of those Iesuites or Priests, and shall not submit himselfe to examination, he shall for his contempt be imprisoned, vntill he shall submit. Whosoeuer shall send his children or others, to the Seminaries and Colledges of the Popish profession, shall be amerced a hundred pounds of English money. All such as shall be sent thither, if they returne not within a yeare, and conforme themselues to the Church of England, shall be depriued of all succession, and inioying of goods, in what manner soeuer they shall fall vnto them. If the Wardens of the Ports shall permit any other but Saylors and Merchants to passe beyond the Seas, without Licence from the Queene, or sixe of her Counsell; they shall bee depriued of their offices, and the Masters of such Ships shall bee punished with the losse of their goods, and of their voyage, besides imprisonment for a whole yeare.

The Earle of Arundel resolueth with himselfe to fly out of England.

The seuerity of these lawes (which were thought for those times no more then needfull) did much terifie the Papists of *England*; and amongst others, *Phil. Howard* Earle of *Arundell*, the eldest sonne to the Duke of *Norfolke*, was in such sort affrighted, that he resolued, lest hee should offend against them, to leaue the Kingdome. Three yeares before, he was by the gracious bounty of the Queene reestablished in the Rights and Honours of his father. But a short while after, being secretly accused by some of the Nobility, and men of power, he was depriued of her fauour; so being priuately deuoted to the *Roman* Religion, hee embraced an austere course of liuing. This was the reason that hee was twice called before the Priuy Counsell, and notwithstanding that he iustified himselfe against all obiections, yet was he commanded to confine himselfe within his owne house. Six moneths after, or thereabouts, being established in his right, he entred in to the assembled Parliament; but the first day before the speech vvas ended, hee vvithdrew him-

Booke 3.

He writeth to the Queene.

himselfe. The Parliament ended, he being as it were certain of his escape; hee writ Letters to the Queene (which hee commanded should be deliuered after his departure) wherein was contained a long and sorrowfull complaint

OF the malice of his aduersaries, to which hee was forced of necessitie to giue way, because they began to triumph ouer his innocency. A remonstration of the vnfortunate deaths of his Ancestors: First of his great Grandfather, who was condemned without answering for himselfe, then of his Grandfather, who lost his head for matters of small moment; and lastly of his father, who was circumuented by his enemies; but neuer transported with hate to his Queene or Countrey. And a Declaration, that lest he should proue an heire to his fathers infelicitie, that hee might more freely apply himselfe to the seruice of God, and prouide for his soules health, hee had left his countrey, but not his dutifull allegeance to the Queene.

Is apprehended.

Before these Letters were deliuered, he went into *Sussex*, where being about to imbarke himselfe, by the treacherie of his men, and discouerie of the Pilot, hee vvas apprehended, and committed to the Tower of *London*.

The Earle of Northumberland is found dead.

In the Tower at that time remained prisoner *Henry Percy*, Earle of *Northumberland* (brother to *Thomas* that lost his head at *Yorke*) a man full of a quicke vvit, and haughty courage, suspected, priuately to haue consulted with *Throckmorton*, the Lord *Paget*, and the *Guise*, concerning the inuading of *England*, and freeing of the Queene of Scots, to whom he had alwayes borne great affection. In the moneth of Iune he was found dead in his bed, being shot through with three bullets vnder the left pappe, the doore of his chamber being barred to him on the inside.

The

Booke 3.

The Coroners Enqueſt.

The next neighbouring Enqueſt ſworne after the manner by the Coroner, hauing ſearched the body, conſidered the place; and finding a Piſtoll in the Chamber with Gunpowder, they examined the ſeruant that bought the Piſtol, with him that ſold the ſame. Whereupon they pronounced the Earle murderer of himſelfe. The third day after, the Nobilitie vvere aſſembled in the Starre-chamber, where *Tho. Bromley* Chancelor of *England* ſuccinctly declared, that the Earle had treacherouſly conſulted againſt the Queene and his Countrey; which he perceiuing to be diſcouered, and terified with the guiltineſſe of his conſcience which conuinced him, he became his owne murderer. But to ſatisfie the multitude, which is alwaies credulous of the worſt, he commanded the Queenes Attourney, and her Counſellors at Law, plainely to vnfold the cauſes of his impriſonment, and the manner of his death. Whereupon *Popham* chiefe Attourney to the Queene beginning from the rebellion raiſed in the North parts ſixteene yeares before, demonſtrated by the publique Acts;

The cauſes of his impriſonment manifeſted.

THat hee was arraigned for the rebellion, and for conſulting of the freedome of the Queene of Scots: That he had acknowledged his fault, and ſubmitted himſelfe, and was therefore amerced fiue thouſand Markes. But the Queene (ſuch was her gracious clemencie) exacted not a peny from him: and after that his brother had beene deſeruedly puniſhed for the ſame Crime; the Queene confirmed him in the honour of Earle of Northumberland. *Neuertheleſſe, hee vndertooke new counſels for the deliuering of the Queene of Scots; the inuading of* England, *and ouerthrowing of the Religion and the Queene. That* Mendoza *the Spaniard had giuen intelligence to* Throckmorton, *that* Charles Paget *vnder the name of* Mopus, *had in priuate treated*

Booke 3.

with him concerning these matters in Sussex: *That the Lord* Paget *had likwise signified the selfe-same thing to* Throckmorton, *and was also manifested by the Papers of* Chreicton *a Scottish Iesuite; and that* Charles Paget *had declared all to* Shelley *at his returne out of France*, After this *Egerton* the Queens Sollicitor demonstrated, that by the circumstances, & suspitious care which the Earle had to keepe himselfe secret and close, he shewed himselfe guilty of these matters, that is to say, *That the Earle, knowing none of those to bee in* England *that could accuse him but the Lord* Paget (*whom* Throckmorton *had familiarly entertained*) *a few dayes after that* Throckmorton *was intercepted, he prepared by the helpe of* Shelley *a Ship for* Paget *to passe into* France. *That so soone as* Throckmorton *had begunne to make confession, hee retired from* London *to* Penworth, *and forthwith sent for* Shelley *to him; signifying to him that hee was at that instant in danger both of life and fortunes, hee entreated him to conceale the matter, and to cause them to retire that were knowing of the departure of the Lord* Paget, *and the arriuall of* Cha: Paget; *all which hee presently dispatched, and likewise remoued a farre off the seruant that hee had vsed betweene* C. Paget *and himselfe.* The Sollicitor further *added, That being a Prisoner hee had corrupted his Keepers, and by their meanes gaue* Shelley *to vnderstand all what hee had confessed. That* Shelley *also, by a woman which was hyred to be a priuate messenger betweene them; let him know, that he could no longer abstaine from confessing; that their conditions were farre vnequall, because hee should bee forced by torments; but the Earle by reason of his place and order not, therefore sent him the copie of his confession. Whereat the Earle groaned, and would often*

say,

say, (as Pantin *the seruant of his Bed-chamber confessed) that by the confession of* Shelley *he was vndone for euer.*

After this, the manner of his death was by testimony of the Coroners inquest, of the Lieutenant of the Tower, and of *Pantin*, openly declared: and from thence was gathered that he for feare lest his house should bee vtterly subuerted, and himselfe dishonored, had dispatched himselfe. Certes diuers good men much sorrowed that so great a personage should perish by so miserable a death; being induced thereto partly because they naturally fauoured Nobility, and partly because he had obtained much praise by his valor. What the suspicious fugitiues muttered against a certaine Bailiffe a seruitor of *Hatton*, who a little before was appointed one of the Earles keepers, I will ouer-passe, as not certainely knowne. Neither doe I esteeme it fit to insert any vncertaine things, or vaine heare-sayes.

The Earle of Northumberland is lamented of diuers.

Queene ELIZABETH hauing seene the open conspiracies of the *Guises*, against the Protestant Religion, the King of *France*, and her selfe, well perceiued whence and by whom these mischiefes were dispersed through *England*. Shee to oppose their designes, and to contract a league amongst the Protestants, for the defence of the Religion; sent *Thomas Bodley* to the King of *Denmarke*, the Elector Palatine, the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Wittenbergh*, *Brunswicke*, *Lunbourgh*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and the *Landsgraue* of *Hessen*. And amongst other things she commanded him to aduertise the King of *Denmarke*, that it behoued him aboue the rest to oppose the practices of the *Guise*, because they haue made no question to claime the Kingdome of *Denmarke* as their kinsmans right for the duke of *Lorraine*, as being son to the daughter of *Christierne* the 2, King of *Denmarke*, neither did the Duke of *Lorraine* himselfe dissemble the same, then when not long before he labour

Queene Elizabeth laboureth to contract a league with the Prince of Germany.

Booke 3.

The like with the King of Scots.

boured to obtaine the Queene in mariage.

And to prouide, leaſt any danger ſhould breake through *Scotland* as through a backe doore into *England*, ſhee ſent *Edward Wotton* to ſignifie to the King, how acceptably ſhe embraced the declaration of his loue to her, by *Patricke Gray*, and by Iuſtice *Cleric*. And to draw him to a mutuall League of offence and defence, by propoſing to him the dangers that then threatned and menaced the profeſſion of the Goſpell: And to offer him an annuall penſion the better to maintaine his Royall Dignity, becauſe the reuenues of his Kingdome were much ſhortened by the negligence of the Regents. And to commend vnto him in the vvay of mariage the daughter of the King of *Denmark*. And earneſtly in her name to make interceſsion for thoſe Noblemen of *Scotland* that liued baniſhed in *England*. And to promiſe him that ſhe would ſend them backe if ſhe found the offence againſt the King to haue beene practiſed by them. *Wotton* found the King affectionately bent to this League (notwithſtanding that the Earle of *Arran*, and others of the French faction laboured to diuert him) and the Eſtates of *Scotland* gaue their conſent vnder their hands and ſeales, for the conſeruation of Religion, to embrace this League; prouided that the Queene would promiſe, not to preiudice or hinder the Kings right in the ſucceſſion of *England*, ſo long as hee remained conſtant in his friendſhip and alliance. But this matter was retarded and hindered by the death of *Fra: Ruſſell*, ſonne to the Earle of *Bedford*, who was ſlaine the next day after.

A relation of the death of Ruſſell.

The manner of his death.

For *I. Forſter* and *T. Carre* of *Fernihurſt* gouernors of the middle borders betweene the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, hauing aſſigned an aſſembly vpon the ſeuen and twentieth of *Iune*, to treat of the receit and emploiment of the Fynances of the Kingdome, after the promiſe of ſafety, made by both parties with their oaths, and Proclamation, that none ſhould offend either in word, deed, or looke

(for

(for so the borderers spoke.) The *Scots* brought with them to the place the number of three thousand men or thereabout, being armed, and set in order of battell, with their ensignes displayed, and their drummes beating, contrary to the custome in such affaires, but the English not surpassing three hundred. The Gouernours were no sooner seated to heare the complaints, but a tumultuous vproare was raised by the occasion of an Englishman taken in theft; the Scots discharging a shower of bullets, slue amongst others, *Russel*, and put the English to flight, and eagerly pursuing them for the space of foure miles within England, they caried some back with them as prisoners. The author of this murther was not assuredly knowne, but the English imputed the fault to the Earle of *Arran* then Chancelor of *Scotland*, and to *Carre* of *Fernihurst*. The Queene presently dispatched Ambassadors and Letters, demanding that the murderers might be deliuered into her hands. Because *Henry* the seuenth King of *England* had long time before deliuered into the hands of *Iames* the fourth, King of Scots, *Will. Heron*, and seuen other Englishmen, for murdering of *Ro: Carre* of *Cesford* vpon a day of assembly: and not long before *Morton* the Regent, sent *Carmichel* a Scot into *England*, for the murder of *George Heron*. The King after protestation of his innocency, promised to send *Fernihurst* and the Chancelor himselfe also, so soone as by cleare and lawful proofes they were conuicted, of set purpose to haue violated the safety, or to be guilty of the murder. *Fenwick* an Englishman accused *Carre* before the King, but was refuted by his simple deniall, because hee could not produce any Scotchman for a witnesse. For it hath beene a custome, and so a Law, amongst the borderers, in their iudgements of causes (bred by an inueterate hate) that no witnesse can be admitted but a Scot against a Scot, and an Englishman against an Englishman: Insomuch that though euery one of the English which were present, had plainely beene beholders of

Booke 3.

The proofes amongst the borderers.

Booke 3.

this murder, yet their testimony would preuaile nothing. *Arran* neuertheleſſe was confined within his owne houſe, and *Carre* was kept priſoner at *Dundey*, where in a ſhort time he dyed. Hauing beene a warlike man, and one prompt and fit to enterpriſe matters of importance, who for his conſtant loue and faith to the Queene of Scots, and the King her ſonne, was twice depriued of his goods, and driuen from his Countrey, and the ſight of his children; yet hee patiently ſupported his baniſhment, remaining conſtant againſt all aduerſities, and bearing himſelfe euer like himſelfe.

The death of Thomas Carre of Fernihurſt.

Whileſt the queſtion of this murther was deferred, and a gentle diſputation raiſed, whether the twelue thouſand Crownes penſion offered to the King were to bee accounted according to the Engliſh, or the French account: the Queene being much incenſed for the death of *Ruſſel*, and the violation of the ſafety; and being perſwaded by ſome Scotchmen which enuyed *Arran*, that hee was a fauourer of the Ieſuites, and that hee ſtrongly laboured in *France* and *Scotland*, to hinder the League, that it might not be contracted, ſhee gaue permiſſion to the fugitiue Scots, as *Angus*, with *Iohn* and *Claudius Hamilton*, *Marre*, and *Glan*, which were reconciled to him in their common exile; and to the reſt that liued baniſht in *England*, to returne into *Scotland* well furniſhed with money, to worke the ruine of *Arran*.

The fugitiue Scots are ſent out of England backe into Scotland.

The Earle of *Bothwell*, and the Lord of *Humey*, *Humey Coldingknoll*, and others in *Scotland* had before promiſed them aide: and aboue all, *Maxwell* lately created Earle of *Morton*, out of a certaine hope he had to ſhunne the penalty of the rebellion which he had raiſed in the Country of *Annand*, if the Earle of *Arran* were once ſubuerted. In the very Court alſo were *Patrick Gray* his bitter enemy, *Belenden* a a Iuſtice of the Church, and *Maitland* Secretarie, drawne into parties againſt *Arran*.

They haue intelligence of others remaining in the Kings Court.

The

The fugitiues being entred into *Scotland*, they commanded all persons by a long Proclamation in the Kings name to giue them assistance, for the defence of the Euangelicall truth, to free the King from mischieuous Counsellors, and to conserue loue and friendship with the English: they appointed the place for their assembly at *Fawkirk*, where they mustered 8000 men. Booke 3, They enter into Scotland.

Arran (who for suspition of the death of *Russell* was by the King commanded to keepe within *Keneil*) hearing of these things, he hastily retired to the King, and accused *Gray* as the author of these enterprises. *Gray* ingeniously excused himselfe in presence of the King. But whilest *Arran* maketh great preparations for the defence of the towne, the enemies appeared in readinesse to scale the walles. He certainly knowing, that they sought nothing but his head onely, and suspecting the fidelitie of his men (for hee was hated of most) he secretly withdrew himselfe by the bridge; the rest, all abandoning the towne, betooke themselues to the Castle with the King. The fugitiues straight possest themselues of the Market-place, and then besieged the Castle. The King demanded by his Messenger *Gray* the cause of their comming: they answered, *To submit our selues to the King, and humbly to kisse his Highnesse hand.* He offered to restore to them all their goods, if they would retire. But they replyed, that they made no esteeme of their goods, in comparison of the Kings gracious fauour, desiring him to admit them to his royall presence: the King consented, but vpon these conditions; *That they should not attempt any thing either against his Maiesties Person, or their liues whom he should nominate, and that they should not bring in any innouation into the gouernment of the Kingdome.* They vowed their liues for the safety of their Prince, protesting that they conceited not so much as a thought of bringing in of Nouelties. But they desired for their better assurance that their aduersaries might be deliuered into their hands, with Sterlin is taken by them.

Booke 3.

the fortified places of the Realme. Of this matter they consulted the whole day: but necessitie compelling, by reason of the multitude, wherewith the Castle was full stuffed, and the want of prouision, they were at last admitted to the King. And forthwith the Earles of *Montrosh*, of *Crawford*, and of *Rothese*, the Colonell *Stuart*, *Downi*, the brother of the Earle of *Arran*, and others were deliuered into their hands; the Earle of *Arran* was publiquely accused to haue conspired against the estate: and as for themselues, the King indulgently pardoned them, as good and well-deseruing subiects. *Hamilton Arbroth* was established Gouernor of *Dunbriton*, *Coldingknol* of the Castle of *Edenborough*, *Angus* of *Tomtall*, *Marre* of *Sterlin*, and *Glan* Captaine of the Kings guards.

They are reconciled to the King.

After this, hauing by their faithfull duty remoued out of the Kings opinion, all such crimes wherewith their enemies had burdened them, and all suspitions which they had raised of them; by a generall Amnistie all banishments & proscriptions, which had for what cause so euer been adiudged and ordained, since the Coronation of the King, were abolished; excepting only those which had relation to the murder of the Kings father, & such as were adiudged against the Archbishop of *Glasco*, the Bishop of *Rosse* and of *Dunblan*. And with a common & most constant consent of their minds the Soueraigne Authority of the King, in contracting of a league with the Queen of *England*, and deputing of Ambassadors, was confirmed vnto him. Onely *Maxwell* abused this singular clemency of the King. For hauing obtained by the benefit of the Amnistie free Pardon for the cruell slaughter and Pillage committed vpon the *Iohnstons*: yet such vvas his audacious pride, that contemning the authoritie of the Lawes, he commanded the sacrifice of the Masse to be celebrated at *Dunfrise*, which of nineteene yeares before had not been permitted in *Scotland*. For which deed hee was punished with three moneths imprisonment.

Amnistie.

Maxwell establisheth the Masse.

Neither

Booke 3.

Neither was, in theſe turbulent times, *Ireland* next adioyning free from the tempeſts of rebellion. For when the reſt of the Prouinces of that Iſle were ſetled in a profound peace, a great rebellion broke forth in *Connach* the weſt part of *Ireland*, proceeding of the naturall diſpoſition of that nation, impatient of reſt and quiet, and alſo of the hate which they conceiued againſt *Rich. Bingham* their Gouernor, complaining that his Commands were ſharpe and bitter. The Gouernour ſeeing the great and powerfull men of *Ireland* exerciſe ſuch grieuous tyranny vpon the poore miſerable peoples, forcing them to acknowledge no other Prince then them; he omitted no meanes to reſtaine them, and confirme the royal authority, although he was often for the ſame odiouſly accuſed of cruelty to the Queene and Deputy. *Thomas Roe-Bourk* of the moſt noble family of *Bourg* in *England*, was the firſt that oppoſed himſelf, & being ſent for to the lawful aſſembly in the County of *Maie*, he refuſed to come. The Gouernor for a time diſſembled, ſeeming not to make account thereof: but preſently after he commanded him and two others, turbulent ſpirits of the ſame houſe, to be apprehended, leſt they ſhould breake out into a more dangerous rebellion. *Thomas* was ſlaine in fight ere he could be intercepted. *Meiler* and *Theobald*, the other two, were taken and hanged; and thus had the whole rebellion beene at the beginning compreſſed, had not certaine Engliſh, enemies to the Gouernor, aduertiſed the reſt of that family, prouidently to beware of the Gouernor, and by any meanes not to come neere him: They being thus incouraged, they likewiſe perſwaded the *Ioies* and *Clandonels*, who were powerfull in the multitude of their tenants, that the Gouernor would handle them with as little lenitie, but by little and little would vtterly ruinate their power. Beſides they ſo much preuailed with the Deputy by their friends, that he commanded the Gouernour nor to vndertake any violent act againſt thē of that family, (though they did degenerate)

The rebellion of the Bourgs in Ireland.

Booke 3.

without his knowledge and aduice.

In the meane space whilst the Gouernour was absent in the Country of *Twomond*, where *Mahon-Obrean* rebelling, slew himselfe, after the Castle was taken by the Gouernour; The sonne of *Edmond Bourg* of *Castel-bar*, and *Richard* son of another *Richard* surnamed by the Irish for his villanies, *the Deuils-hooke*, hauing gathered together a multitude of lewd fellowes, they surprised two Castels at *Lake-Masci* and fortified them: from whence the Gouernour easily expulsed them, chasing them amongst the forests and mountaines; he tooke *Richard* the brother of *Thomas Bourg*, who in humble manner came to intreate him, and hanged him as a robber. And hauing so far pursued the rest through the woods that scarce any were to be seen, the Lo: Deputy commanded him to stay his pursuit; and after they had giuen hostages, to receiue them into his protection. A short while after, whilst the Gouernour stayed at *Dublin*, and souldiers were raised in *Ireland* for the Low-Country wars; they againe aduanced their Ensignes of rebellion, and many which had refused to goe to the wars of the *Netherlands*, ioyned themselues in great numbers with *Clan-Gibbon*, *Clan-Donel*, and *Ioie*; and being increased in number and strength, they openly declared, that they would after the custome of their Ancestors, haue for their Gouernor their *Mac-William*, that is, a Nobleman, by the election of the people out of the house of *Bourg*, or any other whom they should call out of *Spaine*, but they would not admit of the * Viscont, nor be present at the Assemblies. The Archbishop of *Tuam*, *Bermingham*, the Lord of *Atterith*, and *Dillon*, Deputies for the Gouernor, proposed to them most reasonable conditions; but they refusing to submit to order, began to exercise their fury vpon the villages of the Champian, with fire and rapines, and by ruining of the fortifications. They sent *Iohn Itcleaf*, and *Walter Kittagh* of *Bourg* to the *Scots* of *Hebride*, requesting them with their auxiliarie troopes to enter vpon the *Connach*,

Mac-William.

*or Sheriffe.

The Scots of Hebrides called into Ireland.

nach, in which Prouince, there were then but a ſmall number of Souldiers in Gariſon, promiſing to giue them certain Lordſhips if they would chaſe away the Engliſh, and defend the rebels.

The Deputy receiuing aduice of theſe things, commanded the Gouernor, to purſue the rebells, who gathering vp forces, ſent the Earle *Clan-Richard* chiefe of the family of *Bourg* with *Bermingham*, to treat with them of a peace; but they refuſing, hee forthwith cauſed their hoſtages to bee put to death: and knowing that nothing could diſaduantage the Engliſh more then a long warre; and on the contrary, nothing more accommodate the Iriſh: himſelfe and the Earle *Clan-Richard* with their troops of horſe defēded the champian from the iniuries of the rebells, and *Iohn Bingham* the Gouernours brother, entred with his Companies of foot amongſt the woods, purſuing their ſteps, and wearying them in ſuch ſort, ſeizing and driuing backe with them 5000 head of cattle (the greateſt part of which according to the cuſtom of the Countrey being diſtributed to the ſouldiers) that about 40 daies after, being in a manner periſhed by a grieuous famine, they left their caues, ſcarce knowing one another by their faces, and demiſſiuely ſubmitting themſelues, they deliuered hoſtages to the Gouernor. Only the ſonnes of *Edmund* of *Bourg* of *Caſtell-barr* (whom they had decreed to create *Mac-William*) perſiſted in their rebellion, vntil their father was taken, and by vertue of the law conuicted, to haue incited his ſons to this rebellion, and was therefore puniſhed with death, and all his lands adiudged confiſcate. At the ſame time the Gouernour receiued newes of two thouſand *Scots* of *Hebride* vnder the conduct of *Kittagh*, and *Itcleaf* of *Bourg*, that were euen then in readineſſe to breake in vpon *Connach*. In great haſt he leauied his troopes, and gathered his gariſons together, and with infatigable labor, though ſometimes they were hidden amongſt the woods, foreſts, and paſtures, and ſometimes they waſted the time in making ap-

The Gouernor laboreth for a peace, but in vaine.

He purſueth the rebels.

And he brings them to ſubmiſſion.

Booke 3.

approaches and retreats, from one side to another, and through crooked windings and intricate waies, he diligently pursued their steps, obseruing night and day their turnings and returnings through corners and by-wayes, carefully placing spies behind, before, and on either side of them, still expecting a commodious time to set vpon them. At last, counterfeiting a retire, as though hee had thought himselfe too weake for them, hee left them; whereupon they presently with great alacrity marched towards *Ardenare* vpon the riuer *Moine*, and proclamed themselues Lords of the Prouince. He being instructed of their iourney by his spies, followed them, and found them besides *Ardenare*, where hee put his men in battell array, and sounding a charge with his trumpets, he held them play with skirmishes, still retiring backward vntill he had drawne them from a moist and moory ground, into a place more solide and firme, where all his troops (with great silence) ioyned together. Then giuing them a fresh and liuely charge, slaughtering many, he forced them somewhat to recoile, when instantly the musketteires discharging vpon their front, and himselfe with his troops of horse falling vpon their flanckes, with such fury assailed thē, that hee put them all to rout, pursuing them to the riuer, where they were all either slaine or drowned, excepting 40 which saued themselues by swimming ouer to *Tiraule*, and those which the day before were departed from the Army to fetch in booty: but after this, they were almost all put to the sword by *Iohn Bingham*, and the inhabitants of the County *Slego*. Three thousand of their party perished in this conflict, and amongst them their principall Commanders, *Donel Gormi*, and *Alexander Carrogh* the sonne of *I. Mac-Concl*, which of long time had been troublesome to the Country; and those of the House of *Bourg* which were causers of this miserable expedition. Of the English a small number was slaine, but many were sort hurt; and certes this victory was both famous and profitable, for the instant and future

Next the Scots of Hebride.

Whom he doth assault,

and defeats them.

future times; the title of *Mac-William* being vtterly abolished in the County of *Connach*, and the insolency of the Scotch Islanders represſed in *Ireland*, which was not long before so great, that it was accoũted amõgst the *Irish* a crime of *Læsæ Maiestatis* to entertaine or lodge any of them; and for the better restraining of their wonted rapines, *Perot* gaue in charge to the chiefe personages of *Vlster* that they should traine vp in the exercise of warlike discipline, a certaine number of Souldiers.

The title of Mac-William abolished.

In the meane time, the States of the *Netherlands* being afflicted with the desolate condition of their affaires, consulted amongst themselues whether they should haue recourse either to the King of *France*, or Queene of *England* for refuge & succors. For they were both at that time discontented with the *Spaniard*, but suspicious also one of the other: The French could not endure that the English their ancient enemies, should encrease their power by the addition of the *Netherlands*, and the English in like sort the French. *De la Prune* the French Ambassador for the Low-Countries, that he might diuert the Estates from the English, made this demonstration:

The Estates of the Netherlands consult of a Protector.

Reasons of the French side.

THat the Sea flowing betwixt England *&* Netherlands; *the English were too farre distant, and could not at all occasions be ready to assist them, their command also was intollerable; and for that cause were in times past driuen out of* France, *and were like then to hazard the same in* Ireland: *That the succession of the Realme was vncertaine, and whether* MARIE Queene *of Scots or* IAMES *her sonne did succeed, both hee and shee would bee ready to giue vp the* Netherlands *to the* Spaniard *for the assurance of their owne affaires. But that the French were opportunely adioyning and neighbouring, their command most mild, and their succession certaine in the*

Booke 3.

person of the King of Nauarre, *who was of the same profession with them.*

Such as fauoured the Englisſh, maintained the contrary;

For the Englisſh.

That they were not so farre dissеuered, but they could commodiously send them ayde, without the hindrance of any. That it appeared by the Histories what the French Command had been of yore in the Netherlands, what it now was, by the surprise of Dixmond, Donkircke, *and* Dendermond, *and the furious and perfidious invasion of* Bruges, Aloſt, New-port, *and* Antwerpe; *and what their faith was hauing beene so often obliged by Edicts, and notwithstanding violated by the cruell Massacres which haue beene committed in the townes. That the succession of* England *was assured in the person of King* Iames, *who was zealous in the true religion. Besides the Englisſh were of the selfe-same religion and faithfull obseruers of the ancient League with* Burgundie. *That their trafficke had brought infinite wealth to the* Netherlands, *and their ports most commodious for them.*

They are refuſed by the French.

The Eſtates neuertheleſſe by Ambaſſadors implored the ayde of the French King, by whom they were receiued with a fearefull ſilence, and a long time deluded with procraſtinations, by reaſon aſwell of their enuy to the Engliſh as of hate to the *Spaniard*, ſo the Ambaſſadours returned home at the laſt, and conceiuing hope from the former bounty of Queen ELIZABETH, they determined to fly to her for protection.

The Engliſh conſult about the protection.

Hereupon vvas holden a conſultation in *England*, vvhether they vvere to be receiued into their protection, or no? Some vvere of aduice, that they ſhold preſently be receiued, and ayde forthvvith ſent them, leſt the *Spaniard* hauing

brought them in subiection, should become a vexation to the English on that side. Other some aduised, that they were to bee esteemed as Rebels, and vnworthy of succours, as being reuolted from the fidelitie which they ought to their Prince. Booke 3.

THe Spaniard had not violated any of the Articles of his Ioyfull entrance, which they sought for as a colour and pretext for their rebellion, and deposition of their lawfull Prince. But admit that hee had violated them, yet was hee not for that to bee punished with the losse of his principalitie. And although some suppose that obedience should bee so long denyed him, vntill hee had recompenced his fault; yet others esteeme that by diuine Lawes, to which humane lawes must yeeld, Princes should, as powers ordinated by God, be simply and for conscience obeyed. For God hath giuen them the Soueraigntie of command, and to subiects the glory of obedience. And that subiects should wish for good Princes, but endure all whatsoeuer they be. That these Prouinces were falne to the Spaniard, not by the election of the people, but by the hereditary right of their Ancestors, and the donation of the Emperors. That the Dutchmen had receiued priuiledges from their Princes, but had lost the same by a crime of Læsæ Maiestatis, *in taking vp Armes against them. That these were not the Estates of the Netherlands that had demanded protection, but certaine Plebean persons, that had attributed to them the Title of Estates. It was therefore thought by the iudgement of these, most expedient, That the Queene should not intermeddle with the affaires of the Netherlands, but rather strongly to fortifie her own Kingdomes, indeuouring dayly by her naturall bounty to oblige the hearts of good men to her, to restraine the wicked, to*

Booke 3.

encreaſe her treaſurie, to haue her Nauy alwayes well prepared and furniſhed with neceſſaries, to fortifie with gariſons the frontier townes towards Scotland, *to conſerue the ancient militarie diſcipline of* England, *which was corrupted by the Dutch warres. That in thus doing* England *would be impregnable, ſecured on all ſides, and a terrour to the enemy. That this would be the moſt commodious meanes to auoid the warres, which might fall vpon ſuch as are begirt with potent neighbours. That none would offer to prouoke them, ſeeing them ſo well furniſhed of money, and forces, garded with the good-will and loue of their ſubiects, and alwayes ready and prepared to reuenge themſelues. And that it would be prepoſterous wiſedome, to conſume money, and Souldiers, which are the life and ſoule of warre, in anothers cauſe, and for Princes or people of no ability, being ſubiects to anothers rule, and by reaſon of their pouerty muſt alwayes bee ſupplyed with freſh ſuccours, or by ingratitude totally prouiding for their owne affaires, will neglect thoſe that had aſſiſted them, as the Engliſh had while-ere in* France *experimented to their loſſe, in the Bourgongnian cauſe; and not long ſince in the defence of the Proteſtants.*

But ſuch as were of this opinion as men degenerate, ſlothfull, and addicted to the Spaniſh party, moued the men of warre to much indignation.

The Dutch offer themſelues to the Queene.

So ſoone as the Ambaſſadors of the Eſtates preſented themſelues to the Queene, with earneſt affection they beſeeched her to aſſume the rule of the vnited Prouinces of the *Netherlands*, and to receiue them into her protection, and perpetuall homage, being vndeſeruedly oppreſſed. She graciouſly gaue them hearing, but refuſed to take vpon her their rule and protection. Neuertheleſſe to raiſe the ſiege

from

from before *Antwerpe*, which was then reduced into great neceſſitie, and oppreſſed by the Prince of *Parma*, ſhe promiſed them, if they would deliuer for a Gage into her hands the towne of *Sluce* with all the artillery, forthwith to ſend them foure thouſand ſouldiers. But whilſt theſe things were propounded, *Antwerpe* was yeelded vp, becauſe the paſſage of the Riuer *Scald* by admirable deuices was quite cut off.

Antwerpe is yeelded vp.

After that the Queen had ſetled a while her thoughts and cares vpon theſe matters, and perceiued the great cruelty of the Spaniards which they exerciſed vpon the Dutch her neighbours, and the hate which they bore to *England*, and the religion which was there maintained: (for the Spaniards were verily perſwaded that they could neuer reduce the *Netherlands* to order, if they firſt ſubdued not *England*.) To hinder warre from comming home to her (*Scotland* as yet wauering) and that the forces of the Spaniards might not be too farre extended in the adiacent Countries, vvhich would be moſt commodiouſly ſeated for the tranſporting of warres into *England*; for exerciſing of traffique as well by ſea, as the Riuer of *Rhine*: And to hinder, that there might not be any prouiſion of Nauigation caried to her enemies, which beſides were well prouided of ſtrong Shipping, and men of valiant ſpirits, that if they ſhould bee ioyned vvith the Engliſh Nauy, it would be an eaſie thing for them to be ſoone Commanders of the Sea, ſo rich and powerfull, that they had long time ſince without any foraine aide, ſuppreſt the inſolencies of their proudeſt enemies: and that they might not commit themſelues to the truſt and faith of the French: She reſolued that ſhe was bound in Chriſtian charitie, to ſuccour the afflicted Dutchmen, being profeſſors of the ſame Religion, and in wiſedome to prouide for the conſeruation of a people, which God had committed vnto her, by cutting through the ruinous complots of their enemies, not for any deſire of glory, but for the neceſſitie of goodneſſe. Whereupon ſhee openly tooke vpon her the defence

The Queen deliberateth with her ſelfe.

She takes vpon her the protection.

Booke 3.

of the *Netherlands*. The Christian Princes admiring such a Masculine valour in a woman, to haue such a magnanimous spirit, as to denounce warre (as it were) to so potent a Monarch. Insomuch that the King of *Sweden* speaking of her, said, that she had taken the Diadem from off her owne head, to expose it to the doubtfull and dangerous euent of warre.

These were the conditions that were agreed vpon betweene Queene ELIZABETH and the Estates of *Holland*.

Vnder what conditions.

THe Queene would send as succours to the Vnited Prouinces 5000 *foot, and a thousand horse vnder a generall Commander of famous remarke, and during the warre would pay the souldiers; which should after the Peace were made, be paid backe by the Estates, that is to say, in the first yeare of the Peace, such summes as had beene disbursed in the first yeare of the warres, and the rest in the foure yeares following. In the meane time they should deliuer into her hands for assurance the towne of* Flushing, *the Castle of* Rameken *in* Zeland, *and the Ile of* Breil, *with the towne and both the* Skances. *The Gouernors that should bee appointed, should not haue any command ouer the Inhabitants, but onely of their Garison, which should pay the Tributes and Imposts, as well as the inhabitants. Those places should, after the money were repayed, bee deliuered backe not to the Spaniard, but the Estates. The Gouernors and two other English which the Queen would name, should be admitted into the Councell of the Estates, and the Estates should not entertaine any League without the Queenes aduice; nor she, the Estates not acquainted therewith. Ships for their common defence in equall number, and at a common expence should be set forth vnder the command of the Admirall of* England. *The Ports of either should be freely*

open

open to either. With other conditions which were printed and exposed to all mens view. Booke 3.

For the memoriall of this alliance, the Zealanders triumphing with ioy, caused new money to be coyned, bearing vpon one side the Armes of *Zealand*, which is a Lyon floating vpon the waues, with this inscription:

Luctor & emergo: Le comba et me sauue
I fight, and I saue my selfe.

On the other side the Armes of the townes of *Zealand*, with this

Authore Deo, fauente Regina.
God Author, the Queene fauourable.

The Queene by a booke set forth, gaue all to vnderstand, that in times past Leagues and Societies were contracted betweene the Kings of *England*, and the Princes of the *Netherlands* for the mutuall faith and defence one of another. She remonstrateth the barbarous cruelty of the Spaniard, against the miserable *Netherlanders*; and the mischieuous complots which they had wrought against her selfe: that had with much labour sought a Peace, and had done this to keepe the Dutch from reuolting. Neither did shee propose any other thing to her selfe in aiding of them, then that the Dutch might inioy peaceably their former liberty; her subiects safety; and either Nation a secure commerce and traffique. The Queen publisheth the causes.

And to prouide that warre should not assaile her at home, & to set the Spaniard to work abroad; She set forth a Nauy to the *West Indies*, vnder the command of Sir *Francis Drake*, and *Christopher Carlile* of one and twenty sayle, in which besides Saylors were 2300 voluntary souldiers, which sur- She sends forth a Nauy to the West Indies to diuert the Spaniard.

Booke 3.

The towne of S. Iames taken by the Englisſh frō the Spaniard.

surprized in the Ile of Saint *Iames*, neere to *Cap-Verd*, the towne of Saint *Iames* which gaue name to the Iland, where they celebrated with the thunder of the Cannon, the Coronation day of Queene ELIZABETH, which was vpon the fourteenth of Nouember; and pillaging the town they found great ſtore of Meale, Wine and Oyle, but no money at all. The fourteenth day after they ſet ſayle, and many which kept their quarters & guard in the open aire, and ſlept vpon the ground, were taken with grieuous ſickneſſe called *Calentura*, whereof they dyed; a diſeaſe very familiar in that Iland, and dangerous to ſtrangers which ſleepe in the open fields. The firſt of Ianuary they ariued at *Hiſpaniola*, where the ſouldiers being landed in a ſecure place, by the direction of a Spaniard, whom they had taken and kept to that purpoſe, they marched in order againſt the towne: and hauing repulſt a hundred and fifty Spaniſh horſemen which oppoſed their paſſage, and putting to flight certaine Musketiers which were placed in Ambuſh, they entered pell-mell into the towne with them by the two weſterne gates, and all the inhabitants, being ſtrucke with feare and terrour fled out at the North gate of the ſaid City. The Engliſh brought their troops into the Market-place neere to the great Temple: and becauſe they were not in number ſufficient to man the towne, they fortified it with rampars of earth, after that they ſeized vpon other conuenient places. So hauing the whole towne in their poſſeſſion and command, they remained a moneth there. And ſeeing the inhabitants offered but a ſmall ſumme of money to redeeme their towne, they began firſt to ſet fire vpon the ſuburbs, and after vpon the faireſt houſes in the town, vntill the inhabitants had redeemed their towne with 25000 Crowns of gold, which with much paine they gathered. They found there no great ſtore of pillage, excepting ſome pieces of Artillery, with Corne, and Sugar: for they vſed there nought but Copper money, and glaſſe veſſels, with ſome made of earth, which were brought

A diſeaſe called Calentura, whereby many periſh.

The ſurprize of Hiſpaniola, or Saint Dominick by the Engliſh.

brought out of the East India. Amongst other things, in the towne Court, were found the Armes of the King of *Spaine*, with the world vnder-placed, from whence a horse with his foure-feet rampant was figured, leaping out, with this inscription:

Non sufficit orbis.
The world doth not suffice.

The proud and audacious Motto of the Spaniards Auarice and Couetousnesse.

Whereat some scoffing, tooke it for an argument of the infinite auarice and ambition of the Spaniard, as neuer satisfied.

From thence sayling vp into the Continent of *America*, fiue miles from *Cartagena* they left their ships, and vnder the conduct of *Carlile* they in the silence of the night, being ranged in order of battell, marched alongst the shore, whilest *Drake* with his armed Shallops in vaine assailed the Port of the towne which was fortified with a rampire and a chaine extended in length. To *Carlile* a troope of horse shewed themselues, but straight retired: he pursued them, till hee came to a narrow passage fortified with a stone wall betwixt the inward Hauen of the Port of the Ocean, which was so straight that scarce a Cart could passe: It was defended with Barracadoes full of stones, and fiue great Cannon, wherwith they often discharged vpon the front of his companies, yet without effect, whilest *Carlile* by the benefit of the darkenesse, being politick in auoiding dangers, taking opportunitie by the ebbing of the Ocean, drew his men down lower by the sands iust to the entrance, which they couragiously forced, notwithstanding two great Ships from the inward Hauen of the Port which caried eleuen great pieces, and three hundred Musquetiers furiously thundered against their flanke. This done, they easily gained the Barricadoes which were placed at the entrance of euery street, and chaced the Spaniards and Indians, which cast poysoned darts

The English doe assault the City of Cartagena.

Booke 3.

amongst them. Being thus Masters of the towne, they made sixe weekes aboade there, and receiued for the ransome of the towne 110000 Crownes, which were paid presently downe, and distributed man by man to the Mariners and Souldiers, and especially to the neediest. But the pillage was little; for the Inhabitants being forewarned by them of *Hispaniola*, had remoued all their most precious and richest things in to farre distant places. The disease called *Calentura* still remaining amongst them, and much diminishing their numbers, they were constrained to leaue off their designe of surprising *Nombre de Dios*, and make sayle for their returne by the Cape of the Ile *Cuba*, which is called Saint *Anthony*, where they tooke in fresh water out of raine pits.

They set fire vpon the townes of S. Anthony, and S. Helena.

Then sayling along the coast of *Florida*, they seized vpon two townes, Saint *Anthony* and Saint *Helena*, which were abandoned by the Spanish Garisons, and burned them; and being caried further vpon a ragged and rocky coast, they found the English in the Plantation of *Virginia* (so called in the honour of

They come to Virginia.

ELIZABETH *the Virgin Queene*)

which Sir *Walter Raleigh* (whose worth and vertues purchased him the honour to be one of the Queenes chiefest fauourites) by his neuer enough praised labours, in the discouerie of remote Countries, and promulgation of the glory of the English Nauy, had placed there as *Colony*. *Drake* offered to *Ralph Lan* President there, all offices of humanity, two ships with prouision, and some men, if they thought good to remaine there and prosecute what they had begun: if not to transport them for *England*. But whilest prouision was prepared for these ships, there arose a violent storm, and extraordinary furious tempest, which seuered and dispersed the whole Nauy, in such sort, that it could not be collected together againe, vntill they all arriued in *England*. Insomuch

They bring the Colony thence.

somuch that *Lan*, and the reſt that were with him, being oppreſſed with penury, and much diminiſhed in their number, they all with one voice requeſted *Drake* to giue them paſſage for their Country, which he willingly agreed to.

Tobacco.

Theſe were the firſt (that I know of) that brought at their returne into *England*, that *Indian* Plant called Tobacco, or *Nicotiana*, which they vſed, being inſtructed by the *Indians*, againſt crudities of the Stomack. And certes ſince that time it is growne ſo frequent in vſe, and of ſuch price, that many, nay, the moſt part, with an inſatiable deſire doe take of it, drawing into their mouth the ſmoke thereof, which is of a ſtrong ſent, through a Pipe made of earth, and venting of it againe through their noſe; ſome for wantonneſſe, or rather faſhion ſake, and other for healths ſake, inſomuch that Tobacco ſhops are ſet vp in greater number then either Alehouſes or Tauernes. And as one ſaid, but falſely, the bodies of ſuch Engliſhmen, as are ſo much delighted with this plant, did ſeeme to degenerate into the nature of the Sauages, becauſe they were caried away with the ſelfe-ſame thing, beleeuing to obtaine and conſerue their health by the ſelfe-ſame meanes, as the barbarians did. In this voyage periſhed ſeuen hundred men, and almoſt all of that diſeaſe, called *Calentura*. The pillage was eſteemed to be worth 60000 pounds of Engliſh money, beſides two hundred and forty great pieces of artillery, as well Braſſe as Iron, which were taken from the Enemies.

The booty of the Engliſh voyage and expedition.

Their pillage.

A ſearch made for the diſcouerie of a way to the Eaſt India.

Whileſt theſe things thus paſſed in *America* vnder the torride *Zone*, *John Danis* made ſearch vnder the frigide *Zone* for a way to the *Eaſt India*, by the vpper part of *America*, with two ſhips, at the expences of *William Sanderſon*, (a man who by ſetting forth Globes hath well deſerued in the ſtudies of *Geography*) and of other inhabitants of *London*. He tooke his courſe towards the North; and being fiue hundred miles from the Cape of *Not* in *Ireland*, he diſcouered the Coaſts of *Greeneland*, whoſe Cliffes being white by

Booke 3.

reaſon of the ſnow which couered them, might eaſily afarre off be diſcerned,& ſo round begirt with Ice, as with a forewall, for the ſpace of two miles from the ſhore, that it was inacceſſible. The courſe of this coaſt hee followed, which bent firſt towards the Weſt, and then Northward to 64 degrees in Latitude; from thence paſſing the Ice, his courſe brought him amongſt certaine greene flouriſhing Ilands, where he found the Inhabitants of a middle ſtature, little eyes, without beards, and of milder diſpoſition then the moſt part of Northerne people. From whence ſayling to 66 Degrees in Latitude, he encountred a ſhore, which diſcouered it ſelfe by little and little towards the Weſt, with a * ſea of equall largeneſſe: into which being entred forty miles, and being full of hopes, hee turned ſayle homeward vpon the end of *Auguſt*. The following yeare hee entred foureſcore miles into theſe Straights; where hee obſerued this ſea to be on all ſides well ſtored with Ilands, and in his returne found it full of fiſh. The third time he ſet forth, with two ſhips appointed for fiſhing, and a third for the diſcouerie of paſſages, in which hauing ſailed to 83 degrees into this Sea, and diſcouering it to bee forty miles in breadth, hee returned.

*Or Straits.

An Edict againſt Woad.

Daring this, an Edict was publiſhed in *England*, to repreſſe the auarice of ſome priuate perſons, that had conuerted the fertileſt fields and paſtures, into grounds to ſow Woad in, for the vſe of Dyers, not without much loſſe to the Cloath-workers and Husbandmen, which are commonly fed with Milke, Cheeſe, and ſuch like meats. Whereupon it was forbidden, to ſow that hearbe within eight miles of any of the Kings houſes; and foure miles of Cities, Market-townes, and of other places whereſoeuer Drapery is vſed.

The company of the Barbary Merchants.

But to the intent that Engliſh Cloathes might be ſold to greater gaines, it was permitted to the Earle of *Warwicke* and *Leiceſter* his brother, *Tho: Starkey*, *Gerard Gore*, and other

other Merchants of *London*, to recompence their losses which they had sustained in *Africa*, being to all others prohibited, to traffique in *Mauritania Cesarienſe*, for the space of ten yeares. Which *Mulley Hamet Xerifi* receiued into protection.

The death of the Earle of Lincolne.

In the beginning of this yeare dyed *Edward* Lord *Clinton* High Admirall, who in the yeare 1572 was by Queene ELIZABETH, created Earle of *Lincolne*. He was honorably interred at *Windſor*. *Henry* his ſonne ſucceeded him in his honours: but *Charles Howard* Lord of *Effingham* (Chamberlaine to the Queene) in the Admiralty. And to him in his Office ſucceeded the Lord *Carie*, Baron of *Hunſdon*, Gouernour of *Barwick*, who a few yeares before ſupplyed the place of *Fra: Ruſſell*, Earle of *Bedford*, the ſecond Earle of that Family, a Nobleman true profeſſor of Religion and vertue: who hauing ouer-liued three of his ſonnes, *Edward*, *Iohn* and *Francis*, and had but one liuing, who was Lord *Ruſſell*, Baron of *Thornaugh*, and three daughters, all three Counteſſes: one maried to the Earle of *Warwicke*; the ſecond to the Earle of *Bathe*; and the third to the Earle of *Cumberland*, hee dyed of a Gangrene, the next day after his ſonne *Francis* was ſlaine vpon the borders of *Scotland*, (as before is related) and was interred with *Iohn* his father at *Cheney* in *Buckingham-ſhire*: to him ſucceeded *Edward* ſonne to *Francis* his third ſonne.

Of the Earle of Bedford.

The Earle of Leiceſter ſent into Holland.

About the end of this yeare, the Earle of *Leiceſter* being out of an itching deſire of rule and glory, eaſily perſwaded by thoſe which ſtudied more to aſſure their owne fortune and power in the Court, then his Honour; paſſed with great pompe and ſtate into the *Netherlands* with this Title;

Generall of Her MAIESTIES auxiliary troops:

Hee had alſo ſome command ouer the Nauy-Royall: His

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Lordſhip was accompanied with the Earle of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Touchet* Baron of *Audley*, and the Lord *North*, Baron of *Kertling*, vvith Sir *William Ruſſell*, Sir *Tho. Sherley*, Sir *Arthur Baſſet*, Sir *Walter Waller*, Sir *Geruaſe Clifton*, and many other Knights, attended on by a choſen company of fiue hundred Gentlemen. The Queene at his departure forbade him to entertaine a thought of any thing, which vvould bee vnworthy either of her, or of the place which he vvas ſeated in. Shee commanded him to learne vvith all poſsible diligence, vvhat Gariſons the Eſtates maintained; how, and by vvhat means. And her Maieſtie ſtill being carefull & good to the Souldiers, charged him to know by vvhat Art they inhaunced, & put down the value of their money (for in that Art they excelled all others) leſt the Souldiers ſhould receiue that at a higher rate then they could put it off for. She admoniſht him to cut off all prouiſion from the enemy, and to his power reſtraine the *Dunkerks*, vvhich much infeſted the ſeas. Finally, ſhee recommended to his truſt the Nobilitie of that Country; and aboue all the children of the Prince of *Orange*.

His inſtructions.

THE

THE NINE AND TWENTIETH YEERE of Her Raigne.

Anno Dom. M.D.LXXXVI.

DVDLEY Earle of *Leiceſter*, landing at *Fluſhing*, was firſt by his Nephew Sir *Philip Sidney* Gouernor of that Citie, honorably receiued: and after by all the townes of *Zeland* and *Holland*, with all ſorts of honours, acclamations, triumphs, deuoted panegyricks, Banquettings, and ſuch like things. And being in the moneth of *Iuly* come to the *Hage*, the Court of *Holland*, the Eſtates generall (ſo they are called) by Letters Patents, gaue to him the ſoueraigne command and abſolute authoritie ouer the Vnited Prouinces, with the Title of Gouer-

Abſolute Authoritie is giuen to Leiceſter by the Eſtates.

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Gouernor and Captaine Generall of *Holland, Zeland,* and the vnited and confederate Prouinces.

Then being ſaluted of all with the attribute of

His Excellence,

and tickled with flatteries, as if hee had beene ſeated in the higheſt and ampleſt degree of honour; he began to aſſume royall and Kingly thoughts of Maieſty. But the Queen being highly offended, that the Eſtates had impoſed and receiued him with ſuch exceeding honours, with a little letter abated the ſwelling winde wherewith hee was puffed vp, then when he leaſt thought thereof. And theſe were the contents:

The Queen offended thereat.

She expoſtulateth with him.

You ſhall vnderſtand by this meſſenger, which wee haue expreſly ſent vnto you, with what contempt you haue behaued your ſelfe againſt our pleaſure. Wee had not thought, that you, a man we haue raiſed from the duſt, and fauoured aboue all others, would haue violated, in ſo great a matter, our command with ſo great contempt, euen in a matter which ſo much and neerely concerneth vs and our honour. But though againſt your duty you haue made ſo little reſpect of our honor, yet thinke not that we are ſo groſly negligent in the repairing thereof, that wee can paſſe ouer ſo great an iniury with ſilence and obliuion. Therefore we command you, that you, ſetting apart all excuſes, incontinently, according to the faith and duty wherein you are bound vnto vs, performe all whatſoeuer Heneage *our vnder-Chamberlaine ſhall in our name declare vnto you, except you will draw vpon your head a greater danger.*

In

In other Letters which she sent to the Estates generall, she thus reasoned,

With the Estates also.

THat they without her aduice or priuity, had to her reproach, transferd vpon Leicester *the absolute rule of the vnited Prouinces, notwithstãding she herselfe had refused the same, and had manifestly declared to all the world, that she had but onely giuen ayde and succours to her afflicted neighbors, and not in any wise taken any command vnto her.* And therefore she aduised them, *To dispoile* Leicester *of that absolute authoritie, since she had prescribed to him his limits: not that she thought their cause was not to be defended, but that she might keepe safe her honour, which then her life she rather esteemed.*

The Estates answered:

They excuse themselues.

THat they were much agrieued, that in giuing to Leicester *without her aduice the absolute rule, they had offended her Maiesty; and requested her to mitigate the offence by the necessity of matter; remonstrating to her, that of necessity that authority must haue been transferd vpon one or other, for the auoyding of troubles; neither was the authority such as that word* Absolute *did seeme to inferre, seeing that principality and soueraigne rule, with the dignity of Gouernor, still remained intire amongst the people. But to reuoke the power which had already been transferd, would be a meanes to precipitate the* Netherlands *into extreame dangers.*

By these letters of the Estates, and those of *Leicester*, which hee (as one well skil'd how with feigned teares and griefe to re-obtaine the fauour of so gracious and milde a

Booke 3.

Princeſſe) had written in a ſorrowfull ſtile this offence, by little and little vaniſhed into obliuion.

In the meane ſpace *Leiceſter* receiued the contributions of of the Prouinces, and eſtabliſhed military lawes; and whilſt he laboured to impoſe new taxes vpon their commerce, hee ſtirred vp the hate of the people againſt him. Now had *Charles* Earle of *Manſueld*, by order from the Duke of *Parma* Gouernor for the *Spaniard* in *Flanders*, for the ſpace of ſome few moneths beleagerd *Graue* a towne in *Brabant* ſituated vpon the riuer *Maſe*, and had round intrenched himſelfe. *Leiceſter* to releeue the towne, ſent the Earle *Hoenloe* a Germane, and *Iohn Norris* an Engliſh Captain, who hauing begun to raiſe a ſcance neere to the towne, that they might from thence ſend prouiſion & ſuccors to the beſieged, were ſoone aſſailed and repulſt by the *Spaniard*: but certaine freſh companies of Engliſh ioyning with the other, and falling vpon the *Spaniard*, repulſed them vvith a great ſlaughter; only *Norris* receiued a ſmall hurt. But the Duke of *Parma* comming with freſh ſupplies beganne furiouſly to play vpon the town with his great artillery, whereupon *Hemart* Gouernor of the town; being a yong man, & vnexperienced in martiall affaires, without abiding any aſſault, after hee had conditioned for his owne, and the Inhabitants liues, he yeelded vp the towne. Whileſt *Leiceſter* in the meane ſpace expulſing the *Spaniards* out of the *Betow*, an Iſle ſituated betweene the *Rhine* and the *Waale*, and fortified the ſcance neere *Telon*; *Hemart* for hauing vnaduiſedly yeelded *Graue* was (for an example to others) beheaded.

Leiceſter ſendeth ſuccours to releeue the City of Graue beſieged.

But it is yeelded vp.

The Spaniards expelled out of the Betow.

An aduentrous enterprize.

The Duke of *Parma* paſſing into *Guilderland* lodged his army before *Venlo*, where *Skenke* of *Freezland*, and *Roger Williams* a Welchman, being men of a reſolute courage, put in practice a haughty enterpriſe, breaking through the army of the Duke by night, with intent to enter into the towne, and hauing ſlaughtered many, they had pierced as farre as the Dukes tent. But they were repulſed: and though they failed

failed of their expectation, yet were they prayſed amongſt the beſt ſouldiers for their aduentrous hardineſſe. Soone after the towne of *Venlo* was yeelded vp. In the interim, the Lord *Willoughby* Gouernor of *Bergen op Zome* intercepted ſtore of Corne which was caried toward the enemy. On another ſide *Phillip Sidney*, and *Maurice* ſonne to the Prince of *Orange*, ſurpriſed *Axele* a towne in *Flanders*. *Sidney* ſwelling with courage by reaſon of this ſucceſſe; being allured with hopes from ſome of the gariſon of *Graueline*, hee by night attempted to take the towne, but *La Motte* the Gouernor, by whom this plot was laid, iſſued out vpon him vnexpected, whereby he perceiued that he was deluded, and retired with the loſſe of ſome few men, ſafe and in perfect health. *William Pelham* Generall of the Engliſh horſe ſcoured vp and downe *Brabant*. *Parma* parting from *Venlo*, marched to *Bergen*, where Colonell *Morgan* with 1200 Engliſh vnder his command lay in Gariſon, which he beleagerd: *Leiceſter* made haſt to raiſe him, but finding himſelfe vnequall in the number of his men, ſlenderly prouided of munition, not any place for retreat at hand, & the leaguer of his enemy ſtrongly fortified: to draw the enemy from *Bergen*, he in likewiſe beleagerd *Duisbrough*, and after that by the force of his cannon he had made a breach, preparing to giue an aſſault, the towne vpon compoſition yeelded; ſo hee entred, and tooke poſſeſſion of the towne before the Duke of *Parma* had altogether left *Bergen* to come to releeue it.

Venlo is loſt.

Axele is taken.

Graueline attempted.

Duisbourgh beleagerd.

Which yeelds.

Parma ſuſpecting, that they would alſo march againſt *Zutphen* a neighbouring City, he cauſed prouiſion to be caried into the towne but at the ſecond returne of the cariage, the Engliſh by the fauour of the time which was then miſty, encountred the *Spaniards* which conuoyed the ſame. Then began betwixt them a tumultuous conflict. The Engliſh *ſtanding two volleys of ſhot vntoucht, remained* firme, putting to flight the troope of horſe ſent forth vnder the conduct of

Booke 3.

G. Cresiac a Wallon, who dismounted from his horse by the Lord *Willoughby*, vvas taken; *Hannibal Gonzago* with many others being slaine. Yet few of the English perished: but oh! He that countervail'd many men, whose valor parallel'd if not exceeded the best, *Sidney*, his horse being slaine, whilst he ascended another, was shot through the thigh, of which wound five and twenty dayes after he dyed, having scarce out-liued his father foure moneths, and was much lamented of all good men. *Leicester* his vncle returning into *England* performed his obsequies and funerall duties, in the Church of St. *Paul* at *London* with great magnificence, and solemnities due to a noble Souldier. *Iames* the King of Scots honored him with an Epitaph, both the Academies cõsecrated their teares to him, and the new Colledge of *Oxford* erected a stately monument to his lasting memory. And to speake truth, the vertue of this man, his natural magnificent bounty, his adorned literature, and his sweet and milde behauiour, well deserued all this, yea and more.

Sir Philip Sidney is slaine.

Leicester, though sad & sorrowful, eagerly assaulted the forts before *Zutphen*, and to expugne them with better successe, he seized vpon the Iland with the places of defence therin; then assaulting the lesser fortresse, hee subdued it by the valour of *Edward Stanley* who laying hold of a *Spaniards* Pike, wherewith he strucke him, kept such fast hold that hee was by the Pike drawne into the Fort, vvhereat the *Spaniards* were in such sort amazed, that they fearefully fled. *Leicester* for this valorous exploit Knighted *Stanley*, rewarding him with 40 pounds English presently paid him down, and a 100 Marks yearely pension during his life. The night following the *Spaniards* abandoned the greater fort leauing behind them all their munition, and retyred into *Zutphen*. *Leicester* thought it not expedient to belcaguer the towne at that time, being then almost in the depth of vvinter, and the vveather very sharpe; besides, hauing garisons round about it, he thought it sufficiently besieged. For Sir *Edward Stanley*

The valour of Edward Stanley of the house of Elford.

ley remained at *Deuentrey*, being sixe English miles from thence on the North side, with 1200 footmen, as well English as Irish. *Rowland Yorke* kept the fortresses of *Zutphen* neere to *Deuentry* with 800 foote, and 100 horse. There were garisons likewise placed towards the East parts, at *Lillo*, *Sherenbourg*, and *Douay*.

Leicester hauing placed the rest of his troopes in garison, and seeing that the Duke of *Parma* was farre thence retired, hee returned to the *Hage*, where the Estates receiued him with many complaints:

The Estates complaine to Leicester against himselfe.

THat the moneyes were not well distributed, that hee inclined his eares to evill Counsellors, that the numbers of the auxiliary English were not compleat, that foreigne souldiers were inrol'd without their consent, that militarie discipline was neglected, that waggons and pioners were compeld, that the priuiledges of the prouinces were contẽned, & that new formes of contribution were deuised.

They requested him to apply a speedy and healthfull remedy to these things. He that had his whole intendments busied about his returne into *England*, with a courteous answer gaue them faire promising. But vpon the day wherein he was to depart, he committed the administration of the Prouinces to the Counsell of the Estates, and vpon the same day, by letters of restraint secretly dispatcht, he reserued to himselfe the whole authority ouer the Gouernours of the Prouinces, Townes, and Castles, and exempted likewise the accustomed iurisdictions from the Counsell of the Estates and

Booke 3.

He returneth into England.

and Gouernours of the Prouinces, and ſo vpon the third day of December he paſſed ouer into *England*. Thus for this whole yeare were the Engliſh affaires caried in the *Netherlands*.

In *England*, *Phillip* Earle of *Arundel* who all the yeare had beene kept cloſe priſoner, was accuſed in the Starre-Chamber.

The Earle of Arundell is accuſed of many things

That hee contrary to the Lawes, had ſuccoured the Prieſts, had interchange of letters with Alan *and* Parſon, *Feſuits and enemies to the Queene: That he had derogated from the Juſtice of the Kingdome by publike writing: and had enterpriſed to depart the Kingdome without licence.*

He anſwered them well, and is but fyned.

But hauing made proteſtation of his obedience to the Queene, and loue to his Country, he modeſtly excuſed himſelfe out of his zeale to the Catholike Religion, and his ignorance of the lawes, and ſubmitted himſelfe to the iudgement of the Aſſembly, who adiudged him to be fined 10000 pounds, and ſo long impriſonment as the Queenes pleaſure ſhould preſcribe. But of theſe things in the yeare 1589 muſt more amply be diſcourſed.

The King of Denmarke intercedeth for Peace with the Queene of England.

About this time ariued in *England* frõ *Frederick* 2. King of *Denmarke*, *Hen. Ramely* Chancelor for the *German* affaires, with a warlike traine & guard of Muskettiers, who at large declared, with what affection the K. of *Denmarke* was tranſported towards Queene ELIZABETH, and the generall peace of Chriſtendome; to which he promiſed with his beſt indeauors to moue the King of *Spaine* to condiſcend:

That

Booke 3.

THat (as hee said) *the common enemie of mankinde, might not any longer with humane blood water those seeds of warre which he had sowne in the* Netherlands.

The Queene gaue him a gracious hearing; and hauing often graciously entertained him with diuers discourses, she highly commended the pious intention of the King of *Denmarke*. And by the Lord *Burghley*, Treasurer; *Charles Howard*, Lord High Admirall; *Henry* Lord *Carie*, Baron of *Hunsdon*, Chamberlaine; and Sir *Francis Walsingham*, principall Secretarie, she gaue him this answer;

Queene Elizabeth answereth.

THat she desired nothing more, then to embrace a League of amity (in which were coucht no treacheries) with her neighbouring Princes. But considering the complots of the Spaniard which hee had practised against her, shee could not but prouide for her owne safety, the defence of the True Religion of Christ, and the conseruation of the priuiledges of her allyed neighbours in their entier.

The selfe-same answer to the same purpose she gaue to *Bodellan*, sent into *England* by the Duke of *Parma* to treat of a Peace.

In

Booke 3.

She furniſheth Henry King of Navarre with money.

In the meane ſpace ſhee furniſhed the King of *Nauarre*, by the hands of *Horatio Pallauicine* vvith a large ſumme of money; in whoſe perſon onely, the *Guiſes* oppugned the reformed Religion in *France*. But the Queene was to nothing more attentiue, then to confirme a ſolid amity betweene *England* and *Scotland*, and to conioyne them in one vnited League of mutuall offence and defence, vvhereby ſhe might not onely cut off all hope of ayde from *Scotland* to foraine Nations, but to the Queene of Scots her ſelfe. For Queene ELIZABETH ſuſpected, that ſhee, being greatly incenſed, had imbraced ſome perilous counſell, ſince that the conditions which vvere preſented by her, vvere reiected; the aſſociation agreed vpon, and ſhe (as is before related) deliuered into the cuſtody of Sir *Aimé Poulet* and *Drury*. And it was apparantly manifeſt, that the Ieſuites on one ſide, and the fugitiue Nobilitie of the other, had ſuggeſted her with diuers deſignes, and abrupt counſels, by their Letters written one againſt the other. For the Ieſuites perceiuing that there was no other hope left for the eſtabliſhing of the Roman Religion, either by her, or by her ſonne, they framed to themſelues new deuices; they beganne to coyne for the Spaniard (whoſe greatneſſe they alwayes laboured to encreaſe) a new and fained right to the ſucceſsion of *England*. And (as *Paſquier* reported) they ſent *Saumier* (if the name be not fained) into *England*, vvhich vvas one of their owne ſociety, for to draw the Nobility to the Spaniſh faction, and to force her to ſome dangerous matter; denouncing that if ſhe were any way troubleſome, that neither ſhee nor her ſon ſhould raigne at all. And by inciting the *Guiſes*, her alliance, to new commotions againſt the King of *Nauarre* and Prince of *Conde*, to the intent to hinder them from aiding of her and her ſonne.

She deſireth a league with Scotland.

By what counſell.

The fugitiues and Scottiſh Ieſuits do ſuggeſt diuers things to the Queene of Scots.

The French labour to hinder the League.

But to conclude the League which was begunne by *Wotton*, and interrupted by the ſlaughter of *Francis Ruſſell*, which alſo *Deſneuall* the French Ambaſſador, and *Corſelle*, a man

a man of an impatient disposition, who not long before was ignominiously driuen out of *England*; began now to hinder; *Thomas Randolph* vvas dispatched, vvhose dexteritie in the Scottish affaires, was accounted wise and fortunate, although to the King hee was scarce welcome, by reason of the troubles which he formerly moued in *Scotland*. He proposed to the King the same conditions of the League, which *Wotton* had before propounded. The King would haue to be added the Articles concerning the yearely pension assigned, and the preiudice not to be offered to his Right to the Crowne of *England*, and vvould haue them inserted into the Contract. The Ambassador according to his instructions promised him an assurance of these things in a writing separate by it selfe, prouided that hee constantly embraced the League. The King, out of the loue vvhich hee bore to his subiects, propounded that the Scots might inioy the selfsame immunities in *England* as the English themselues. But the Ambassador shewing him that it could not be done except by the Parliament authoritie; and the States of *England* vvould not easily accord thereto: the King deliberately proposing the Articles to himselfe, agreed vnto them, and commanded them to be imparted to his Nobility, to the entent that they likewise should confirme them with their subscriptions. Yet the French Ambassador murmuring, first, said, that the Queene had desired this League, not out of any loue to the King, but for the iust feare vvhich shee had, lest shee should bee ruined by her enemies which were ioyned against her: then hee iniected many feares, intermixt with threats, that the amity of France, which is most profitable to the Scots, vvould be by this meanes dissolued: Lastly, he coniured the King, that hee would not doe any thing without the King of *France* his counsell.

The King of Scots propoundeth conditions.

But the King, who wel knew these to be but vaine speeches, could not be retarded or diuerted from his purpose. For hee wel knew that the Englisn forces were much encreased by

He is not deterred by the French.

Booke 3.

Englands League with the Low-Countries, made this serious answer.

King Iames's answer to them.

THat he had reposed his confidence in the diuine bounty, and not in the friendship of such as were contrary to the glory of God. Neither was it lesse lawfull for him to contract a League with the Queene, without the French Kings counsell, then it was of late for the King of France to ioyne in friendship with her, without his aduice.

And although the Queene, that she might not be thought to buy this alliance, did send him lesse money then he expected, and made lesse expression of the assurance of the succession, neuertheless for the zeale which hee bore to Religion, and his singular affection to the Queene, hee commanded the League to bee concluded; and further to acquite his promise, he determined to send into *England* the *Carrs*, which were suspected murderers of *Francis Russell.*

The League of fast friendship.

A little after, vpon the beginning of *Iuly*, the Earle of *Rutland*, the Lord *Euers*, and *Tho: Randolph* for the Queene: the Earle of *Bothwell*, the Lord *Boide*, and *Iames Humy Coldingknoll* for the King of *Scotland* were assembled at *Barwicke*, and there consummated the League, which was called *The League of fast friendship*, (because the word of *offence* was displeasing to the Scots) as followeth.

FOrasmuch as the Raignes and Gouernments of of these Princes, are falne into these doubtful and dangerous times, wherein the neighbouring

Princes

Princes, which will be called Catholiques, acknowledging the Papall authoritie, doe contract Leagues, and by mutuall alliances, doe oblige their faiths, to ruine and extirpate, the true, pure, and Euangelicall Religion; not onely out of their owne Territories and Dominions, but also out of foraine Kingdomes. To the end, that those which doe embrace the Euangelicall Religion, might not seeme lesse carefull to defend and protect the same, then those which at this time doe exercise the Roman Religion are for the euersion & ouerthrow of it: The said Princes for their greater assurance, and securitie of their owne persons, vpon whose safety dependeth the good and welfare of the people; and for the conseruation of the true, ancient, and Christian Religion, whereof they at this present make profession, haue consulted and agreed to combine themselues in a straiter knot of mutuall alliance and friendship, then hath beene till now amongst the Predecessors of their Maiesties.

The first ARTICLE.

PRimarily then, to the end that this so godly and necessary Proposition of either Prince in this turbulent estate of things might come to an effect, for the common good, and propagation of the truth of the Gospell: it is conuented, agreed and concluded, that the said Princes shall by this mutuall and holy League, be especially carefull to defend and conserue the true, pure, and Euangelicall Religion, which they now professe, against all others that for the ruine thereof shall enterprize any thing against either of them; and shall labour and endeuour with all possible diligence, that the rest of those Princes which are professors of the same Religion, might accord with them in this holy

Booke 3.

holy propounded League, and conioyning their forces conserue in their Dominions the true seruice of God, and defend and gouerne their subiects vnder the said ancient and Apostolicall Religion.

The second.

ITem, it is conuented, accorded, and concluded that this mutuall League for the defending and maintaining of the Christian and Catholique Religion, which at this present is holden by either Prince, and by the grace of God obserued and nourished in their Realmes and Dominions, shall bee a League of offence and defence against all those that shall hinder, or endeuour by any means to hinder the exercise of the same within their Realmes and Dominions; notwithstanding all Treaties, Leagues of friendship, and Confederations past betweene either of them, and all aduersaries and persecutors whatsoeuer of the same Religion. That if at any time any Prince or State whatsoeuer, of what condition soeuer he be, shal inuade or infest, the Realmes, Dominions, or Territories, of either of the said Princes, or any part of them; or indomage or iniure any manner of way their Maesties persons, or subiects; or shall attempt these, or any of these things,

The third.

IT is conuented, accorded and concluded, that neither of these Princes, receiuing intelligence from the person inuaded, iniured, or indomaged, shall directly, or indirectly; openly, or couertly, aide, counsell, or fauour, at any time, the said inuaders, or infestors, in what kinde of inuasion soeuer it shall bee; or by whomsoeuer it shall be attempted,

tempted, notwithstanding all kindred, affinitie, amitie, or alliance before contracted, or after to bee contracted.

The fourth.

THat the said Princes shall reciprocally send aide either to other, in manner as followeth: If the Kingdome of England shall be inuaded or molested by any stranger vpon those parts which are farre remote from the Kingdome of Scotland, *the King of* Scotland *after demand made by the Queene of* England, *shall incontinently and without delay send two thousand horse, and fiue thousand foot, or any lesse number, according to the pleasure & request of the Queene, to bee conducted at the expence of the Queene, from the frontiers of* Scotland *next adiacent to the Kingdome of* England, *into any part of* England *whatsoeuer.*

The fift.

THat if the Kingdome of Scotland *shall bee inuaded or molested by any stranger, vpon those parts which are farre remote from the Kingdome of* England: *the Queene of* England *after demand made by the King of* Scotland, *shall incontinently, and without delay, send three thousand horse, and sixe thousand foot, or any lesse number, according to the pleasure and request of the King, to be conducted at the expence of the King, from the frontiers of* England, *next adiacent to the Kingdome of* Scotland, *into any part of* Scotland *whatsoeuer.*

Booke 3.

The sixt.

THat if the Kingdome of England shall by any one bee inuaded vpon the North parts within threescore miles of the borders of Scotland, the most illustrious King of Scotland being requested and demanded by the most excellent Queene of England, shall assemble all his forces and troopes to his possibilitie, effectually and without delay; and ioyning them with the English troops, shall pursue in all hostile manner those that shall inuade the Kingdome of England, their fauourers and assistants whatsoeuer, for the space of thirty dayes together, or longer, if occasion and necessitie shall require, according to the space of time, which the subiects of Scotland were anciently accustomed, and to this day doe hold, for bringing of succours to the defence of the Kingdome.

The seuenth.

THat when the King of Scots shall haue notice giuen him from the Queene of England of any inuasion or deuastation happening in Ireland, he shall not onely forbid the inhabitants of the County of Argathel, of the Iles, and places adiacent to the said County, and the inhabitants of all other places whatsoeuer in the Kingdome of Scotland, not to enter into the Kingdome of Ireland, and to his power to hinder them from entring: But also in what time soeuer it shall happen, that the inhabitants of any part whatsoeuer of the Realme of Scotland, shall, contrary to the intent of this Treaty, enter in hostile manner into any part of Ireland, with an extraordinary and vnusuall number of Souldiers: the King himselfe, after he had

had giuen notice to the Queene of the said entry, shall, by a publique Edict, denounce the said inuaders, breaking in hostile maner into the said Realme, for Rebels, disturbers of the publique peace, and men guilty of attempt against the estate, and as such shall pursue them.

The eighth.

That neither of the said Princes shall giue (or permit any other in any sort whatsoeuer to giue) at any time hereafter, any aide, fauour, or assistance, to any conspirator, rebell, or one reuolted from either Prince; or suffer any such person or persons in publike or in priuate, to make stay or aboade in their Dominions. But either of the said Princes, vpon the first notice, or request of the Prince (from whom they haue reuolted) offered, shall deliuer or cause to be deliuered vp the said conspirators, or Rebels, without any delay or procrastination, (according to the Conuentions, in our former Treaties betweene our selues, and our predecessors, expressed) or at least shal compell them to depart out of the bounds of their Dominions. And furthermore, so long as the said Rebels, or conspirators shall remaine in the said Dominions, either of the said Princes shall giue reasonable satisfaction for all the wrongs and damages done by the said Rebels.

The ninth.

That to compound for all and singular the iniuries and controuersies which haue hapned since the time that the most excellent King of Scots tooke the gouernment of the Kingdome vpon him, and for the space of foure yeares before, by reason of the frontier

Booke 3.

frontier limits, or amongst the borderers. The Princes shall on either side, within six moneths after this league concluded, send capable Commissioners, desirous of peace, well instructed, with commands sufficient and proper for the same affaires, to some commodious place upon the frontiers of both Kingdomes, which shall determine and end all causes & controuersies by a friendly and honorable composition.

The tenth.

THat neither of the said Princes shall contract any League or confederation with any other Prince, Common-wealth, or Communalty whatsoeuer, to the preiudice of this present League and vnion, without hauing and obtaining an expresse consent from the other, by Letters, either subscribed with his hand, or sealed with his Priuy Seale.

That both Princes, when either of them shall bee duely requested by the Ambassadors or Commissioners of the other, shall approue and confirme this holy League of Society, both by Oath, and vnder the Great Seale. And further, for the greater assurance and stabilitie of the same, shall deliuer, or cause to be deliuered Letters Patents at a certaine time, which by the mutuall consent of either Prince shall be constituted.

The eleuenth.

THat all the precedent Treaties of friendship, and Connentions of Leagues betweene the Predecessors of the said Princes, their Kingdomes and Dominions (though now seeming out of vse) shall

remaine

remaine in their vertue, force, and vigour. And likewise this present treaty of mutuall alliance, and fast friendship shall not derogate in any manner from the precedent Treaties, and confederations passed by the said Princes, with other their Allies, or diminish in any part their waight, and authoritie, (onely excepted the defence of the pure Religion which the said Princes doe defend and exercise at this present in their Kingdomes) in which manner we vnderstand, that this present League of offence and defence, in its owne force shall remaine ratified, and inviolable.

That when the King of Scotland *shall come to the age of fiue and twenty yeares; he shall (so soon as he conueniently may) approue and confirme by a publique assembly of his Kingdome this present League. Likewise the Queenes Maiestie shall doe and accomplish the same thing, and shall cause to be done and accomplished in the Court of Parliament, by the Nobility and other states of the Kingdomes of* England *and* Ireland.

In the same moneth that this League was concluded of, a most pernicious conspiracy was discouered against Queene ELIZABETH; of which (in as few words as may possible be) I will expound the originall and progresse, according to that which I haue extracted out of the voluntary confessions of the conspirators. Some out of the English Seminarie at Rheims, admiring as it were with astonishment, a certaine omnipotency in the *Pope* of *Rome*, beleeuing that the Bull of *Pius Quintus* against Queene ELIZABETH was dictated to him by the Holy Ghost; perswaded themselues, and others also that desired the glory of being Martyrs: that it was a meritorious thing to murder such as were excommunicate; yea, and a martyrdome to dye in such a cause. *Giffard* Doctor in Diuinity, *Gilbert Giffard* and *Hodgeson* Priests, so farre possessed the minde of *Iohn Sauage*

A conspiracie against Queene Elizabeth.

Booke 3.

with theſe things (who was reputed to be a baſtard) a man ready at all aſſayes, that hee freely and voluntarily vowed to murder Queene ELIZABETH. And to make men beleeue, that they deſired to aſſure the Queene and her Counſellors, they publiſhed a booke at the ſame time, wherein they admoniſhed the Papiſts of *England* not to enterprize any thing againſt their Queene, but with their teares (which are the weapons of Chriſtians) to combate againſt her enemies. And alſo by this meanes they diſperſed a falſe rumor, that *George Giffard* a Gentleman of the Queenes Guard, had ſworne to murder her, and to that end was by the *Guiſe* hyred with large ſummes of money.

How diſcouered.

Ballard returneth into France.

In Eaſter Holydayes, *Iohn Ballard* Prieſt of the ſame Seminary, after hee had viſited many Papiſts in *England* and *Scotland*, and had ſounded their minds, hee returned into *France*, accompanied with *Maude*, *Walſinghams* Spy, a moſt crafty diſſembler, that had ſeduced his eaſie nature, and treated vvith *Barnardine Mendoza* then Leidger for the King of *Spaine* in *France*, and *Charles Paget* who was wholly deuoted to the Queene of Scots, about the meanes to inuade *England*; repreſenting to him, the apt opportunitie of the time which then vvas, becauſe the men of warre were then abſent, and buſied in the Low-Countries: neither was there a fitter time to bee hoped for, becauſe the *Pope*, *Spaniard*, *Guiſe*, and *Parma* had then determined to inuade *England*, to diuert the warres from the *Netherlands*. But *Paget* clearely demonſtrated, that it would be in vaine, to goe about to inuade *England* ſo long as the Queene was liuing. *Ballard* neuertheleſſe was ſent backe, after hee had ſworne, to procure ſpeedy ſuccours to them that ſhould inuade, and the liberty of the Queene of Scots.

Ballard ſent backe into England.

Meeteth with Babington.

At Whitſontide this Prieſt ariued in *England*, apparelled in Silks, in the habite of a Souldier, and by a borrowed name called himſelfe Captaine *Foſcue*. Hee conſulted at *London* about theſe things with *Anthony Babington* of *Dethicke* in

Darby-

Darbyſhire, a yong man of a famous houſe, of a haughty ſpirit, in learning ſurpaſſing his age, and very zealous to the Roman religion; who without leaue, had before paſſed into *France* vnknowne, and there became familiar with *Thomas Morgan* a ſeruant to the Queene of Scots, and the Biſhop of *Glaſco* her Ambaſſador; who continually ſounded in the eares of his ambitious yong man, the heroicall vertues of the great Queene of Scots, in whoſe ſeruice hee might obtaine the meanes to riſe to great Honours. Whereupon the yong man conceiued a certaine hope, and *Morgan*, without his knowledge, commended him by Letters to the Queene. For after that he was returned into *England*, the Queene of Scots graciouſly ſaluted him with her Letters; & after that, *Morgan* made vſe of him for conueyance of Letters to and fro, vntill ſuch time, that ſhe was deliuered into the cuſtody of *Poulet*: then he, perceiuing the danger which might enſue, deſiſted. *Ballard* (as I ſaid) conſulted of the aforeſaid things with *Babington*, hee plainely thought that the inuading of *England* would be to no purpoſe ſo long as Queene ELIZABETH liued. But *Ballard* giuing him to vnderſtand, that ſhe had not long to liue, becauſe *Sauage* who had vowed to murder her, was then ariued in *England*; *Babington* was of another aduice, and thought it not fit, that affaires of ſuch greatneſſe ſhould be committed to him alone, leſt he ſhould faile in the attempt. But to fixe valiant and Noblemen, of which he would haue *Sauage* to be one, to the end he might not infringe his vow. And therfore *Babington* ſought out a new meanes for the inuading of *England* by the ſtrangers, at what Port they ſhould land, what aſſiſtance ſhould be ioyned with them; how the Queene of Scots ſhould be ſet at liberty: and laſtly, for committing the tragicall murder (as he called it) of the Queene of *England*.

He inſtructs him in the ſtratagem.

Whilſt hee wholly bent his cogitations vpon theſe matters, hee receiued Letters by a boy vnknowne from the Queen of Scots, written in a familiar Character betwixt them:

Babington receiueth Letters from the Queene of Scots.

Booke 3.

them: wherein she gently blamed him for his long silence, and commanded him with all speed to send the packet of Letters sent from *Morgan*, and deliuered to him by the Secretary of the French Ambassador, which hee performed, and by the same messenger sent her a Letter, by which

He writeth back to her.

HE *excused himselfe of his silence, because hee was destitute of opportunitie to send to her, since she was giuen into the custodie of Sir* Aimé Poulet *that Puritan, wholly deuoted to* Leicester, *and a cruell and bitter enemy to the Catholique faith. He writ of the conference which he had with* Ballard. *Hee gaue her notice that sixe Gentle-men were chosen to commit a tragicall murder; and that he with a hundred others at the instant would deliuer her. And he desired her to propound recompences to the heroicall actor of this tragedie (so he called it) or to their posteritie if they dyed in the attempt.*

She answereth him.

She answered these Letters the 27 of Iuly: And

SHE *praised his singular affection to the Catholique religion, and to her selfe. But she admonished him to be considerate in this enterprise,*

Booke 3.

prise, and that he should conclude an association amongst the authors and actors in the same, for feare of the Puritans; not to attempt any thing before he was sure of the foraine succors to stirre vp some combustion in Ireland, *whilest the blow was to be giuen here; to draw to his faction the Earle of* Arundel *and his brothers, with the Earle of* Northumberland, *and secretly to repeale into the Kingdome the Earle of* VVestmerland, Paget, *and others.*

She prescribeth the meanes of her deliuerie;

EIther by subuerting of a Cart in the Port, or setting fire vpon Stables, or by intercepting of her when she should ride to take the aire, or recreate her selfe betweene Chartle *and* Stafford. Finally, she requested *Babington* to promise recompences to the sixe Gentle-men, and to all the rest.

His associates in the conspiracie.

He had now associated to him certaine Gentlemen of Noble race burning with zeale toward the Romane Religion; amongst whom the principall were *Edward Windsor*, brother to the Lord *Windsor*, Baron of *Bradnam*, a yong man

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of a pleasing and milde disposition. *Thomas Salisbury* issued from a house of ancient Knighthood in *Denbigh-shire*. *Char: Tilney* of a remarkable and famous race; who was the onely hope of that house; with one of the Gentlemen Pensioners to the Queene, whom *Ballard* a while before had reconciled to the Romane Church: and *Chidiock Tichborn* of *Hampshire*, and *Edward Abington*, whose father was the vnder-Treasurer of the Queenes houshold; two braue yong men; *Robert Gadge* of *Surrey*, *Iohn Trauerse*, *Iohn Charnock* of *Lancashire*, *I. Iones*, whose father was keeper of the Wardrop to Queene MARIE: *Sauage*, of whom I haue spoken: *Barnwell*, of a Noble House in *Ireland*, and *Henry Dunne* Clerke for the receipt of first fruits and tythes. Into this company *Polly* insinuated himselfe, vvell instructed in the affaires of the Queene of Scots, very expert in dissembling, vvho stil from day to day, laid open all their counsels to *Walsingham*, and by the mischieuous aduice which he suggested to these yong men, being of themselues inclined to euill, hee precipitated them to farre vvorse matters: notwithstanding *Naue* the Queene of Scots Secretary, had forwarned them of him.

Babington giueth to euery one his taske.

To these *Babington* communicateth the matter, but not to euery one, all; he shewed to *Ballard*, *Tichborne* and *Dunne* his owne Letters, and the Letters of the Queene of Scots. Also he soliciteth *Tilney*, and *Tichborne* to doe the deed. At the first they refuse to staine their hands in their Princesses blood. But *Ballard* and *Babington* labouring hard to teach and giue them to vnderstand how iust and lawfull it vvas to kil Kings or Princes excommunicated, and that if right were to be violated, it must needs be for the Catholike Religion; yet notwithstanding they with much adoe are perswaded to it. *Abington*, *Barnwell*, *Charnock*, and *Sauage* yeelded their ready consent vvith alacritie, swearing to act the murther. *Salisbury* they could not possibly induce to bee a Regicide, nor draw to any thing more, then to imploy his best endeuours for the deliuerance of the Queene of Scotland. *Babington*

bington maketh choice of *Tichnore* to be the odde man ouer and aboue the number of those that should doe the deed; of whose secrecie, trust and resolution he made no doubt; but he was then abroad in trauell. *Babington* commandeth that before they had taken their oath, they should not impart the businesse to any.

They conferre together.

After this, they met in St. *Gyles* fields to conferre further; in *Paules* also, and in Tauernes, where they feasted often, puft vp with vaine hopes of preferment to great honors and dignities: whereupon they would often commend the noble courage of those valiant *Scots*, which had lately seized on the Kings royall person at *Sterlin*; and *Girard* the *Bourgonian*, who slew the Prince of *Orange* at *Delph*. Moreouer, they grew to that height of vanity, that thy would needs haue the pictures of them drawne in a table, and *Babington* in the midst, with this versicle or inscription:

Their vanity.

Such be my consorts, as dare incurre my dangers.

But this pleased them not so well, as being a little too plain, wherefore they exchanged it with this other;

Quorsum hæc, aliò properantibus.

Some are of opinion that this table was once show'd to Queene ELIZABETH in priuate, of which shee could not discern or know any other man by his effigies, but *Barnwell* onely who had had at diuers times accesse to her Maiesty from the Earle of *Kildare* whom hee serued; but being instructed in the businesse, she knew him to be the man should haue attempted her life; for on a time walking abroad, and espying *Barnwell*, whom she beheld with an vndanted countenance, turning herselfe suddenly towards Sir *Christopher Hatton* Captaine of her Guard, and others; she said, Am not I fairly guarded now, hauing not one man of my followers, that is prouided of a sword? This *Barnwell* reported this to the

Booke 3.

the rest of his fellowes, telling thē how easily it might then haue beene done, had he had his consorts with him: and *Sauage* said the same.

Babington in care to bring in the forraigne aides, sends Ballard to worke for him. Insinuateth with Walsingham.

After this, *Babington* cast all his care, how he might bring in the forraigne power according to his promise. For the more certainty hee resolued to passe himselfe into *France* and to send *Ballard* before to the same end, for whom in an other name he had procured a licence to trauell. And for the better auoyding of suspition, insinuateth himselfe with Sir *Francis Walsingham*, by meanes of *Polly* already spoken of, whom he earnestly intreated to procure him a Passe from the Queene to goe into *France*, promising him he would be exquisitely industrious to finde out all the hidden plots the English fugitiues had in hand concerning the Queene of *Scots*: He commendeth much the yong Gentlemans purpose, promising him not only his Passe, but greater matters. Neuertheless putting off from time to time both the one and the other, hauing serued his turne in the meane time by his owne intelligencers, who had acquainted him beforehand with all things, though they thought themselues as secret as the Sun; he who discouered most of these matters to *Walsingham*, was one *Gilbert Giffard*, descended from the noble family of the *Chilingtons* in *Staffordshire* neere *Chartley*, where the Queene of *Scots* had lyen, and was then sent by the fugitiues into *England*, vnder the name of *Luson*, to put *Sauage* in mind of the vow he had made: and being now to bee their factor, was to keepe himselfe close, and the Queene of *Scots* letters safe which were to bee sent ouer, when as they could not in those dangerous times draw in the Countesse of *Arondel*, the Lord *Lumley*, the Lord *H. Howard*, nor Sir *G. Shirley*.

Deceit by deceit deceiued.

Giffard discouereth all the conspiracy.

The fugitiues to try whether they might safely expect letters out of *England* from *Giffard*, sent often empty white papers (which they call blanckes) bound vp in packets like letters, which perceiuing by the answers they receiued that

the

they had beene deliuered, and now beleeuing their cariers better then before, write materially, but in characters. Whether this *Giffard* was troubled in conscience, or corrupted with money, before hee carried ouer his letters, or terified with feare, I cannot well tell; but hee went to *Walsingham* first in secret, to vvhom hee discouered himselfe, and for vvhat cause hee was thus imployed into *England*, offering his seruice for the loue hee bore vnto his Princesse and Countrie, vvith promise that what Letters so euer from the Fugitiues, or the Queene of Scots should come into his hands, hee would acquaint him with. Sir *Fran: Walsingham*, embracing his offer, entertaineth him kindely, and sending him into *Staffordshire*, vvrit to Sir *Aimé Poulet*, intreating him to giue this *Giffard* leaue to intice some of his seruants. He vnwilling that any seruant of his (as he said) should by dissimulation, or otherwise, bee brought to turne Traitor, seemed not to be pleased therewith. Neuertheless suffered him to practice vntill hee had brought in a Beare-brewer, and an Oate-meale-man, his neare neighbours, whom he made sure. *Giffard* vvith a few crownes had easily corrupted the Brewer; who by a hole made artificially in a wall, wherein vvas a stone that vvas to be easily put in and out, he both deliuered & receiued Letters, the which by Carriers appointed for the purpose, *viz.* relapsed Priests, came to Sir *F. Walsinghams* hands. He opened them, tooke Copies of them, and by the cunning of *Tho. Philips* found out the Chara&tory, and by the deuice of *Arthur Gregory*, so closed them vp againe, that it was not to be perceiued that they had been vnsealed, then sent them to whom they were directed, according to their superscriptions. In this fashion were the two first Letters intercepted which the Queene of Scots had written to *Babington*, and his answers againe to her (wherein in the same Characters was added at the end of the Letter a *Postscriptum*: in which they found sixe Noble-mens names, if no more) as also other Letters,

Sendeth the Letters he receiued, to Walsingham.

Booke 3.

which all in one day were vvritten to the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, to the Lord *Paget*, *Char*: *Paget*, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, and Sir *Francis Ingleſield*: all which were firſt written out, and ſo ſent away againe.

So ſoone as the Queene vnderſtood by theſe Letters, vvhat a horrible ſtorme vvas ready to light on her, as well out of diuers places abroad, as at home; ſhe commanded out of hand, to apprehend *Ballard*, vvho vvas at vnawares taken in *Babingtons* houſe, being vpon his departure for France. This brought a thouſand doubts and dreadfull thoughts into the perplexed heart of *Babington*, who hereupon vvent to *Tichbourne* for his aduice vvhat to doe. *Tichbournes* counſell vvas that euery man ſhould fly out, to ſaue himſelfe. But *Babington* vvas of a minde to ſend forth *Sauage* and *Charnocke* to performe the murder. But firſt, that he might haue the better acceſſe in Court, to apparell him richly; and to this end, had conference with the reſt in *Pauls* that day. But changing his opinion, and hauing hidden in his perplexed heart, the thornes of his ſorrowes, importuneth *Walſingham* by Letters and intreaties, being then at the Court, without further delay to let him haue his Licence for *France*, and for that he had ſpeciall vſe for *Ballard* to ſet him at libertie. *Walſingham* deferred his ſuit vvith faire promiſes, laying the taking of *Ballard* vpon *Yong* the cunning Catcher of the Papiſts, and vpon his *Purſuiuants*, aduiſing him as it were in kindneſſe to keepe him out of the clawes of ſuch as they; and this he eaſily perſwaded him to (being a yong man) and to take his houſe in *London* for his lodging for a vvhile, till the Queene had ſigned his Paſſe, and till himſelfe returned to *London*, that they might conferre the more priuately together of ſuch great matters, and that otherwiſe by his often goings vp and downe, which he muſt needs vſe if he be lodged any where elſe; the fugitiues could not but grow ſuſpitious of him vpon his going into *France*.

Ballard vpon his departure is taken.

Babington ſoliciteth for Ballards libertie.

Falleth into the ſame net.

In the meane time one *Scudamore*, a ſeruant of Sir *Fran-*

cis

cis Walsinghams, vvas commanded to haue an eye to him, to accompany him euery where; giuing him to vnderstand, that this was done to saue him from Pursuiuants and Sergeants. This webbe *Walsingham* had closely wouen vvithout the knowledge of the Queenes Councell, and thought to lengthen it a little more. But the Queene would not haue it so, lest in not seeking to saue her selfe whilest she might, her Maiestie should seeme (as shee said) rather to tempt God, then to trust in him. Hereupon a letter was sent from *Walsingham* at Court, to his man at home, to looke a little more narrowly to *Babington* then hee had done. This vvriting was deliuer'd him vnsealed, sitting at table next to *Babington*, who tooke occasion to read it vvith him. He hauing a guilty conscience began to suspect that all was discouered; so that being the night following vvith *Scudamore*, and two others of Sir *Francis Walsinghams* seruants at supper in a Tauerne; After they had supped, he riseth from the table, leauing his Cloake and Rapier behind him, as if he had gone to pay the shot, taking the benefit of the darke night, slipt away to Westminster, where hee changed his cloathes with *Gage*, which *Gage* soone after put off in *Charnocks* Chamber, and put on his: being so arrayed, they went to saue them in Saint *Iohns Wood* neare the Citie, vvhere *Barnwell* and *Dun* came to them. The meane while, they vvere proclaimed traytors thorow the vvhole countrie. They lurked in woods and by-wayes, after the French Ambassador had refused to lend them money, and *Tichbourne* horses. *Babington* cut his head-haires; and because he vvas faire of complexion, they besmeared his face vvith the huskes of greene Wal-nuts. Hunger at the last inforced them to retyre themselues into the houses of the *Bellamis* neare *Harrow-hill*, a people zealously affected to the Romane religion, which hid them in barnes, and put them in Rusticke apparell, and relieued them with meat. But being found ten dayes after, they vvere conueyed from thence to *London*, and the Citizens to expresse

Getteth himselfe out.

Lyeth in a wood.

Harrow-Hill.

They are found.

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presse their great ioy, rung Bels, made bonefires, and sung Psalmes; which the Queene much commended, and gaue the City thankes.

And all the rest of the conspirators

The other Conspirators vvere taken presently after, the most of them in the Suburbs; *Salisbury* in *Chesshire*: his horse being shot through by those vvhich pursued him, and *Trauers* with him: after they had swom ouer the Riuer *Weauer*: and *Iones* in *Wales*, who not vnacquainted with the reason, had lodged them in his house, after he had heard them proclaimed Traitors, and had changed Cloakes with *Salisbury* and his man, (who vvas a Priest) which fled on horsebacke.

All discouered.

Many dayes were spent in the examination of these, which bewrayed one another, not concealing any thing of the knowne truth.

Now whilst these things past thus, the Queene of Scots and her seruants were by Sir *Aimé Poulet* kept with watch and ward, that she might not heare thereof, although it were knowne all the Land thorow. But so soone as they were all taken, Sir *Tho: Gorge* vvas sent to aduertize her briefely hereof, which he did purposely, shee not dreaming of any such matter, but was now mounted on horsebacke to goe hunt, and vnder a show of honour is conducted vp and down from one Noble mans house to another, not suffering her to returne home. In the meane time, Sir *Iohn Manners*, *Ed. Aston*, *Ri: Bagot*, and *Wi: Waade* (who knew not any thing of this busines, hauing beene lately sent into this Countrey) receiued Letters and Commission from the Queen to execute the same, to separate *Naune*, & *Curle*, and the rest of her seruants, to be kept safe and seuerall from comming to haue any communication with her, or shee with them. And breaking open the doores of her Closet, sent away to the Court all her Desks, or Coffers, wherein were any Letters vnder her owne hand and Seale. Then *Poulet* (as it was commanded him) seized vpon all her money, that she might haue no meanes, to bribe any, promising

The Q. of Scots kept with a guard and separated from her seruants.

Her Cofers with Letters sent to the Queene.

to

to restore it to her againe. The Coffers being opened before Queen ELIZABETH, diuers Letters were found written to her by Strangers, copies of such as she had sent to sundry; notes, memorials and secret Characters; to the number of threescore more or lesse; with diuers amorous Letters, and Letters of complement from some great men of *England*: ELIZABETH notwithstanding passed all ouer in silence, vsing her old Motto.

Video, Taceoq;.
I see, and say nothing.

But as they had knowledge of these things, those who before had fauoured the Queene of Scots, from thenceforth were her aduersaries.

After this, *Giffard* (hauing first playd his part in this Tragedie) was sent into *France*, as if he had beene banished, but before he went, he left with the Ambassador of *France*, an indented Paper, willing him not to deliuer the Queene of Scots her Letters, nor those of the Fugitiues to any but him that should show him a Paper sutable to that, the which he left secretly with *Walsingham*. Hee returning into *France* within a few moneths after, being committed to prison for some impuritie of life, and suspected of these matters, ended his dayes miserably, confessing that the most of that which hee had said was true, as was apparant by that which was found in his Deske.

Giffard sent into France, dyeth miserably.

The thirteenth day of September seuen of the Conspirators were arraigned, vvho confessed themselues guilty, and vvere condemned of High treason. The second day after, the other seuen was likewise called to the barre; who pleading not guilty, put themselues (as the manner is) to be tryed by God and the Country, and vvere by their owne confessions found guilty and condemned: Onely *Polley* (though he were guilty of all) saying hee had some thing to

The Traytors come to Iudgement.

Booke 3.

Are punished.

speake to Sir *Fran: Walsingham* was not brought forth.

Vpon the 20 day of the moneth, the first seuen were hanged on a Gibbet, a scaffold being set vp for that purpose, in S. *Gyles* fields, where they had commonly vsed to meet. They were no sooner hanged, but presently cut downe: their priuy members cut off, their bowels ript vp, and quartered (they yet aliue, and looking about them) which was not without some note of cruelty. The first was *Ballard* the Arch-traytor, after he had asked God and the Queene forgiuenesse, if euer he had offended her. Then *Babington* (who neuer seemed dismayed at *Ballards* execution) whilest the other turning aside, prayed on their knees, confessed his faults ingenuously; and being cut downe from the gallowes, and lying vpon the blocke to be quartered, cryed aloud in Latine; *Parce mihi Domine Iesu.* *Sauage* (the Rope being crackt) fell from the Gibbet, and being presently snatcht vp by the executioner, had his members cut off, and was bowelled aliue. *Barnwell* excused his crime out of a pretext of conscience and Religion. *Tichbourne* most penitently confessing his offence, was much pitied of the beholders: so also was *Tilney* a man of modest demeanor, & of comely personage. *Abington*, of a furious and turbulent spirit, threatneth, that shortly there should bee no little blood-shed through *England*.

The next day, the other seuen being drawne to the same place, suffered the same punishment, but with lesse seueritie, by the Queenes commandement, who hated the first dayes cruelty after she heard it. For they hung till they were dead, and then were taken downe, bowelled, and quartered. *Salisbury* was the first, who dyed very penitently, exhorting Catholikes, neuer to attempt the restoring of Religion by force of Armes. *Dunne*, who was next, spoke to the same effect. Next was *Iones*, who protested hee had diuers times dissuaded *Salisbury* from the enterprize, nor did euer approue the bringing in of foraine inuasion. *Charnock* and *Trauers*

uers were earneſt in prayer, commending themſelues to God, and to the Saints. *Gage* acknowledgeth the bountifull fauours of her Maieſtie towards his father; and his owne deteſtable ingratitude by his treachery. *Hierome Bellamie*, (who had concealed *Babington* after hee was proclaimed Traytor) confuſed and ſilent, concluded the Tragedy. For, *Babingtons* brother, being guilty of the ſame, had ſtrangled himſelfe in priſon.

The Queen of Scots her Secretaries examined.

After this execution, M. *Nauue* a Frenchman; and *Curle*, both Secretaries to the Q. of Scots, being examined of the Letters, copies of Letters, Notes, and Characters found in the Queenes Cloſet, preſently confeſt, and ſubſcribed, that they vvere their hand-writings, dictated from her to them in French, taken by *Nauue*, and tranſlated by *Curle* into Engliſh, and vvritten out in ſecret Characters. Neither denyed they, that they had receiued Letters from *Babington*, and that they, by her bidding, had written backe to him againe. I will not ſay, that they were hyred to ſay what they did; yet this was plainely to be ſeene by their Letters, and what *Curle* challenged at that time by *Walſinghams* promiſe; but he reproued him as vnmindfull of the gracious fauours hee had receiued, ſaying, that hee had confeſſed nothing, but what his fellow *Nauue* vrging him to, hee could not deny.

The King of France is aduertiſed.

Preſently after, Sir *Edward Wotton* is ſent into *France*, vvho was to certifie the King of all the Conſpiracy, and to ſhew the Copies of the Letters of the Queene of Scots, and of others of the Nobility of *England*, to teſtifie the truth of the cauſe, that the King might perceiue in what perill the Queene was, by the practices of *Morgan*, *Charles Paget*, and others then reſident in *France*.

Sundry opinions how to diſpoſe of the Scottiſh Queene.

The Councell could not determine what ſhould be done vvith the Queene of Scots. Some aduiſed not to deale with her too rigorouſly, but to haue her kept ſtraitly in Priſon, for that ſhee was not the Author of the conſpiracie: but

Booke 3.

conscious: and because she was sickly, and not likely to liue long. Others were of opinion to haue her put to death by course of Law, for feare of endangering Religion. But the Earle of *Leicester* thought it better to dispatch her with poison, and sent a Diuine to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, to tel him, that he thought it might lawfully be done. But Sir *Fr. Walsingham* protested that he was so farre from consenting to haue any violence offered her, as that he had diuerted *Mortons* purpose, which was to haue had her sent into *Scotland*, and to haue slaine her on the Borders. It was argued againe amongst them, by what Law she should be iudged. Whether by that of *An.* 25 of *Edward* the 3, (by which, *such were held guilty of Treason, as conspired the death of the King or the Queene, which should bring warre vpon their Kingdom, or take part with their Enemies*) or by that of *Anno* 27 of ELIZABETH,, which I spoke of. But the aduice of those, which thought better of the latter, preuailed: for it vvas made in the case, which vvas now to be handled, and therefore proper. There vvas chosen by Commission, many of the Priuy Councell, and of the Peeres of the Realme, to proceed, by vertue of the Law aboue-mentioned, and to passe iudgement against such, as had raised rebellion, inuaded the Land, or offered violence to the Queene, &c. And behold the words of the Statute, as they are in the originall.

By what Law shee should be iudged.

Commissioners appointed to heare the cause.

A Commission granted to that end.

ELIZABETH by the Grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c. *To the most Reuerend Father in Christ*, Iohn, *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Primate and Metropolitane of* England, *and one of our Priuy Councell; and to our beloued*

loued and faithfull Tho: Bromley *knight, Chancellor of* England, *and of our priuy Councell; as also to our welbeloued and faithfull* William CECILL, *Baron of* Burghley, *Lo: high Treasurer of* England, *our Priuy Counsellor, &c.* Greeting, &c.

The rest of the Lords Cõmissioners names, for breuities sake, are * thus inserted.

Then after the rehearsing of the Law, or Act (as wee tearme it) these words follow.

FOrasmuch as since the last Session of Parliament, to wit, since the first of Iune, in the xxvij. yeare of our raigne, diuers things haue beene attempted and conceiued, tending to the hurt of our royall Person; aswell by Mary, *daughter & heyre to* Iames *the fift, late King of Scotland and Dowager of France, pretending a title to the crowne of the Kingdome of England: as also by diuers other persons, with the priuitie of the said* Mary, *according as it hath beene giuen vs to vnderstand. And whereas we intend and determine, that the said Act should in all and by all be well, duely, and effectually executed, according to the forme and tenour of the said Act. And that all the offences in the aforesaid Act, and the circumstances of the same (aboue mentioned) be duely examined, and sentence, or iudgement, accordingly be giuen, agreeable to the tenour and effect of that Act: We giue to you, or the maior part of you, full and absolute power, licence and authority, according to the purport and meaning of the aboue recyted Act, to examine all & euery thing and things, tending to the impeachment of our royall person, which haue beene practised or conceiued, aswell*

* *William Poulet* Marquesse of Winchester, *Edward de Vere* Earle of Oxford, Lo: high Chamberlaine of England, *George Talbot* Earle of Shrewsbury Earl Marshall, *Henry Gray* Earle of Kent, *Henry Stanley* Earle of Derby, *William Somerset* Earle of Worcester, *Edward Manners* E. of Rutland, *Ambrose Dudley* E. of Warwick, Master of our Ordnance, *Henry Herbert* Earle of Pembroke, *Robert Dudley* E. of Leicester, Master of our horse, *Henry* E. of Lincoln, *Charles* L. *Howard* high Admiral of England, *Anthony* Viscount *Montagu*, *Henry Cary* Barõ of Hunsdon, Lo. Chamberlaine of our household, *Henry Neuill* Baron of Abergaueny, *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, *Edward Parker* L. *Morley*, *Will.* L. *Cobham*, Lord Warden of the cinque Ports, *Edward* L. *Stafford*, *Arthur* Lord *Gray* of Wilton, *Iohn* L. *Lumley*, *Iohn* L. *Sturton*, *William* L. *Sands*, *Henry* L. *Wentworth*, *Lodowick* L. *Mordant*, *Iohn* L. *Saint Iohn* of Bletso, *Thomas Sackvill* Baron of Buckhurst, *Henry* L. *Compton*, *Henry* Lo. *Cheney*, Sir *Francis Knolls* knight, Treasurer, Sir *Iacob Crofts* knight, Cõtroller, Sir *Christ. Hatton* Vice-Chamberlaine, Sir *Francis Walsingham* our Secretary of State, *William Dauison* Esq. our second Secretary, Sir *Ralph Sadler* knight, Chancellor of our Dutchy of Lancaster, Sir *Walter Mildmay* knight, Sir *Aymé Poulet* knight, gouernor of our Island of Iarsey (all our trusty & beloued priuy Counsellors) and Sir *Christopher Wray* knight L. chiefe Iustice of the Common plees, *Iohn Wolsey* esq. our Secretary for the Latin, Sir *Edmund Anderson* knight, L. chiefe Iust. of our Bench, Sir *Roger Manwood* chiefe Baron of our Exchequer, Sir *Thomas Gawdy*, and Sir *William Pickering*.

by the aforeſaid Mary, *as by any other perſons whatſoeuer, with the knowledge and priuity of her, all circumſtances of the ſame (and other forenamed offences whatſoeuer ſpecified, as hath beene abouesaid) and all circumſtances of the ſaid offences, and euery of them. And moreouer, according to the forenamed Act, to pronounce ſentence, or iudgement, according as the matter ſhall appeare to you, vpon ſufficient proofe: And therefore we command you, that yee proceed diligently vpon the foreſaid matters, in maner abouesaid, vpon certaine dayes and in certaine places, as you, or the maior part of you, ſhall thinke good.*

Commiſsioners come to her.

Moſt part of theſe Commiſsioners met together the 11. of October, at Fotheringham in the countie of Northampton, vpon the riuer *Nen*, where the Queene of Scotts was then kept. The next day after, the Commiſsioners ſent to her, *Mildmay*, Sir *Ayme Poulet*, and *Barker* publick Notary, who deliuered vnto her the Queenes Letters; which when ſhe had read, with a bold ſpirit and maieſtick countenance, ſhe thus anſwered:

She anſwereth the letters vpon the ſudden.

IT grieueth me, that my dearest ſiſter the Queene hath beene ſo badly informed againſt me, and that after ſo many yeares as my body hath beene ſhut vp, and kept with watch and ward, the many iuſt conditions which I haue offered for my liberty, haue been neglected, and my ſelfe abandoned. I haue ſufficiently aduertiſed her of many dangers, yet neuertheleſſe ſhe hath not giuen credite vnto me, but alwayes reiected them, though I be the next of her bloud. When a combination was begunne, and an Act of Parliament thereupon made, I foreſaw that what dangers ſoeuer might happen eyther from forraigne Princes abroad, diſcontented perſons at home, or for Religion, would redound

dound vpon me, hauing so great enemies in Court. I might take it ill, to haue my sonne contracted without my knowledge; but I omit that. Now as touching this Commission, it seemeth strange to me, to be arraigned in iudgement like a subiect, being an absolute Queene, not committing any thing preiudiciall to the Queenes royall Maiesty, to any Princes of mine owne ranke and dignitie, or against my sonne. Mine heart sayleth me not yet, nor will I faint in aduersitie: I referre me to my confession made to Bromley *now Lo: Chancellor, and Baron* Lauar: *I am ignorant of the English lawes and Statutes; I haue no Counsellers at law: Who are my Peeres, I know not. My notes and writings are taken from me, and there's none dares mediate for me. I am free from all trespasse against her Maiestie, I haue animated none against her, neither am I to be called into iudgement, vnlesse it were for some word or writing of mine owne, that could be produced against me, wherein I haue recommended my selfe and cause to some forraigne Princes; which I would not deny.*

The day following Sir *Ayme Poulet* and *Parker*, two of the Commissioners, repayred to her, who shewed her (in writing) her answer, and demanded whether she would persist therein: which after she had heard read distinctly and truly vnto her, she commended it, saying she would.

Addeth the next day to her answer,

But this (quoth she) *was out of my minde, the which I would haue added now; that the Queene wrote vnto me, that I was subiect to the lawes of* England, *and to be iudged by them, because I liued vnder their tuition.*

To which I answer:

That I came into England *for ayde; and hauing euer since beene detayned prisoner, I could neuer enioy the tuition or benefite of the lawes, nor till this present had I any to teach them vnto me.*

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In the afternoone, certaine of the Commissioners, with some learned Counsellers at the Ciuill and Canon Law, came to her. The Chancellor and Treasurer shewed their authoritie by Commission; telling her, That neyther her detayning in captiuitie, nor her Princely prerogatiue, could priuiledge or exempt her from answering in the kingdome; gently intreating her, That she would be pleased to heare what was obiected: if not, they were to proceed by course of Law against her, though absent. She answereth,

She refuseth her tryall.

She was no subiect, and that she would rather dye a thousand deathes, than acknowledge her selfe to bee one, seeing that by such acknowledgement, shee should preiudice the soueraignty of her royall Maiesty, and become lyable to the Lawes of England, *yea, in case of Religion: notwithstanding, she was ready to answere to all things in open Court of Parliament, though shee knewe that this Convention was (for formalities sake) purposely continued for the taking away of her life, already condemned in opinion. She wisheth them to examine their owne consciences, and to remember, that the spacious Theater of the world, was more than the Kingdome of* England.

Then she began to complaine of some iniuries offered her: but the Treasurer interrupting her, recited fauours which she had receiued from her Maiestie, namely, that she had punished some for impugning the title of her right to *England*, stayed the State when they would haue condemned her for seeking to haue married with the Duke of Norfolke, and for consenting to the rebellion in the North. But when they saw she made no reckoning thereof, they departed from her.

After a few houres Sir *Aimé Poulet* and the Sollicitor, presented the Commission, and the names of the Commissioners to her, that thereby she might see, they were to proceed by no fraudulent, but a legall course in equity. As for the

the Commissioners, she tooke no exception; but that shee excepted against, was the seuere new Law, as vniust and purposely deuised against her, and vpon which their Commission depended, whereof they could shew no president: neither would she euer yeeld vnto it. She demanded by what Law they should proceed, Ciuill or Canon? saying, they must send for Interpreters from *Padua*, *Poytiers*, and other outlandish Academies, because there were none in *England* that vnderstood them: adding further, that by the expresse words of the Queenes letters, it appeared she stood already conuicted of diuers crimes, and condemned before she was tryed; and therefore had no need to come before them to a second hearing: but desired to be resolued of some scruples she had found in the letters, yet would not deliuer them out in writing, because (shee said) it became not a Queene to play the Scribe.

Booke 3. Exception against the new-made Law.

For this cause the selected Commissioners went again to her, of whom she desired to know what these words meant;

For that she was vnder the Queenes protection.

To which the Chancellor made answer:

This was easie to be vnderstood by any; yet was it not the subiects part, to interprete their Soueraignes meaning, neyther were they come for that cause.

She likewise required them, that they should shew forth the Protestation, which once she had made. But it was answered, That it had not beene allowed, nor should it be now: because it was preiudiciall to the Realme of *England*. Then she demanded by what authoritie they were to proceed. To whom it was answered, By the authoritie of the Commission, and the Ciuill Law of *England*.

But (sayth she) *you make Lawes as you list, and I am not bound to submit my selfe to them, seeing the* English *long since refused to be subiect to the* Law-salique *of* France: *and that if they would proceed by the Ciuill law of* England, *they must produce examples,*

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for that, that Law consisteth, for the most part, of presidents and ancient customes. But if by the Canon Law, none but the founders therof ought to be the expositors.

Answer was made, They would proceed neyther by the Ciuill, nor Canon, but by the Law of *England*: yet by the Cæsarian and Canon Law both, it was plaine (if she would heare it) that she ought to appeare. She refused not (shee said) to heare them, by way of discourse, but not iudiciarily.

From this she fell into other speeches: That she neuer had any thought to destroy the Queene: That she had been forced to endure many iniuries: That she should become a common stone of offence (if she were thus stil abused:) That she had offered to imploy *Nauue*, for the repealing of the Popes Bull, and that she would sundry times haue excused her innocencie (by letters) but was not permitted: finally, That all the offers of good-will, which she had offered for twentie yeares space, were still reiected. As she slipped aside by these prettie digressions, they brought her to the point, and intreated her to say plainly, whether she would answer the Commissioners. She replyed;

Their Commission was grounded vpon the new Law, which was made to entangle her; hauing therefore iust cause of suspicion, she could not endure it: and hauing alwayes carried a true heart, she would not now trespasse so much against the Kings of Scotland, *her ancestors, as to acknowledge her selfe a subiect to the Crowne of England. For what were that else, but to proclaim them rebells and traytors? notwithstanding she refused not to answer, yet by no meanes in the nature of a subiect; for that shee had rather perish, than to answer as a malefactor.*

Sir *Christopher Hatton* perswadeth her to appeare.

Then answered Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Vice-Chamberlaine, saying:

You are accused of conspiracy against our soueraigne La: the Queene (an anointed Queene) but not condemned.

demned. You say you are a Queen. Admit it: yet are you not of royall estate, neyther by the Casarian, Canon, nor Law of nations or of nature, exempt from answering in such a case. For all iustice would swarue, nay ly dead, if such crimes should escape vnpunished. If you be innocent, you dishonour your selfe in your reputation, to refuse to come to iudgement. You protest your selfe to be so, but the Queene thinkes otherwise, yet not without cause, to her great griefe; and hath appointed persons honourable, wise and vpright, to examine your innocency, who must heare you with equity and fauour, and will be very ioyfull that you shall cleare your selfe of these crimes. Beleeue mee, the Queene her selfe will greatly reioyce: for she assured me at my departure, that no greater griefe had euer befalne her, than this of your accusation: wherefore setting aside this vaine conceit of soueraignety, which at this time standeth you in no stead, shew your selfe blamelesse, attract no more suspicion to your selfe by subterfuge, but rather wipe away the spot, which else will sticke perpetually vpon your reputation.

Her tergiuerfation.

I refuse not (said she) *to answer in open Court of Parliament, before the States of the Realme lawfully conuocated, so I may be declared next heir to the crown; or else before the Queene and Councell, so my protestation be admitted, and I acknowledged the Queenes next kinswoman.*

The Chancellor asked her, if she would answer when her Protestation was admitted.

Neuer will I (quoth she) *put my selfe vnder this new Law, mentioned in the Commission.*

Whereupon the Treasurer concludeth: We will proceede notwithstanding in the case to morrow, be you absent or obstinate.

Examine (said she) *your owne conscience: respect your*

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your credite, and God reward you and your children as you deale with me in your iudgement.

The morrow after, which was the 14. of the moneth, ſhee ſent for ſome of the Commiſsioners to come to her, and deſired them that her Proteſtation might be admitted and approued. The Treaſurer asked her, if ſhe would anſwer the Commiſsion, if it were ſimply admitted and recorded in writing, without approbation. At laſt ſhe condeſcended, though very hardly, becauſe ſhe would not ſeeme to derogate from her predeceſſors or ſucceſſors. And then ſhe ſaid, that (being perſwaded by *Hattons* reaſons, after ſhe had thought of them conſiderately) ſhe deſired to purge her ſelfe of the imputed crime.

Shee yeeldeth at laſt to appeare and anſwer.

Inſtantly the Commiſsioners came together in the Chamber of preſence; at the vpper end whereof was placed a Chaire of Eſtate for the Queene of *England*, and in a remote place below, a Chaire for the Queene of *Scotts*, oppoſite to the other. By the wals on the other ſide were ſeats; on the one ſide ſate the Lo: Chancellor of *England*, the Earles of Oxford, of Kent, Derby, Worceſter, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, and Lincolne, and the Viſcount *Montagu*: on the other ſide, the Barons d'Abergaveny, *Zouch*, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Gray*, *Lumley*, *Sturton*, *Sands*, *Wentworth*, *Mordant*, *S. Iohn* of Bletſo, *Compton*, and *Cheny*. After theſe, the Knights that were of the Priuy Councell, *Crofts*, *Hatton*, *Walſingham*, *Sadler*, *Mildmay*, and *Poulet*. Right ouer againſt the Earles, ſate the two chiefe Iuſtices, and the chiefe Baron of the Exchequer: on the other ſide, the two Barons, the other Iuſtices, *Dale* and *Ford*, Doctors of the Ciuill Law: and at a little table in the midſt of the roome, *Popham* Atturney, *Egerton* the Queenes Sollicitor, *Gaudy* Sergeant at Law, the Clerke of the Crowne, and two other Notaries.

The maner of the ſitting.

When ſhe was come and ſet in her place, *Bromley* Lord Chancellor turning towards her, ſpake to this effect.

The

Booke 3. The Lord Chancellor speaketh to her.

THE Queenes most excellent Maiesty of England, *being certified (to her extreame griefe of heart) that you haue practiſed the ſubuerſion and ruine of her, the Kingdome of* England, *and the Religion eſtabliſhed therein: to diſcharge her ſelfe of her duty towards God, her ſelfe and her ſubiects, without any malice of hart, hath appointed theſe Commiſſioners to vnderſtand the things you are accuſed of, how you can diſcharge your ſelfe of them, and demonſtrate your innocency.*

Vpon this, ſhe roſe vp, and ſaid:

Her proteſtation

She was come into England *to craue the ayde that was promiſed her, and yet euer ſince ſhe had beene kept a priſoner: proteſting withall, that ſhe was no ſubiect to the Qu. of* England, *but a free and abſolute Queene, and therefore ought not to be brought to appeare (vpon any cauſe whatſoeuer) before any Commiſſioner or Iudge, but God the ſoueraigne Iudge of the World; nor would ſhe derogate ſo much from royall Maieſtie, or her ſonne the King of* Scotts, *her ſucceſſors, or other abſolute Princes. But ſhee was now come in preſence, to anſwer what ſhould be obiected, and deſired her ſeruants to beare witneſſe of the ſame.*

The Chancellor, taking no notice of her being promiſed ayde, anſwered:

Recorded.

That this proteſtation was vaine, foraſmuch as whoſoeuer in England, *of what condition or eſtate ſoeuer, ſhall offend the law, muſt be ſubiect to the ſame, and be examined and iudged according to the late eſtabliſhed Act. Therefore this proteſtation (made as it were in preiudice both of the Queene and her Lawes) was not ſufferable.*

The Commiſsioners, notwithſtanding, commanded it to be recorded, with the L. Chancellors anſwer. Then the Commiſſion, which was grounded vpon this Law (whereof I

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haue ſo often made mention, being openly read, ſhe with great animoſitie againe reinforceth her former proteſtation, as a thing directly enacted againſt her, and of ſet purpoſe, whereof ſhe charged them vpon their credites. The Treaſurer (hauing anſwered, that euery one in this Kingdom did hold the Lawes, euen the neweſt of all, not to be contradicted) ſaid, That the Commiſsioners ſhould iudge her accordingly, what proteſtation or interruption ſoeuer ſhee made or interiected. In concluſion, ſhe ſaid ſhe was ready to giue attention, and to anſwere any fact againſt the Queene of *England*.

Proceeding.

Gaudy expounded the Law from point to point, affirming that ſhe had offended againſt it; and then entring into an hiſtoricall narration of *Babingtons* conſpiracie, he concluded,

> *That ſhee had knowne, approued, and conſented to the ſame, promiſed aſsiſtance, and had ſhewne the way and maner.*

To which ſhe anſwered boldly:

She denieth the former allegation.

> THat *ſhe neuer knew* Babington, *nor had receiued any Letter from him, nor written to him, nor attempted the Queenes death: and to make it good, they muſt ſhew ſome ſigne vnder her owne hand. That ſhee neuer had heard ſpeech thereof, neyther did ſhe know or aſsiſt* Ballard. *But ſhe had learned of ſome, that the Catholicks ſuffered great troubles in* England, *and that ſhee had writ to the Queene, intreating her to haue compaſsion on them. That many perſons, whom ſhe knew not, had offered her their ſeruice, yet ſhe ſtirred not any vp to commit any crime; and being in priſon, ſhe neyther knew of, nor could hinder their practiſes.*

Moreouer, they inſiſt vpon *Babingtons* confeſſion, that there had beene entercourſe of letters betwixt them. She confeſſed, that ſhee had had conference, by letters, with diuers,

uers, yet notwithstanding it followed not, that therefore she was accessary to their wicked designes. Shee desired them to shew any thing vnder her owne hand, demanding withall, what hurt any had receiued by any letters which came to her for a whole yeare together. Then were the copies of *Babingtons* letters produced and read to her, describing the plot of the conspiracy.

Copies of letters shewed.

AS for these letters (said she) *it may possibly be that* Babington *writ so: but let it be proued that I euer receiued them. If* Babington *or any haue affirmed it, they haue belyed me. Others crimes are not to be cast vpon me. A whole Packet, that had been detained a yeare together from me, about that time came to my hands, but sent from whom I know not.*

To proue the receipt of *Babingtons* letters, there was read the principall points of the letters out of his confession, wherein he voluntarily granted, that she had receiued them, and had written back againe; in which letters was mention made of the Earle of *Arundell* and his brethren, and of the Earle of *Northumberland*: which hearing, she wept, & said:

Extracts out of *Babingtons* confession.

NOw alas, miserable woman that I am, how many things hath that noble house of the Howards *endured for my sake!*

And after that, hauing dryed her cheekes, she said:

BAbington might confesse what he pleased: but to say, that she had practised to escape, was a notorious vntruth. That her aduersaries might (as well as she) get the same characters, and write what falsities they would in the same: nor was there any probabilitie, that she should vse the helpe eyther of Arundell *or*

She denieth them.

Booke 3.

Northumberland *for her escape, seeing the one was a prisoner, and the other a young man, and vnknowne to her.*

They vrge her with the confessions of *Sauage* and *Ballard.*

They read also the abstracts of *Sauages* and *Ballards* confession, importing, that *Babington* had shewed them letters of hers. But she protested,

He had neuer receiued any from her. On the contrary, she was so farre from consenting to the inuading of the Realme of England *or giuing counsaile thereto, that she alwayes perswaded the contrary.*

Then they shewed her letters, wherein she had commended and approued *Babingtons* proiects. She demanded the sight of them: which hauing seene, she said,

These neuer came from her, but peraduenture from the Alphabet of the letters she had in France. *That shee had labourd to recouer her liberty, being a thing we all naturally desire, and to sundry which had offered her helpe to that end (whom she would not name) she answered not a word: yet notwithstanding she heartily desired, that the persecution of Catholicks might cease in* England, *and that she had begged it in lieu of the Q. She would not purchase a kingdome with the bloud of the poorest subiect, much lesse of the Queene. That many had practised dangerous matters vnknowne to her, and that (by letters) some had asked her forgiuenesse for so doing, that neuer had spoken to her thereof. That any might easily counterfeyt their cyphers or characters: as a yong fellow in* France *(not long since) had done, nominating himselfe the base brother of her sonne, the King of* Scotts: *and she suspected, this was* Walsinghams *doing to haue her life, who, as she heard, had practised both against hers and her sonnes. She protested, she had neuer conceiued any thing hurtfull to the the Queene, and that she would more gladly lose her life,*

She blames *Walsingham.*

than

than to be a cause that the Catholicks should be so afflicted and cruelly tormented.

And with that there gushed from her abundance of teares.

BVt (said the Lo: Treasurer) *there hath not any beene put to death for Religion, which would become an obedient subiect: onely some few, for committing treason, in maintayning the Popes Bull and authority, against the Queene. Yet I haue heard,* said shee, *the contrary, and haue read as much in printed bookes. The authors of such bookes,* replyed he, *write also, that the Queene is to be depriued of all regall power.*

Then Sir *Francis Walsingham*, who was toucht a little before in words, taking his time, stood vp; and, hauing protested that he carried no ill will in heart, said:

Walsingham maketh his Apologie.

I Take God to record, in the place of a priuate person I haue done nothing vnbeseeming an honest man; nor any thing in publike, but that becomes a person of my ranke. I must say, that out of my zealous care for the Queene, and the good of the Kingdome, I haue been inquisitiue in discouering conspiracies against her. If Ballard *had offered me his seruice, I would not haue refused it, but rather recompenced him for his paines. If I conspired with him, why bewrayed he it not, to saue his owne life?*

This answer, as she said, satisfied her. And

She desired him he would not be offended at that which she had heard by report; and that he would no more beleeue her calumniations, than shee did his: for these pick-thankes are men of little credite, which pretend one thing, and say another; and that he would not by any meanes beleeue, that euer she had conspired the death of her dearest sister the Queene.

And here she brake forth into teares againe, saying:

I will neuer make shipwrack of my soule, by conspiring

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my dearest sisters death and ruine.

The Lawyers answered, That would appeare by euidences. This past in the forenoone.

Charles Pagets letters are produced,

In the afternoone, to proue this, they produced the copie of the letters which *Charles Paget* had written, and *Curle* one of her Secretaries, testified she had receiued, touching conference had with *Mendoza* and *Ballard*, for inuading the Realme, and setting her at libertie.

This, she said, *was nothing to the purpose, nor any proof that she had plotted the Queenes destruction.*

and *Babingtons*,

The Lawyers passing further, said, That they could proue she had conspired the Queenes death, by the confession of *Babington*, and letters of his; wherein he called her his Lady and most excellent Queene: as also out of those she had written vnto him; And by the way, put her in minde of consultation had, how the kingdome of *England* was to be transferred to the *Spanish* King. She confessed, that once a Priest had visited her, and said, That if she interposed not her selfe, her sonne and she both would be excluded from their inheritance: but she would not name him. He added, That the *Spaniard* pretended a title to the crowne of *England*, and would yeeld to none but her. Then they pressed her vpon *Babingtons* confession, from the testimonies of her Secretaries *Nauue* and *Curle*, and letters written interchangeably betwixt them. And though all the proofe was grounded vpon their bare assertions, yet were they neuer brought forth face to face. She confest *Curle* to be an honest fellow, but no fit witnesse against her: That *Nauue* (sometimes Secretarie to the Cardinall of *Lorraine*) had beene commended to her by the King of *France*, and that he might be easily drawne for money, hope or feare, to depose falsly; and had bound himselfe thereto by a rash oath, hauing *Curle* (a fellow of a flexible nature) at his command, to write what hee would. And it may be, they had put things into the letters which she dictated not, & possibly such letters might come

and the testimonies of her Secretaries.

She obiecteth against their credites.

to

to their hands, which notwithstanding she neuer saw. Then she broke into these or the like speeches:

THe state of all Princes is at a weake stay, if they depend vpon the writings and testimonies of their Secretaries: for my part, I deliuered nothing to them, but what nature put into my minde for the recouery of my libertie; nor ought I to be conuicted, vnlesse it be by mine owne words or writing. If they haue written any thing preiudiciall to the queene my sister, they did it without my knowledge, and therefore let them be punished for their inconsiderate insolency. I know for certainty, that if they were present, they would cleere me in this case: and if I had my manuscripts here, I could answer all this particularly my selfe.

Arguing about transferring the kingdome.

With that the Treasurer obiected, that shee had determined to send her sonne into *Spaine*, and to conuey to the *Spaniard* the right she challenged to the Kingdome of *England*. Whereto she answered:

That she had no kingdome to bestow, yet was it lawfull for her to giue her own at her pleasure, neyther was she to be accountable to any therefore.

And when they obiected further, out of *Curles* testimony, that she had sent her Alphabet to *D. Lodowick* and *Fernhurst*, she denied not,

But she had written out many of them: and amongst others, that for D. Lodowick, *after she had recomended him and another to the honour of Cardinal. And without offence, she hoped, it was as lawfull for her to haue entercourse of letters, for the dispatch of her affayres with people of her own religion, as it was for the Queen with those of another religion.*

After this, they vrged her againe vpon the euidences of *Nauue* and *Curle*, which agreed together: whereto shee eyther

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ther replyed as before, or reiected them with a precise denial: protesting againe, that she neyther knew *Babington* nor *Ballard*. With this, the Treasurer interrupting her, said, That she knew *Morgan* very well, who had secretly sent *Parry* to slay the Queene, and that she had giuen him an annuall pension. She said,

She excuseth her selfe for hauing giuen *Morgan* an annuall pension,

She knew not that Morgan *had done so, but she knew well, that he had lost all he had for her sake, and therefore it stood with her honour to relieue him: neyther was she bound to reuenge the wrongs done to the Queen by one who had well deserued from her; yet had she alwayes done her best to dissuade him from such wicked enterprises: saying withall, that out of* England *likewise there were pensions giuen to* Patrick Gray, *and other Scotts, enemies to her and her sonne.*

by pensions giuen to the Scottishmen.

Whereto the L. Treasurer answered:

Because the treasure of Scotland *had beene much impayred, by the negligence of the Regents or Vice-royes, therefore the Queene had dealt the more bountifully with her neere kinsman your sonne.*

Then was shewed some of the letters, which shee had written to *Inglefield*, to the Lo: *Paget*, and to *Bernard Mendoza*, touching the forraigne supplies: but when she had answered that,

That tended not to the ruine of the Queene, because some strangers had a desire to procure her liberty; and that she had manifested plainly enough to the Queene, that they sought nothing but her freedome: the matter was prorogued till the next day.

On the day following, she reiterateth her protestation before mentioned, requiring to haue it recorded, and a copie thereof to be deliuered her: lamenting,

That the most reasonable conditions, which she had offered the Queene, were still reiected, especially hauing promised to deliuer her sonne and the Duke of Guise

Hostages,

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She offereth the Duke of Guise and her sonne pledges for her libertie.

Hostages, that neyther by her, nor by her meanes, the Queene nor kingdome should receiue any detriment. That she her selfe (altogether excluded from all hope of liberty) was now most vnworthily handled, whose honour and reputation was called in question by common Lawyers, who, by their contorted arguments, make slender circumstances matters of great consequence; whereas anointed and consecrated Princes are not subiect to lawes, as priuate persons. Moreouer, whereas the authoritie of their Commission is to examine matters tending to the hurt of the Queens person, yet they so handled the matter, and so wrested their letters of Commission, that they called in question the Religion she professeth, the immunitie and maiesty of forraigne Princes, and the priuate commerce they haue amongst themselues by writing, and brought her to be arraigned at a Barre like a malefactor, to the preiudice of Maiestie and soueraigne dignitie: And this was done to no other end, but to bring her in disgrace with the Queene, and to seclude her from the right of inheritance to the Kingdome.

She called to mind withall,

How Qu. Elizabeth *her selfe had bin questioned about* Wyats *rebellion, though she were most innocent: protesting most deuoutely, that notwithstanding she wished the Catholicks welfare, yet shee desired not the procurement thereof by the slaughter or bloud of any one. She had rather play the part of* Hester *than* Iudith, *rather make intercession to God for the people, than take away the life of the meanest.*

Expostulating the matter, she complained that her aduersaries had bruited it abroad, that she was of no religion:

which was that time, she said, *when she desired to be informed of the Religion of the Protestants, but none would vouchsafe her the fauour; a signe they had little*

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care of the ſafety of her ſoule.

Then concluding:

When you haue done all you can (ſaid ſhe) *againſt me, you ſhall aduance your ſelues nothing in your cauſe or hope.*

And ſo inuocating God, and appealing to the Princes of her acquaintance, deſired ſhe might haue another day of hearing, and that ſhe might be allowed an Aduocate to pleade her cauſe; and being a Queene, ſhe might be beleeued vpon her royall word:

For it was extreme imprudence in her, to be arraigned before thoſe whom ſhe perceiued to be armed with preiudice againſt her.

To this the Lo: Treaſurer made anſwer:

The Lord Burghley anſwereth.

FOraſmuch as I repreſent two perſons, the one of a Counſellor, the other of a Commiſsioner, firſt heare me ſpeake as a Commiſsioner: Your proteſtation is regiſtred, and you ſhal haue a copie of it. The power which we beare, hath bin impoſed vpon vs vnder the Queens ſignet, and the great ſeale of England, *from the which there is no repeale: Nor are we come with any preiudice, but to cenſure according to the rules of Iuſtice: Nor doe the Lawyers exaggerate the matter, otherwiſe than to make it plainly appeare, wherein you haue offended againſt the perſon of the Queene. Our authoritie is to heare and examine the matter in your abſence, yet notwithſtanding we haue willed you ſhould be preſent, for that wee would not ſeeme to derogate in any thing from your honour: Nor haue wee any purpoſe to obiect againſt you any thing, but what your attempts haue beene againſt the perſon of the Queene, or with thoſe with whom ye haue beene confederate. Your letters were read, only to ſhew your practiſing againſt the queenes perſon, and ſuch other things as concerne the ſame; which are ſo intermixt, they cannot bee ſequeſtred:*

ſtred: therefore the letters were read wholly, and not in parts, to extract the particularities of the things you had intreated of with Babington.

As he was thus ſpeaking, ſhe interrupted him, ſaying:

She interrupteth him

That the circumſtances indeed were probable, but not the thing: That her ſincerity depended not vpon her Secretaries fidelity or memory, though ſhe knew them to be ingenuous. Or if for feare of puniſhment, or hope of profite and eſcape, they had confeſſed any thing, it was not to be admitted, for diuerſe good reaſons which ſhe had alleaged before. That the mindes of men are carried away with many paſsions: for her Secretaries would neuer haue confeſſed ſuch things, if eyther profite or ſome other hope had not induced them thereto. That the letters might be directed to others than them they were written to; and that oftentimes many things had beene inſerted that were not dictated. And if her papers had not beene taken from her, or if ſhe had a Secretary, ſhe could more ſoundly haue confuted their obiections.

He proceedeth.

But, ſaid the Lo: Treaſurer, *they will obiect nothing but ſince the xix. of Iune; and your papers would ſtand you in no ſtead, ſeeing the Secretaries and* Babington *himſelfe, vninforced by torture, haue confeſſed that you ſent theſe letters to* Babington. *But if you ſhall deny this, let the Commiſsioners iudge, whether there be more credite to be giuen to your denyall, or their affirmation. But to returne to the point; marke what I denounce as a Counſellor: You haue mentioned many things for the procuring of your liberty, (which haue had no ſucceſſe) and that hath proceeded from your ſelfe or the* Scotts, *not from the queene. For your Lords of* Scotland *haue refuſed to deliuer the King of* Scotts *in hoſtage: and when laſt there was a treaty about your liberty,* Parry *was ſent from* Mor-

Booke 3.

gan, *your clyent, to slay the queene.* Ah, said shee, *you are mine aduersary.* *I*, replyed he, *I am aduersary to all* Q. Elizabeth's *enemies. But enough of this. Let vs returne to our proofes.*

When she refused to heare,

Yet we will heare, said he. *And I too*, answered she, *in another place, and will defend my selfe.*

Letters shewed again.

Now they read againe her letters to *Charles Paget*, wherin she certified him, That there was no way left for the K. of *Spaine* to bring the Low-countries into his subiection, but by placing a Prince in *England* to serue his turne: And her letters to the Lo: *Paget*, to hasten the ayde he should send for the inuading of *England:* And those which Cardinall *Allen* had sent her, wherein he saluted her by the name of Most excellent Lady; and certified her, that the matter was recommended to the Prince of *Parma*. Whilest they were reading them, she said,

She interrupteth their reading.

That Babington *and her Secretaries had accused her to excuse themselues: That she neuer heard of six murtherers, the rest were nothing to the purpose. She held* Allen *a venerable Prelate, and knew no other head of the Church, but the Pope of* Rome; *neyther could shee tell how he, or other stranger kings, did style her: nor could she hinder them (in their letters) from calling her queene of* England. Affirming, *that her Secretaries were not to be trusted, for that they had proceeded against her, contrary to the duety and fidelity which they had sworne to her. That the periured are not to be credited, though they sweare neuer so much: neyther did shee thinke their oathes were to be taken in any Court of conscience, because formerly they had sworne fidelity and silence; neyther were they any* English *subiects. That* Naue *had often written otherwise than she dictated, and* Curle *alwayes that which he told him. That she could beare with their faults in all things,*

Affirmeth her Secretaries were not to be credited.

things, but such as touched her honour. They might also confesse these things for to saue themselues, thinking that in so doing, she could not hurt them, and that being a queene, they would deale more gently with her: And that she had neuer heard of Ballard, *but of one* Hallard *that had offered his seruice to her; which notwithstanding she refused, because she had heard that he had likewise proffered it to* Walsingham.

After this, when they read certaine notes out of letters, which *Curle* confessed hee had written to *Mendoza* in her secret characters, and pressed her with them, as hauing had a purpose to make ouer the title of the kingdome to the *Spaniard*, and that *Allen* and *Parsons* were resident now in *Rome* for that cause: shee protesting that they had forsworne themselues, answered;

She is accused againe for transporting the Kingdome. She condemnes her Secretaries as periured.

I being a prisoner, without hope of liberty, languishing in griefe, and in dispayre to performe that which many expected from me, who am now in my declining age, and without my health: some were of opinion to settle the succession of the English *Crowne vpon the* Spaniard, *or some other* English *Catholick. A booke was sent me, to declare the* Spaniards *right, but because I refused to receiue it, some were grieued at me. As for the rest, being at this instant out of all hope of aide from* England, *I haue resolued not to reiect that of the Stranger.*

Vpon that, Sir *Thomas Egerton*, the Queenes Sollicitor, opened to the Commissioners what would become of them, their honours, goods, and children, if the kingdome were so transported. But the L. Treasurer answered, That could not be, because by the Law the Crowne was hereditarie. Then asked he the Queene of *Scotts*, if she had any more to say.

Sir *Thomas Egertons* (the Q. Sollicitors) demonstratiō.

She desired to be heard in open Parliament, or in presence of Queene *Elizabeth* and her Councell; not doubting but one Queene would haue consideration of another. Then

She craueth a hearing in open Parliament.

Booke 3.

rising vp, with a bold countenance, she conferred apart with the L. Treasurer, *Hatton* and *Walsingham*, about some businesse. That being done, they reiourned their meeting together again vntill the xxv. of October, in the Starre Chamber at *Westminster*. And this is that which I haue gathered from the memories of *Ed. Barker*, chief Clerke of the Councell, *Tho. Wheeler* publique Notary, and Clerke of the Court of *Canterbury*, and other credible persons, whose assistance I haue had in this.

At the time appointed, all the Cõmissioners being assembled together, except the Earles of *Shrewsbury* & *Warwick*, who then were sick: & *Nauue* and *Curle* hauing voluntarily, without hope of future preferment or present reward, affirmed & ratified by oath, that all & euery the letters, & copies of letters tofore produced, were most true; sentence was pronounced against the Q of *Scotland*, signed and sealed by the Commissioners, and recorded in these words:

Sentence pronounced against her.

With one vnanimous accord and consent of theirs, they pronounce and giue their sentence and iudgement, which was read aloud, vpon the last day, and in the assigned place, saying, That since the end of the aforesaid Sessions of Parliament specified in the said Commission, to wit, since the said first day of Iune, in the yeare xxvij. aforementioned, and before the date of the said Commission, many things haue bin attempted and conceiued against the Realme of England, *by* Anth. Babington *and others, with the knowledge and priuity of the said* Mary *(pretending that the Crowne of* England *appertayneth to her) tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royall person of our soueraigne La: the Q. that is to say, that since the first of Iune,* Ann. 27. *and before the date of this Commission, the said* Mary, *pretending as aforesaid, practised and conceiued against this Realm, many things tending to the hurt, death and destruction of the royall person*

perſon of our ſaid Lady Q. Elizabeth, *againſt the forme of the Statute ſpecified in the ſaid Commiſsion.*

This ſentence bred diuers doubtfull opinions amongſt men, becauſe it was grounded onely vpon the credite of the Secretaries; and they were neuer brought face to face, as was required by the firſt Statute *Anno* 13. of *Elizab.* ſome thinking them men of credite, and ſome not. I ſaw *Nauue's* Apology, which he wrote to the Kings Maieſty in *Scotland*, 1605. wherein he greatly laboureth to excuſe himſelfe, proteſting, that he was neyther author nor perſwader to this matter, nor yet the firſt diſcouerer. And that he had neither by negligence nor ignorance fayled in his * devoire, but ſtoutly at his death defended the contrary, to all the accuſations brought againſt the Queene his Miſtreſſe: notwithſtanding there are publicke Acts thereof to be ſeene. Now the ſame day the Commiſſioners and Iudges of the Realme, declared,

Some ſuſpect the credite of the Secretaries.

Or, duety.

That this ſentence did derogate nothing from the right or honour of Iames *King of* Scotland: *but that he remained and was in the ſame ranke, eſtate and right, as if it had neuer beene.*

Declaration that the ſentence againſt the Q. of Scotts did nothing preiudice her ſonne.

A few dayes after, the Parliament ſate at Weſtminſter, commenced by certaine authoritie granted by Qu. *Elizabeth* to the Archb. of Canterbury, the L. Treaſurer, and the Earle of Derby, as her Lieutenants, and that not without example: wherein was confirmed a Proſcription, that the goods & poſſeſsions of the L. *Paget*, *C. Paget*, Sir *F. Engleſield*, *E. Ianes*, *Chediock*, *Tichburne*, *C. Tilney*, & other traytors, were adiudged confiſcate. The States of the Realme alſo, after they had by generall ſuffragie and conſent, approued and confirmed the ſentence pronounced againſt the queene of *Scotland*: all with one accord (by the Lo. Chancellor) preſented a petition to the queene, wherein they deſired, that for the preſeruation of the true Religion of Chriſt, the tranquillitie of the land, the ſecuritie of her perſon, the good of them

A Parliament held.

The baniſhing of traytors confirmed.

The States approue & confirme the ſentence and deſire the publication therof.

Booke 3.

them all and their poſteritie, the Sentence againſt *Mary* Q. of *Scotland*, might be publickly pronounced, according to the tenour of the Law: alleaging reaſons drawne from the dangers ſtirred and practiſed againſt Religion, her own perſon and the Realme, by her who was a mother-nourſe of the Romane Religion, and had ſworn an inviolable accord to extirpate the Religion now eſtabliſhed, and had long ſince laid claime to the Crowne, *Q. Elizabeth* yet liuing; eſteeming, that (ſeeing ſhe was excommunicated) it was lawfull to conſpire againſt her, and meritorious to take away her life: She had ruinated ſome noble houſes of the land, and had kindled the fire of rebellion in *England*: That to pardon her, were to deſtroy the people, who much repined at her impunitie, and that ſhe could not be freed from the oath conſpiracie, otherwiſe than by puniſhment: and laſtly, they recited the example of the horrible vengeance of God againſt K. *Saul*, for not putting *Agag* and *Benadad* to death. And this is that which was preſented by the States of the Parliament.

Queene *Elizabeth* with a moſt graue countenance, and maieſticall ſpeech, anſwered to this effect:

The Queen anſwereth.

THe benefites which God hath beſtowed vpon me are ſo great, that I doe not only acknowledge them with humilitie, but call them to minde with admiration, wanting wordes ſufficiently to expreſſe them. And although there be no mortall aliue more bound to the Almighty, who hath ſo often and ſo miraculouſly deliuered me from eminent dangers; yet am I moſt of all for this, that after hauing gouerned this kingdome uow the ſpace of 28. yeares, I doe finde in my ſubiects the ſame, if not farre greater affection, than

when

when I came first to the Crowne: the which entire loue if I should finde to fayle, I might well perhaps perceiue my selfe to breathe, but not to liue. And now my life hath bin attempted to be taken away, it grieueth mee most, that it was by such a person as was of mine owne sex, estate and ranke; to whom I was so farre from bearing ill will, that on the contrary, after she had complotted diuerse matters against me, I wrote to her in priuate, that if in any writing secretly she would acknowledge them, I would bury them all in obliuion. Neyther would I haue done this to entrap or circumuent her; for I knew already all she could confesse: and although the matter was at that passe, yet if she had but shewed her selfe truely penitent, none should haue taken her cause (against me) in hand. Neuertheless, if only it had concerned mine owne life, and not the safegard of my people (without ostentation be it spoken) I would willingly haue pardoned her. If England by my death might flourish the more, or gaine a better Prince, I could bee well content to lay downe my life: for I desire to liue onely for your good and the peoples. Neyther is there any cause (I haue so ledde my life) why I should desire life, or feare death. I am not ignorant of the common state of life; I haue obeyed, I haue commanded: I haue had both good & bad neighbours: I haue found treason in trust: I haue bestowed some benefites ill, and where I haue done

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good, I haue beene badly requited. When I ponder theſe things in minde, I ſee what the condition of the preſent time is, and I foreſee the future, thinking them the happieſt that ſooneſt depart hence. But againſt theſe, and ſuch like, I haue put on a warlike reſolution, that whatſoeuer ſhall happen, death ſhall not ſurpriſe me vnprouided.

As touching theſe late treaſons, I will not ſo much preiudice neither my ſelfe, nor the ancient lawes of my countrey in ſuch faſhion, as not to thinke this arch-treaſon to be ſubiect thereto, although this new had neuer bin made; the which (although ſome fauourers of her haue ſuſpected ſo) was not made againſt her, but was ſo far from entangling her, that rather it was an aduertiſement or preadmonition to her, not to come within the danger of it: neuertheleſſe ſeeing ſhe hath now incurred the lawe, it is thought good to proceede againſt her by vertue thereof. But you, captious Lawyers, you are ſo preciſe, ſo curious in the quercks and quidities of law, & to follow the formalitie of it, in ſtead of interpreting the true ſenſe, that forſooth according to the form of proceeding, ſhe ſhould be called to iudgment within the countie of Staffordſhire, there to appeare holding vp her hand at the Barre, to ſtand to the verdict of twelue men, vpon her fact. And is this a braue faſhion of proceeding againſt a Princeſſe? But I haue thought good rather (auoyding ſuch abſurdities) that it was more

more conuenient, to referre a matter of such importance to the Peeres and Iudges of the Realme, to be examined. And yet hardly will that serue, because all the world haue their eyes vpon vs Princes, as if we were set vpon a Stage, and do marke afarre off the least spot or blemish that is on vs: so that we had neede to be carefull, we do nothing vnbeseeming vs. But you haue by this new law brought me into such a narrow straite, that I am to determine vpon the punishment of a Princesse my next kinswoman; whose practises haue afflicted mee with so great griefe, that, not to augment my sorrowes in hearing it spoken of, I did willingly absent my selfe from this Parliament, & not (as some thinke) for feare of treachery. Notwithstanding I will not leaue (although I vse few words of it) to put this secret out of my heart, which I haue seene with mine eyes, and read the oath, by which some haue bound themselues to dispatch me within one moneth. From hence I foresee your danger in my person; and certainly I shal be carefull and diligent to repell it. I haue not forgot the combination you haue made for my safety, of which I neuer thought before I saw it confirmed vnder the signes & seales of the most part of you: & assuredly it hath bound me in strict bonds of loue towards you perpetually, who doe affect no greater comfort, than in the loue of you and the common-wealth. But for as much as the matter now in hand, is an example as Booke 3.

Booke 3.

important, as rare; I deeme you expect not, that I should resolue any thing for the present: For My manner is, euen in things of lesse consequence, to be long in deliberating, about that I must once resolue vpon. I will pray to God Almightie, that he will illuminate My heart, to fore-see what is commodious for the Church, the Common-wealth, & your safeties. Notwithstanding, lest delay should bring danger, you shall (as the oportunitie of time will serue) vnderstand My purpose. In the meane time, I would you should expect all the goodnesse from Me, which good Subiects may look for from a good Princesse.

She desireth them to find out some other remedie.

Twelue daies after, when she had more deeply weighed the matter in her minde, seeing her selfe with many doubts and difficulties variously distracted, and vnable to counsell her selfe; she sent the Lord Chancellor to the Noblemen, and *Pickering* to them of the Lower House; intreating them to consider more seriously of so weighty a matter, and to deuise some more wholesome remedy, that the Queene of *Scotlands* life might be preserued, and she secured.

Their Answer to her.

After they had deliberated a long time, and considered, that the good or ill of Princes concerneth the Subiects; with one-according voice, they all put on againe the same resolution, which they had before, grounded vpon these Reasons:

THat so long as the Queene of Scotland *liued, Queene* Elizabeth *could not bee secure, vnlesse shee would become penitent, and acknowledge her crimes; and that shee should be kept more straitly, and bound by oath and writing; or that shee should deliuer Hostages; or that shee should depart the King-*

Kingdome. Of her Repentance they had no hope, for that shee had beene vngratefull to Queene Elizabeth, *who had saued her life; and would not so much as acknowledge her faults: As for a straiter Guard, her hand-writing, oath, or Hostages, they would be all as nothing; for that Queene* Elizabeth *being dead, all these would vanish away instantly. As for departing the Land, (if shee were out of it) they feared shee would raise Armes against it.*

The L. Chancellor, and *Pickering* the Speaker of the Lower House, declared these things at large to Queene *Elizabeth*; importuning her earnestly, that the Sentence should be put in execution; shewing her,

That if it were iniustice to deny the Execution of the Law to the meanest Subiect, much more to refuse to grant it to the whole Body of the People, who with one voice & will demanded it so iustly. To which she answered:

Her reply to them.

O how wearisome is that way, where We find nothing but irksomnesse whilst we are going in it, & when tis past, vnquietnes? I am troubled this day (if euer the like) whether to speake, or hold My tongue: if I should speak, and not complaine, I dessemble: if I hold my tongue, the paines you haue taken is in vaine: if I complaine, it will seeme strange; notwithstanding, I confesse, that My first request was both for your securitie, and mine owne: Some other meanes should haue beene found out, than that you now propound: Insomuch, that I cannot but complaine to you, though not of you; for that I learne by your demands, that My safetie dependeth vpon anothers ruine. If any thinke, that I haue purposely prolonged the time,

Booke 3.

to purchase a counterfeit praise of clemencie ; vndoubtedly they wrong Mee vnworthily , and he that searcheth the depth of all inward thoughts, knoweth it well. And greater wrong they doe Mee, if they thinke that the Commissioners durst pronounce no other sentence for fear of displeasing Mee, or seeming to neglect My safetie. For either My Officers haue failed Me in their duties, or else certified the Commissioners , that My will and Command was, That euery one should proceede freely, according as they thought good ; and that they should tell Mee in particular, what they purposed to publish openly. Out of the great affection I bore her, it was, that I would haue some other means inuented, to haue preuented this mischiefe: But because it now clearly appeareth, that I cannot be safe, vnlesse shee die ; I am touched with a deepe dolour , to see that I, who haue shewed fauour to so many Rebels, wincked at so many treacheries, should at the last be seene to deale cruelly with so great a Princesse.

Since I tooke in hand the managing of this Kingdome, I haue seene infamous Libells cast out against Me, as a Tyrant. Much good may it doe the writers: I thought they would signifie som strange thing, & indeed it was strange to Me, to be taxed of tyranny; I would it were as strange to heare of their impietie. But now, what is it they will not put forth in their writings, when they shall know, that

I haue consented that an executioner shall imbrue his hands in the blood of My neerest Kinswoman? And in the mean time, I am so farre from cruelty, that I would not to saue My life, doe her any violence; nor haue I had so much care to prolong it, as (in the preseruing of it) to preserue hers, & with intolerable griefe, that it cannot be so still. I am not so senseless, as not to see the perils which lye before Me; so vnaduised, to whet the knif that shal cut My throat; nor so careless not to respect My life: But I thinke with My Selfe, that there are many, which for the safeguard of a Prince's life, aduenture their owne; but I franckly confesse, I am none of that number. These things haue I often cast in My minde: But forasmuch as diuers haue imployed their tongues and pens against me, giue me leaue to defend My Selfe as I may, to the end you may see what a woman shee is, for whose well-fare you haue been so circumspect. Certainly I doe well, and with gratitude of heart call your vigilant care to minde, but neuer shall be able to giue you condigne thankes, although I should liue as long as euery one of you. Booke 3.

So soone as I receiued the Scepter, being not vnmindfull of God, who gaue me his grace, I begun my Raigne in his seruice, and the Religion wherein I was borne, and haue beene brought vp, and I hope shall die. And although I am not ignorant, how many ieopardies haue encompassed Mee at home;

Booke 3.

home; and how great Princes, for changing Religion, haue enuied Me abroad, yet haue I not beene moued thereat: For I know, that God, whom alone I reſpect, will defend both Mee and My cauſe. From thence haue ſprung vp againſt Me, ſo many attempts and conſpiracies, that I wonder I liue; but God hath alwaies beene my ſuccour and ſupport, and ſent me aide beyond My expectation. Since that, to proue My ſelfe a Proficient in the Art of Raigning, I haue of long time bethought Mee, what things were fitting for Kings, and haue found, that nothing is more neceſſary, than to be plentifully furniſhed with the predominant Vertues of *Iuſtice, Temperance, Wiſedome*, and *Fortitude*. For the two laſt, which appertaine more properly to men, My ſexe permits Me not to attribute them to my ſelf: but as for the two precedent, and the more mild, I dare ſay (without glorying) I haue with indifferency, conioyned the higheſt with the loweſt. I haue not preferred any vnworthily: Mine eares haue not beene too credulous; nor haue I (before I heard the cauſe) paſt my iudgement raſhly: yet I will not ſay, but many things perhaps haue bin brought by report to me, by ſom too partially affected to the Parties; *For the good and wary Prince is often ſold, for that hee cannot heare euery Cauſe.* My iudgement (the beſt it could) hath euermore inclined to the Truth; as he which admoniſhed his Friend to make no anſwer, before

he

he had repeated the *Alphabet*; ſo haue I done nothing vnaduiſedly. Booke 3

As concerning therefore your Counſels & Conſultations, I acknowledge them ſo elaborate, prudent, and prouident for My conſeruation, iſſued from hearts ſo ſincere, and ſo well-affected to My ſeruice, that it is My part to endeuour with all My power, not to be vnthankfull to men of ſo great demerit. But as concerning your demand, I intreat and charge you, to hold you content with an Anſwer without Anſwer. I commend your Iudgements, and apprehend the reaſons thereof. But excuſe Me (I pray) for that doubtfull perplexitie of thought which troubleth Me. Let the moſt gracious affection which I beare you be accep table and pleaſing to you; and withall this Anſwer, if ſo be you eſteeme it an Anſwer. If I ſay I will not do your demand, perhaps I ſhall ſay more than I thinke: If that I will; I (whom you would ſo gladly preſerue) ſhall runne headlong vpon mine owne deſtruction. And I thinke (ſuch is your wiſdome) you would not that, if you obſerue ſeriouſly the times, and manners of perſons. *After this the Parliament was prorogued.*

The Q. of Scotland is certified of her iudgment.

At that time were ſent to the Queene of *Scotland*, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, and *Beal*, to certifie her, that Iudgement was giuen againſt her; and that it was approued moſt iuſt by Authoritie of Parliament, and that the States had demanded the execution thereof; for *Iuſtice*, *Securitie*, and *Neceſsitie*: And therefore they perſwaded her, that after

Booke 3.

ſhe had acknowledged her offences to God & Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe ſhould ſatisfie therefore by repentance before ſhe dyed; and to ſhew, that if ſhe liued, the Religion receiued in *England* could not ſtand. At which ſhe ſeemed to triumph with extraordinary cheerefulneſſe: giuing thankes to God, and reioycing, that ſhe was held to be a worthy Inſtrument, for the re-eſtabliſhing of her Religion in this Iland. Shee did with great feruour and affection deſire a Catholike Prieſt to direct her Conſcience, and to adminiſter the Sacraments; refuſing (vpon the firſt motion) the Biſhop and the Deane, which they recommended to her to that end: And ſhe greatly blamed the Engliſh Nation, ſaying often:

The Engliſh haue many times murdered their Kings: & it is no ſtrange thing, if they do the like to me, who am deriued of their Royall blood.

The Ambaſſador of France ſtayeth the publiſhing of the Sentence. Notwithſtanding, it is publiſhed.

L'Aubeſpine the Ambaſſadour of *France* ſtayed the publiſhing of this Sentence: yet by ſuite and ſoliciting of ſome Courtiers, it was publiſhed in the Month of *December*, with the ſound of a Trumpet thorow the Citie of London, in the preſence of the Maior, the Sherifes, and certaine ſelected Citizens. And Queene *Elizabeth* proteſted ſeriouſly in the Preface of this publication, that ſhe had beene drawne to it, with great griefe of heart, by a certaine neceſſitie, and the earneſt requeſt of the States of the Kingdome. Notwithſtanding, there were ſome that thought, it was done by a certaine familiar policie incident to women, who ſeeme to doe by compulſion, the thing they moſt deſire.

The Queen of Scotland carrieth herſelf with a reſolute courage.

The publiſhing of this Sentence of death being declared to the Q. of *Scotland*, ſhe was ſo far from fainting in courage, or ſeeming diſanimated, that with alacritie caſting vp her eies & hands towards heauen, ſhe thanked God for it, &

getting leaue of her keeper *Sir Ayme Poulet*, she wrote to *Q. Eliza.* *That She putteth off all malice of minde towards her; giueth thankes to God for this Condemnation, seeing it was his good pleasure to adde an end to the irkesome pilgrimage which she had in this life; and desired her, for that shee could not expect any good from some hot-spirited Nouators, which held the chiefest ranke in England, that she might be beholden to her alone, and no other, for the benefits following:*

She moues a request to Queen *Elizabeth.*

First, that when her Aduersaries were glutted in her innocent blood, her Body might be carried from thence by her owne seruants to some sacred and hallowed ground, there to be buried; and aboue all, into France, where her Mother lyeth in rest, seeing that in Scotland they had offered violence to the dead bodies of her Ancestors, profaned or ruinated the Churches: and in England, she could not hope for any buriall according to the Catholike solemnities, amongst the ancient Kings, both their Ancestors: And so her Body that neuer had rest so long as it liued with her Soule, may haue some at last after it is parted from it.

Secondly, (for that she feared the close tyrannie of some) she may not suffer her punishment vnknowne to the Queene of England, in some secret place, but in the sight of her seruants, and other people, which may truly beare witnesse of the Faith which she shewed in Christ, of her obedience to the Church, and of the end of her life, against the false rumors which her Aduersaries may bruit abroad.

Thirdly, that her seruants may be suffered peaceably to depart whither they will; and to enioy the goods she had bequeathed them by her will. Shee beseeched her, in the name of Iesus Christ, to grant her these things, and combined her thereto, by their alliance in Blood, by the Ghost and memorie of Henry *the seuenth,*

Booke 3.

Progenitor to them both, and by the Princely honour which sometimes she had. Then she complained, that all her Princely Robes were taken away by the command of the Counsellors. Shee presageth, their malice will extend to worse things. Shee added, that if they had shewed without fraude or falshood the papers which they tooke from her, it would clearely haue appeared by them, that nothing had caused her vntimely death, but the doubtfull care which some had of Queene Elizabeths *safetie.*

Finally, she intreated her, to returne her an Answer vnder her Hand, touching these things. Whether these Letters came to the hands of Queene *Elizabeth,* I cannot say.

Opinions of the Q. of Scotl. cause.

As for the rest, there past, according to the diuersitie of mens natures, diuerse speeches vpon this matter; not to speake of the declamations and exclamations made by the Clergie *pro & contra,* which commonly are very sharpe.

In her behalfe.

Some weighing the matters in equitie, thought they had handled her too hardly, because she was an absolute and free Princesse, ouer whom God alone had the command, being very neerely allyed in blood royall to Q. *Elizabeth*; and that being driuen out of *Scotland* by the rebells, shee was no sooner arriued in *England*, but Q. *Elizabeth* promised her vpon her Princely word, by *Hen. Mildmore,* to shew her all courtesie, and to welcome her with all royall deeds of hospitalitie; yet neuertheless, contrary to this promise, imprisoned her, and violated these sacred rights. That shee could not be held but for a prisoner of warre, and to such it was lawful to practise any meanes for their libertie and freedome. That she could not commit treason, because she was no subiect: and that none hath power ouer his equall. That, that had disanulled the sentence of the Emperour against *Rob.* King of *Sicily*, because he was not subiect to his Empyre. That if Embassadors, which are but Princes seruants, shal haue con-

spired

ſpired againſt thoſe to whom they are imployed in Embaſſage, are not culpable of treaſon, much leſſe the Princes themſelues: and that the will ought not to be puniſhed, vnleſſe it take effect. That it was a thing neuer heard of, for a Queene to paſſe vnder the hands of a common executioner. That ſhe was condemned contrary to the law of God, the *Romane* Ciuill Law, and the *Engliſh*; yea, euen againſt the Statute of the Parliament *Anno* 13. of *Elizabeth*, whereby it was ordained, That no perſon ſhould be called into iudgement for hauing attempted the ruine of the Prince, but vpon the teſtimonie and oath of two lawfull witneſſes, who ſhould be brought face to face before the accuſed; and in her trial no witnes was produced againſt her, but ſhe was condemned from the teſtimony of two Secretaries abſent. They diſcourſed diuerſly alſo of the credite that was to bee giuen to domeſtick ſeruants, being priſoners: They much commended the ſpeech of *Adrian* the Emperour: *Teſtibus, non teſtimonijs credendum*, That wee ſhould rather truſt the the witneſſors, than the witneſſes. Others priuately complained, that Spyes or Intelligencers had beene ſuborned, who by forgerie, falſe letters, and deceitfull ſleights had deluded this Princeſſe expoſed to iniuries, had preuented her purpoſes, encouraged her to bad matters, of which ſhee had not ſo much as once thought, had ſhe beene kept as was requiſite, and if ſuch fraudulent Machinators had not beene put to her to that purpoſe. That it hath beene a familiar thing in all ages, for thoſe that are enuyed by Courtiers, euen againſt their wills to be brought into treaſon, and to heape more dangers (more treacherouſly) vpon the innocent, being once reſtrained of liberty.

Booke 3.

Others thought that ſhe was not a free and abſolute Qu. but only titulary, becauſe ſhee had forſaken her kingdomes gouernement, and was vnder the protection of the queene of *England*, ſo ſoone as ſhe was come within the kingdome: and as in doing well ſhe had taſted the benefite of the Law,

Againſt her.

Booke 3.

so in doing ill, she was subiect to the rigour thereof; according to the Lawyers Maxime:

He deserueth no benefite of the Law, which trespasseth against the Law.

Otherwise the condition of a stranger-king, offending within the countrey of another, should be better than of him which raigneth well: That she was a subiect temporally, but not originally; because that in respect of regall authoritie, there cannot be two absolute Princes together in one Kingdom: That by the common receiued opinion of Lawyers,

The king out of his Territories is a priuate man, except in expedition of warre: and therefore can neyther conferre nor exercise the royall Rights.

Besides that, that she had lost her soueraignety of Empire by her trespasse: and that those which are subiect to a King by reason of *domicile*, may commit treason. As touching the parentage, there is no neerer kindred than our country; for that it is a second Diuinity, and our first and greatest parent. As touching the promises of the duties of humanitie and hospitalitie, these are no priuiledges to commit euills vnpunished: That promises are to be vnderstood so long as things remain in the same estate, and are not changed. That he which hath committed a crime, deserueth not to enioy any promised security, and the rights of hospitalitie as sacred: but our countrey is more sacred. That the Prince, no more than the Pope, neuer bindeth his hands, and that all Princes are more neerely obliged to their Cõmon-wealths, than to their promises. That if they should proceed with her, as with a prisoner in warre, they obiect I know not out of what author,

That

That onely captiues are to be pardoned, from whom we can suspect no disturbance of the peace; and no others. Booke 3.

And that euery one hath power ouer his equall, alwayes and when the equall submitteth himselfe to his iudgement, eyther expressely by word, or secretly by contract, or else by offending within his iurisdiction. That the Pope had cut off the sentence giuen by the Emperour against *Rob.* King of *Sicily*, because the fact was not committed within the Emperours dominions, but within the Popes. That by the law of Nations, Ambassadors haue beene so fauoured for the necessity of their Ambassages, as not to be violated: but Kings which trespasse in the countrey of another, haue no such graunt. Finally, that in matter of treason, the will, though wanting effect, is punishable: and to practise the death of the Prince, nay to know of the practice, & to conceale it, is held for treason. That many Kings haue beene condemned and punished, as namely *Rescuporis* of *Thrace*, by *Tiberius*, *Licinius* & *Maximinianus* by *Constantine* the great, *Bernard* of *Italy*, *Conrade* of *Sicily*, &c. And that which is the summe of all, The soueraigne Law is the safetie of the people: now no law more soueraigne, than the welfare of the Common-wealth. And that *Iupiter* himselfe made this law, That whatsoeuer is for the commodious good of the Common-wealth, is lawfull and iust. On the contrary, that the Bishops of *Rome* haue put to death some Ecclesiasticall Princes, not for the safeguard of the Common-wealth so much, as for their owne particular: as *Boniface* the eightth put to death *Celestine* the fift, deposed from the Papacy, fearing that he should be called againe, because of his singular piety: *Vrban* the sixt, who caused fiue Cardinalls to be sewed vp in sackes, and cast into the Sea, beheaded some, and two others he caused to be baked in an Ouen; and for the more terror, commanded they should be laid on Mules, and carried about the countrey. Moreouer, that Secretaries are not to be held for seruants, and that domestick witnesse is to be

Booke 3.

be admitted for proofe of ſecret things done in the houſe. And it was argued vpon, whether the accuſers which haue ſworn voluntarily, and thoſe which are ſuſpected of crimes, ought to come face to face in criminall matters, to maintain the accuſation. Laſtly, That there is no ſuch perfect example, but hath ſome thing in it which is not iuſt. Theſe, and ſuch like, are the matters which then were debated.

The Q. of Scotland's ſonne intercedeth for her.

In the meane time the K. of *Scotland*, for the remarkeable deare loue he bore his mother, laboured with all his power, by the imploimēt of *W. Keith*, to ſaue her; omitting nothing beſeeming a good & vertuous ſonne: but without ſucceſſe, becauſe the *Scots* were diuided into factions amongſt themſelues, & more fauoured Q. *Elizabeth*, than their priſoned Q. inſomuch that ſome of them by priuate letters ſollicited Q. *Elizabeth* to haſten her puniſhment: and that the Miniſters of *Scotland*, being commanded by the King to pray to God in the Churches for his mother, they obſtinately refuſed ſo to do, for the hate they bore the Religion which ſhe profeſſed. And though the King had formerly beene earneſt (by meſſages and letters) with Q. *Elizabeth* in his mothers behalfe, yet then he became more inſtant; complayning,

Some Scots againſt her.

The K. by letters and meſſages.

> *That it was moſt vniuſt, that the Nobles, the Counſellors and ſubiects of* England *ſhould giue ſentence againſt a Queene of* Scotland, *borne of the* Engliſh *blood; and as vniuſt alſo but to thinke, that the States of* England *can by authority of Parliament exclude the true heyres from the right of ſucceſsion, and their lawfull inheritance.* The which ſome did often threaten, to cauſe the more terrour.

He ſent alſo *Patrick Gray* and *Robert Meluin*, to delare to Q. *Elizabeth*,

> *That the great proximitie which was betwixt them, would not let him beleeue, that ſhee would violate that renowned reputation, which ſhee from all parts had purchaſed by her vertues; and eſpecially by her merci-*
>
> *fulneſſe,*

fulneſſe, which ſhee had reſerued vnſtained with any ſpot of cruelty; and that ſhe would by no meanes now defile it in his mothers blood, who was of the ſame princely dignity, parentage, and ſexe: whom he (becauſe his mothers blood had ſo great an intereſt in him) could not forſake, nor leaue to the cruelty of thoſe, who had ſo long breathed after his death, as well as hers.

After he had by other letters ſhewed at large, with what heauineſſe of heart, and doubtfull perplexities he was afflicted, by reaſon of this weighty buſineſſe, which touched and bound him in nature and honour, and into what extremities of diſtreſſe and danger his reputation was like to fall among his ſubiects, if any violence were offered to his mother; theſe things he propounded to her ſerious conſideration, drawne from the inward ſenſe of his ſorrow and filiall affection:

And propoundeth ſome things conſiderable.

How greatly it concerneth his honour, being a King and ſonne, if his deareſt mother (who was alſo an abſolute Princeſſe) ſhould dye an infamous death, and that by her commandement who was the next in league of loue and conſanguinitie. Whether by the word of God any thing may iuſtly be enacted by law againſt thoſe, whom God hath eſtabliſhed for the adminiſtration of iuſtice; whom he vouchſafeth to call gods vpon earth, whom he hath anoynted, whom he hath forbid to touch, becauſe they are his anoynted, and whom he will not permit to ſuffer wrong vnreuenged. How monſtrous a thing were it, that an abſolute Prince ſhould be ſubiect to the cenſure of ſubiects: How prodigious, that an entyre Prince ſhould leade the way, to giue ſuch a deteſtable example, to prophane the diadems of others: what ſhould inforce her to this bloody cruelty? Honour, or profit? If honour, then might ſhe acquire more and greater in pardoning; for ſo (to her eternall glory for her clemency) ſhould ſhe binde to her, for this benefite, both Him and

all the Kings of Chriſtendome, whoſe affection otherwiſe ſhe ſhould loſe, together with her reputation, and brand her ſelfe with the marke of cruelty. If profite, it is to be conſidered, whether any thing can be accounted profitable, but that which is iuſt and honeſt. And then concluded, in deſiring her to ſend ſuch an anſwer by his Ambaſſadors as ſhould be welbeſeeming ſo pious a Princeſſe, and not vnworthy for ſuch a King as was her moſt affectionate kinſman.

But theſe Ambaſſadors, intermingling tempeſtiue menaces with their meſſages, were not pleaſing: and ſo taking their leaue, ſome few dayes after returned back, carrying with them as little comfort as hope.

As the K. of France did by his Ambaſſadors.

Pomponius Bellieure, ſent for this cauſe from the King of *France*, had acceſſe to the Q. of *England*, (accompanied with *l'Aubeſpine de Chaſteauneuf* the ordinary Ambaſſador) and hauing giuen her to vnderſtand how many contrary thoughts had troubled the K. of *France*; on the one ſide, for the ſingular affection which he bore her; on the other, for the neere alliance of kindred which was betwixt him and the Q. of *Scotland*: propounded to Q. *Elizabeth* at two ſeuerall times in writing, theſe and the like things, *viz.*

Bellieures reaſons for the Qu. of Scotland.

That it neerely concerned the K. of France, and other Kings, that a free Queen and abſolute Princeſſe ſhould not be committed to death.

That the ſafetie of Queene Elizabeth *would be in more danger by the death of* Mary, *than by her life, and that being ſet at libertie, ſhe could not attempt any thing againſt the Queene of England, becauſe that her want of health did promiſe no long life.*

That ſhe had arrogated to her ſelfe the Kingdome of England, was not to be imputed (as a crime) ſo much to her,

her, as to that she had learned in her youth of naughty Counsellors. Booke 3.

That shee came into England as a suppliant, and therfore she could not be iustly detained, but was at the last to be released eyther for money or mercy. And besides, that an absolute Prince ought not in any sort to be brought to arraignement: which made Cicero *say,* that it was a thing neuer heard of, that a K. should bee called in question, or accused of any capitall crime.

That if she were innocent, she ought not to be punished: if culpable, she should be pardoned, because that would redound to the greater honour and profite, and would remaine an eternall example of the English clemency. Alledging to this purpose the History of Porsenna, *which drew out of the fire the right hand of* M. Sceuola, *who had conspired his death, and let him go.*

That the first precept to raigne well, is to spare blood: that blood cryeth for blood, and to be seuere vpon her, cannot but seeme a thing cruell and bloody.

That the K. of France would endeuour seriously to dissolue the designes of those, which conspired against Queen Elizabeth, *and that the Guises (the Queen of Scotland's kinsmen) should swear and subscribe to do the same, who would take it very grieuously if she were put to death, and perhaps would not suffer it vnreuenged.*

Finally, they required she should not be handled with such rigorous and extraordinary iudgement: for if shee were, the King of France could not but take it as a most grieuous offence, howsoeuer the other Princes tooke it.

Booke 3.

Answers to his Reasons

To euery one of these Articles, answer was made in the Margent, That the Queene of *England* hoped, that the most Christian king of *France* made no lesse reckoning of her, than of the Queene of *Scotland*, who had practised her destruction, she being an innocent Princesse, her neere Kinswoman, and in league of Alliance with the King of *France*: That it is expedient for Kings and their Countries, that wicked actions be not left vnpunished, especially against Princes.

That the English, who acknowledge Queen Elizabeth *the sole Supreame Gouernesse of* England, *cannot at once acknowledge two Soueraignes free and absolute Princes; nor any other whilst she liued could participate in equalitie with her: Neither could she perceiue how the Queene of* Scotland, *and her Sonne, which then raigned, could be held at once for Soueraigne and absolute Princes.*

Whether that the safetie of Queene Elizabeth *be expos ible to greater perils, shee being put to death, seeing it dependeth vpon future contingencie: That the Estates of England, hauing well weighed this point, are otherwise conceited: namely, That whilst shee liueth, there will alwaies be new plots of mischiefe breeding; especially, because it is now come to that issue, that there is no hope left for the one, if the other be not extinct: and this saying should often present it selfe to her mind;* Either I shall dispatch her, or shee me. *And the lesser time her life shall last, the more celeritie will the Conspirators vse, to execute their plots.*

That hitherto she would neuer renounce her claime and challenge to the English Crowne, and therefore was for iust cause to be detained in prison, and detained must be, till she renounce it, although she came to England for succour and support. And for what cause soeuer she was put in prison, she is to be punished for the faults she hath cõmitted since the time of her imprisonment.

That the Queene of England had pardoned her before, when shee was condemned of all the Estates, for consenting to the Rebellion in the North; the which was raised, to haue made the

Mary-

Maryage betwixt her and the Duke of Norfolke: and to pardon her againe, were imprudent and cruell mercy. That none are ignorant of that Maxime of the Lawyers: An offender found within the Territorie of another, is to be punished, where he is found to haue committed the fault, without respect of Dignitie, Honour, or Priuiledge. *And that the same is permitted as well by the Lawes of England, as also by the examples of* Licinius, Robert *King of* Sicilie, *Bernard King of* Italy, Conradine, Elizabeth *Queene of* Hungary, Ioan *Queene of* Naples, *and of* Deiotarus, *for whom* Cicero *pleading, said: It is not a thing vniust, though vnusuall for a King to be arraigned. His very words are these:* Primùm dico pro capite, fortunisq; Regis, quod ipsum etsi non iniquum est, in tuo duntaxat periculo: tamen est ita inusitatum, Regem capitis reum esse, vt ante hoc tempus non sit auditum.

That shee that hath beene found guiltie by a iust Iudgement, ought to vndergoe punishment; forasmuch, as that which is Iust, is Honest; and that which is Honest, is also profitable.

That the History of Porsenna *hath no allusion to the matter in question, except it were to be thought; that there are a great number yet behinde, of them, which conspire against Queene* Elizabeth; *and so could perswade her out of feare and some little respect of honour, to dismisse the Queene of* Scotland, *without putting her to any paine; as* Porsenna *past off* Mutius, *after* Mutius *had told him, there was yet* 300. *more of his Fellow-Confederates, which had sworne his death. Besides, that* Mutius *set vpon* Porsenna *in open warre, and assured himselfe, that by sending* Mutius *away, he was out of all danger.*

That blood is to be spared, but that is innocent blood: That God hath said, Blood cryeth for blood, it is true; and that France *both before the Massacre of* Paris *& since cã testifie this.*

That punishment by death, iustly inflicted, cannot be accounted bloody, no more than a wholsome medicine, can be deem'd hurtfull.

Howsoeuer the Guises, *the Queene of* Scotlands *Cousens relish it, Queene* Elizabeth *hath more nearer cause to respect her*

 selfe,

Booke 3.

selfe, her owne safetie, her Nobilitie, and the good of her People, on whose loue shee wholly dependeth, than the discontent of any other whosoeuer: And that the matter was now at that point, that the old Prouerbe of the two Princes, Conradine *the King of* Sicilie, *and* Charles *the Duke of* Anjou, *might be vsed, and truly said, of these two Queens,*

THE DEATH OF *MARY*, THE LIFE OF *ELIZABETH*:
And
THE LIFE OF *MARY*, THE DEATH OF *ELIZABETH*.

The promises of the French King, or the Guises, *cannot secure the Queene of* England, *nor the Realme of assured safetie: much lesse make amends for her death, if she be made away.*

That the French King cannot discouer, or keepe in the plots of Treason, which are practised against him in his owne Country; much lesse this against the Queene of England; *for that Treason is closely carryed, and therefore ineuitable. And if the wicked act were once committed, what good would come on it to claime their promises? How can the life of an incomparable Prince, after death be repaired? and what redresse can be found out for the Common-wealth, (failing with her) in this sad confusion of all things?*

That the hand-writings, or oathes of the Guises *can be of no great moment; for that they hold it a meritorius matter to put to death the Pope of* Romes *Aduersaries, and may easily haue a dispensation of their oath. And when Queene* Elizabeth *shall be slaine, and the Queene of* Scotland, *which is of the House of the* Guises, *aduanced to the Royaltie, who is he will accuse them for her death? or if they should be accused, that can bring her to life againe?*

But in that the Ambassadours haue said, That the Iudgement was rigorous and extraordinary; they haue spoken indiscreetly (for they saw neither the proceedings of the businesse, nor heard the prooses) and haue with too much asperitie reprehended the

Estates

Estates of the Realme of England, being Personages of chiefest note in the Kingdome, for nobleness of Birth, Vertue, Wisedome, and Pietie. Yea, and that they haue altogether deliuered these speeches from the King of France, *to terrifie the Queene of* England, *and the Estates of the Land. That the English are not wont to feare the Frenchmens menaces, nor can these diuert them, from prouiding how to settle their State in securitie, Forasmuch as the Ambassadours, in the meane time, haue not made any demonstration or mention, how to preuent the imminent ieopardies, and dangers hanging ouer* Englands *head.*



THE

THE NINE AND TWENTIETH YEARE OF HER RAIGNE,

Anno Dom. M.D.LXXXVII.



The Ambassadour of *France* attempteth Queene *Elizabeths* life.

SMen thus (according to the varietie of their apprehensions) discoursed busily, and at large of these matters, as they were led either by enuy or affection: *D' Aubespine* the Ambassadour for *France* in *England*, who was of the Faction of the *Guises*, thinking, that if he could not by Arguments or Reasons deliuer the Queene of *Scotland*, yet would he by some mischieuous craft: Treateth priuatly, and first with one *William Stafford*, a young Gentleman, and apt to conceiue strange hopes, whose Mother was one of the Ladies of Honour, and his Brother Leger in *France*, about the killing of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Elizabeth. At first he dealt with him vnder-hand, but afterwards more plainely by his Secretary *Trappe*, who promised him, if he performed it, that he should haue thereby, not only great glory, and a large summe of money; but also exceeding fauour from his Holinesse the Pope of Rome, the *Guises*, and all Catholikes. *Stafford*, as loathing such a monstrous mischiefe, would not be the Actour thereof; but notwithstanding, notifyed to him one *Modey*, a fit fellow to be imploied in matter of murder, & one who would dispatch it, though neuer so bloody, for money. This *Modey* was a prisoner in London; to whom *Stafford* made it knowne, that the French Ambassadour desired to speake with him. He answered, that he desired the same, if he were out of Prison; intreating him in the meane time, to speake with *Cordalion*, the Ambassadours vnder-Secretary, who was his familiar friend. The morrow after, was sent to him *Trappe* and *Stafford*; which *Trappe* (*Stafford* going apart) grew into talke with *Modey*, how and by what meanes they might kill Queene *Elizabeth*. *Modey* aduised to haue it done by poyson, or by bringing priuately into the Queenes Chamber, a barrell of Gun-powder, to be secretly set on fire. But this liked not *Trappe*, who desired a resolute fellow, which feared nothing, such a one as the *Bourgoignon*, which had slaine the Prince of *Orange*.

Stafford discouereth the enterprise to the Coũcell.

Stafford had quickly reuealed this to the Councell: And *Trappe* (now preparing himselfe for *France*) is apprehended, and being examined, confesseth all the matter. Hereupon, the twelfth of *Ianuary* following, the Ambassadour was sent for to the House of *Cicile*, whither he came about euening, where there was present at that time, by the commandment of the Queen, *Cicile* the Baron of *Burghley*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*; the Earle of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Vice-Chamberlaine to the Queens Maiestie; & *Dauison*, one of her Maiesties Secretaries: who declared, that they had inuited him thither, to acquaint him with the

Booke 3.

cauſe, why they had ſtayed his Secretary *Trappe*, being bound for *France*; and ſo diſcourſed to him the whole matter, as *Stafford*, *Modey*, and *Trappe* themſelues had confeſſed; and had cauſed them to be brought in, to teſtifie the ſame before his face. The Ambaſſadour (with great impatience) bending his browes, and ſtanding vp, ſaid: *That he (being the Kings Ambaſſadour) would not abuſe his Maſter the King of* France, *or preiudice other Ambaſſadours in that kinde, to be a hearer of Accuſations, be what they will.* But they hauing anſwered him, that theſe things were not produced as accuſations againſt him; but to let him perceiue that they were neither falſe nor faigned: and, to the ende hee might take occaſion to conuince *Stafford* of Calumnie the more freely; hee became quiet. But ſo ſoone as *Stafford* came in, and had begun to ſpeake; he interrupting of him, in rayling manner, ſwore: *That* Stafford *had firſt mentioned the matter, and that he had threatned to ſend him bound hand and foote, to the Queene of* England, *if he would not giue ouer that buſineſſe; and that at that time he forbore him, for the loue and affection he had to his Mother, his Brother, and his Siſter.* *Stafford* falling on his knees, proteſted many times vp on his Saluation, *That the Ambaſſadour had firſt broken the matter to him.* The Ambaſſadour then more moued than before, *Stafford* was commanded forth, and *Modey* not permitted to come in.

The Ambaſſadour denieth it.

Hereupon the Lord *Burghley*, out of his owne words, and *Trappe* his Confeſſion, reproued him, but ſomewhat gently, for this intended miſchiefe. The Ambaſſadour anſwered; *If he had beene guiltie, or acquainted with the matter, yet as being an Ambaſſadour, he was not bound to reueale it to any but his owne King.* *Burghley* anſwering, ſaid; *Admit it be not the part of an Ambaſſadour (which yet is a matter queſtionable) to diſcouer ſuch matters, but only to their owne King, when the life of a Prince is in hazzard: yet it is the part of a Chriſtian to preuent ſuch enormities, as touch the life of a*

The Ambaſſadour mildly rebuked. Whether an Ambaſſador be to diſcouer the attempts, if he know any to be committed a-

Prince

Prince; nay, of any priuate Christian. This he stoutly denied, and withall recited an example of a French Ambassadour, not long agone in *Spaine*, who knowing of a treacherous practise against the King of *Spaine*, although it concerned his life; yet discouered it not to him, but to his owne King: for which he receiued great commendation, both of his King and of his Councell. But the Lord *Burghley* very grauely admonished him, hereafter to haue a care how he offended her Maiestie, and not to forget his duty, and her Maiesties mercifulnesse, which was loath to offend the good Ambassadours, by punishing the bad: neither was he all this while exempt from the fault, though freed from the punishment.

Booke 3. gainst the Prince to whom he is sent.

From this attempt, such as were the sworne enemies of the Queene of *Scotland*, and sought to doe her hurt, tooke occasion hereby to hasten her death; knowing that in extreame danger of safetie, Feare leaueth no place for Mercy, and tooke order (the more to terrifie the Queene of *England*) to spread rumorous speeches daily, and false and fearefull exclamations all ouer the Land; to wit:

> *That the Spanish Fleet was already landed at Milford-Hauen; That the Scots were come vpon their borders; That the* Guise *was in Essex with a mighty Armie; That the Queene of Scots had broken prison, raysed a great troope of Souldiers, and began to make a Rebellion in the North; That there were new plots in hand, for murthering the Queene, and to burne the Citie of London; yea, That the Queene of* England *was dead,* and such like: which in those that are crafty and fearefull (by a natural desire) are nourished, and encreased; and Princes (credulous by curiositie) will soon lend their eares thereunto.

By such divulged horrors, and fearefull arguments, they brought her Maiestie into such trouble and perplexitie of minde, that she signed the Letters of Warrant to her deadly Sentence, and was perswaded most of all to it, by *Patricke Gray*

Booke 3.

But *Gray* the Scot, more.

Gray Scottishman, whom the King of *Scotland* had sent to disswade the Queene of *England*, from putting his mother to death: who many times put these words into her eares; *Mortua non mordet*: *Being dead, she will byte no more.*

She weigheth these businesses.

And notwithstanding, as she was naturally slow to anger, she had this custome, that she neuer would enter vnaduisedly, or without premeditation, into any action: so she began to weigh in her minde, whether it were better to put her to death, or to let her liue. From putting her to death, she was disswaded,

By her owne naturall clemency, not to vse cruelty to her who was a Princesse, and her next kinswoman; from the feare that she had, Histories should make her infamous to posterities, and from the dangers which might fall vpon her, as from the part of the King of Scotland, *who then was the next in succession to the Crowne of* England: *so also from the Catholick Princes, and from desperate people, who would attempt any thing.*

From pardoning of her likewise, she foresaw no lesse danger to ensue;

That the Nobility which had giuen the sentence against her, would couertly seeke to regaine the fauour of her and her sonne; and that could not be done without danger to her selfe. That her other subiects would take it ill, when they perceiue their labour to be lost; and though then they were carefull for her welfare, yet hereafter they might grow careless: and that many would change their religion, and become Popish, vpon a supposition of greater hopes, seeing her preserued, as it were by fatall prouidence, to inherite the Kingdome of England. *That the Iesuites and Seminaries, whose eyes were all cast vpon her, seeing her sickly, and not like to liue long, would be so much the more busie to procure the death of* Q. Elizabeth, *to set vp their religion.*

Her

Her Courtiers alſo ceaſed not to ſuggeſt theſe and the like things, vnto her:

Booke 3. The Courtiers perſwade her,

Wherefore ſhould you pardon ſo monſtrous a malefactor, being already iuſtly condemned; who, after ſhee had ſubſcribed to the combination made for the preſeruation of your health and ſafety, notwithſtanding preſently after attempted the taking away of your life, and thereby to procure the vtter ruine of Religion, the Nobilitie, and commons? Clemency indeed is a Princely vertue, but not to be ſhewed to ſuch as are mercileſſe. Let the vaine ſhew of mercy yeeld to life-preſeruing ſeueritie, and haue regard, that your mercy bring you not to miſery. It is enough to haue the commendation of clemency, in that you haue once giuen pardon: to pardon her againe, were nothing elſe but to pronounce her innocent, to condemne the States of the Kingdome of iniuſtice, to animate her agents to attempt new miſchiefes, and to diſcourage your faithfull ſubiects from hauing any care for the preſeruation of the weale publick. Religion, the Common-wealth, your own welfare, the loue of your countrey, the oath of aſſociation, the care of poſteritie to come, doe all together begge and beſeech you, that ſhe which deſireth the deſtruction of all theſe, may ſpeedily be brought to deſtruction her ſelfe. If theſe be not heard, there is no ſafety left for this State, and Hiſtorians will leaue it recorded to the ages to come, that the fayre ſunne-ſhine dayes of all proſperity, which were in England *vnder* Q. Elizabeth, *ended in a darke and dreadful euening, nay turned into a diſmall night of eternall obſcurity. Our poſterity ſhall find, that we wanted wiſedom; hauing power to foreſee our miſeries, but not to preuent them: the which will thereby become the greater: the groſſeneſſe whereof will be imputed, not ſo much to the malice of our enemies, as the improuident ſtupidity of theſe*

By reaſons.

Booke 3.

times. That the life of a titulary Queene of Scotland, *was not so much worth, as the safety of this whole kingdome: nor is there any place left for lingring; for delayes are dangerous. We should not giue malefactors of that monstrous nature, leaue to breathe, which from their insolency will take their last support, and from the impunity of their crime, expect some recompence. He which keepeth not himselfe out of danger when he may, seemeth rather to tempt God, than to trust in him. All the danger that can be from strangers, will cease with the cause, and cannot harme* England, *vnlesse it be by her. What will or power soeuer the Pope can haue to hurt, will cease with her death. The Spaniard can haue no cause to finde fault, who for his own security, put his onely sonne* Charles *to death, and doth what he can at this present also to make away* Don Antonio *King of* Portugale, *the more to extend his ambition. The king of* France *entertayneth an inuiolable league of loue with* England, *and is aboue all things so interested herein, that by the present dispatch of the Q. of* Scotland, *the hope of the* Guises *shall be layd flat vnder foot, since it is so that (out of the desperate hope they haue in the long looked-for ayde from their kinswoman) their insolency is growne so great at this time against him. That the King of* Scotland, *euen in nature, and out of a true respect of his royalty, cannot but be moued to displeasure at his mothers death, yet he will rather (out of better deliberation) wayt wisely, till time shall ripen his hopes with security, than to attempt, out of season, the things which can affoord him nothing but disturbance and danger. And the neerer he shall growe to his great hopes, the farther off will forraigne Princes (who of customary course are alwayes opposite to the growing greatnesse of others) estrange themselues from him.*

Booke 3. And by examples.

They propounded also to her domesticall examples, because that that which is warranted by president, is the more tolerable: As,

> *what comportment the Kings of* England *(for their securities) haue had with their competitors, namely,* Henry *the first with* Robert *his elder brother,* Edw. *the third, or rather his mother, with* Edward *the second,* Henry *the fourth with* Richard *the second,* Edward *the fourth with* Hen. *the sixt, with his sonne the Prince of* Wales, *and* George *of* Clarence *his owne naturall brother,* Henry *the seuenth with the Earle of* Warwick, *the yonger sonne of the Duke of* Clarence, *and* HENRY *the eightth with* De-la-Poole *Earle of* Suffolk, *with* Margaret *of* Salisbury, *and* Courtney *Marquesse of* Exeter: *all which (in comparison of their offences) dyed for very sleight matters.*

Neyther did the Courtiers only suggest these, and the like to the Queene; but diuerse fiery-tongued Preachers also, tooke occasion to exercise (with all asperity of spirit) the heate of their desires, in hastning on her death. Sundry also of the vulgar sort were of the same temper, according as their affections or humours carried them away with hope or feare.

She is notwithstanding suspensiue & perplexed with doubtfull feares.

Amidst these sad-afflicting thoughts of minde (which so troubled the Queene of *England's* perplexed heart, as that she delighted to be all alone, and to sit solitary by her selfe, neyther looking vp, nor vttering any speech; yet would suddenly many times, breake out into these words, and sighing, say, *AVT PETERE AVT PERCVTE, and withall, also a kinde of Emblem: PREVENT THE STROKE BY STRIKING)* shee deliuered Secretarie *Dauison* letters vnder her hand and seale, wherein hee was commanded to make ready a Warrant, vnder the great seale of *England*, for the execution of the Qu. of *Scotland*, and to keepe

She commandeth a Warrant to be drawne for the execution.

Booke 3.

keepe it priuate, not acquainting any therewith, leſt happely in this turbulent time of feare, ſome ſudden violent danger might happen. But the morrow after (ſome ſudden affright mixing it ſelfe with her penſiue thoughts and meditations of minde) changing her former purpoſe, ſhe recommanded *Dauiſon* (by *Killegray*) to diſpatch his Warrant. *Dauiſon*, going to her, told her it was ready, and ſealed. Whereat ſhe grew very angry, ſaying, He was too haſty. But for all this, he forbore not to publiſh the matter, and to impart it to the Councell; who (beleeuing that willingly, which they deſired earneſtly) were eaſily perſwaded, that the Queene had giuen commandement for the execution; and (vnknowne to her) ſent preſently away *Beale* (who, out of a feruour of zeale which he bore to religion, was more eagerly bent againſt the Queene of *Scotland*, than any other) and with him two executioners, and letters Patents, whereby authoritie was granted to the Earles of *Shrewesbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland* and others, to proceed in this execution. And although the Queene had told *Dauiſon* at that time, that ſhee had a purpoſe to deale otherwiſe with the Queene of *Scotland*; yet for all that, he did not ſtay or recall *Beale*.

Her Councell ſend ſecretly.

Now aſſoone as the Earles were arriued at *Fotheringham*, they found the Q. of *Scotland* with Sir *Ayme Poulet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, to whoſe cuſtody ſhe was committed; and then (reading the Mandate) ſhewed the cauſe of their comming, admoniſhing her, in few words, to prepare her ſelfe to dye againſt the next morrow. She, hearing that, with an vndanted courage and countenance, anſwered them:

I Neuer thought, that my ſiſter, the Queene of England, *would haue conſented to my death, ſeeing I am not ſubiect to your law: but ſince her pleaſure is ſuch, death to me ſhall be moſt welcome. And ſurely that ſoule were not worthy the eternall ioyes of heauen, whoſe body cannot endure one ſtroke of a Headſman.*

The Q. of Scotl. prepares herſelf for death.

She deſired of them to haue conference with her Almner, her

her Confessor, and *Meluine* her Steward. As for her Confessor, they flatly denyed her him; and appointed her for comforters, the Bishop and Deane of *Peterborough*, whom shee refused. Thereupon, the Earle of *Kent* (a zealous professor of Religion) amongst other his speeches, vttered this: Booke 3.

Your life will be the death; and your death, the life of our Religion.

Then hauing made mention of *Babington*, shee confidently affirmed, she neuer knew of his practices. Shee referred the due reuenge of all to God: and hauing inquired what was become of *Nauue*, and *Curle*, asked;

If euer it was heard of, in former times, that the Seruants should be suborned to betray their Lady and Mistresse to death, and also be admitted as Euidencers against her.

When the Earles were departed, shee called in for supper, the better after to dispose of her businesses. Shee supped that night (as her manner euer was) very temperately: and noting her seruants at supper time, both men and women, to weepe and mourne; with cheerefull aspect, and hearty alacritie, shee comforteth them, bidding them to wipe their eyes, and rather to reioice with her, for that shee was now to depart this Gulfe of miseries. Then turning to *Burgon* her Physician, she said:

Haue you not obserued how powerfull and great the Truth is. For (quoth she) *the common report is, That I am to dye for conspiring the Queene of* Englands *death; but the Earle of* Kent, *notwithstanding, told me euen now, That the feare they haue of their Religion, is the cause of my death. Now this is no criminall fact committed against the Queene of* England, *but the feare they haue conceiued of me, which hath brought this slaughter vpon me, the whilst some besides (euery one for himselfe, seeking to serue his owne turne) con-*

Booke 3.

ſpired vnder a pretext of Religion, and the Common-weale.

Supper being almoſt done, ſhe dranke to all her Seruants; who in order, one by one, vpon their knees, tooke her pledge, mingling their teares with the wine, and craving pardon of her, wherein ſoeuer they had beene negligent in doing their duties: ſo did ſhe likewiſe of them. After ſupper, ſhe peruſed her Will, lookt ouer the Inuentory of her vtenſiles, and Iewels, and ſo ſet downe the names of ſuch to whom ſhee had bequeathed any thing, to euery one their ſhare apart. To ſome of them, ſhee diſtributed money with her owne hands. Shee wrote alſo to her Confeſſor, to pray for her. And to the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, by her Letters ſhe recommended her Seruants. This done, ſhe retired herſelf at her ordinary time to her reſt, ſlept a few hours; and awaking, paſt the reſt of the night away in Prayers.

The fatall day beginning to appeare, which was the 7. of *February*, ſhe attired her ſelfe in ſuch garments as ſhe vſually wore vpon Feſtiuall daies; and calling her Seruants about her, cauſed her Will to be read, deſiring them to take in good part the Legacies ſhe had giuen them, ſeeing it was not in her power to make them better. Then wholly fixing her mind vpon God, ſhe betook her ſelf into her Oratory or place of Prayer, where with ſighs, grieuous gronings, and feruent prayers, ſhe called vpon God; till ſuch time as *Thomas Andrey*, Sherife of the Shire, ſignified to her, that it was now time for her to come forth. Then forth ſhee came, in geſture, carryage, and demeanour, right Princely and maieſticke; cheerefull in countenance, and in attire very modeſt, and Matron-like: ſhee wore a linnen vaile vpon her, and before her face, which ſhee diſcouered: at her girdle hung her Roſarie, or rowe of Beades, and in her hand ſhe held a Crucifix of Iuory.

Shee is brought to the ſcaffold.

In the Porch or paſſage of her lodging, met her the Earles, and the reſt of the Noblemen, where *Meluine* (one of

of her Seruants) falling on his knees, and pouring forth teares, bewailed his vnlucky fortune, that he was design'd the man, that should carry into *Scotland* the sad message of the tragicall death of his deerest Mistresse. Booke 3.

Her speeches to *Meluine* her Steward.

Oh weep not (quoth she) *for you shall shortly see* Mary Stuart *at an end of all her sorrowes. You shall report, that I dye true and constant in my Religion, and firme in my loue to* Scotland *and* France. *God forgiue them which haue thirsted after my blood, as the Hart doth for the Water-brooke. Thou (oh God) which art Truth it selfe, and which soundest the deepest secrets of my inward heart; euen thou knowest how earnestly I haue desired the vnion of the two Kingdomes of* England *and* Scotland. *Recommend me to my Sonne; tell him for certainty I neuer did, or attempted any thing preiudiciall to the Kingdome of* Scotland. *Counsell him to entertaine amitie with the Queene of* England, *and be you his true and trusty Seruant.*

By this, the teares flowed from her eyes, shee repeating againe, and againe, *Adieu, Adieu, Meluine*: who wept all the while, no lesse lamentably. Then turning her towards the Earles, she intreated them, that her Seruants might be gently vsed, that they might enioy the things she had giuen them by her Will, that they might be permitted to be with her at her death, and lastly, might be safely conducted and sent home into their Countries. Her two first requests they granted, but for the hauing of her Seruants by at her death, the Earle of *Kent* seemed scrupulous, fearing there might be some superstition in that. To him she said:

To the Earles.

Feare you not, Sir: the poore wretches desire nothing but to take their last leaues of me. And I know, my Sister, the Queene of England, *would not you should deny me so small a request: For, for the honour of my sex, my Seruants should be in presence. I am the neerest of her Parentage and Consanguinitie, grand-childe to*

Booke 3.

Henry *the seuenth, Dowager of* France, *and anointed Queene of* Scotland:

Which when shee had said, and turned her about, it was granted her, to haue such of her Seruants as shee would nominate. Then she named *Meluine, Bourgon* her Physician, her Apothecarie, her Chyrurgion, two of her Maides, and some others, of which *Meluine* carryed vp her traine. Then the Noblemen, the two Earles, and the Sherife of the Shire going before, she came to the Scaffold, the which was built at the vpper end of the Hall, vpon the which was a Chaire, a Cushion, and a Blocke, all couered with blacke. So soone as she was set, and silence commanded, *Beal* read the Warrant or Mandate, to which she listened attentiuely, as if it had beene some other thing. Then Doctor *Fletcher* (Deane of *Peterborough*) made a large discourse of the condition of her life past, and present, and of the life to come. Twice she interrupted him, intreating him not to importune her: *Protesting, that she was setled and resolued in the ancient Romane Catholike Religion, and ready euen now to shed her blood for the same.* He vehemently exhorted her to be repentant, and with an vndoubted Faith to put her whole trust and confidence in Christ: But shee answered him; *That she had beene borne and brought vp in this Religion, and was ready to die in the same.* Then the Earles, saying they would pray for her; Shee replied, *shee would giue them great thankes, if they would pray together with her, but to communicate in Prayer with them which are of a different Religion, were a scandall, and great sinne.* Then they bade the Deane to pray: with whom, whilst the Assembly about him ioyned in Prayer; Shee falling on her knees, and holding the Crucifix betwixt her hands, prayed in Latine, with her owne people, out of the *Office of our blessed Lady.*

Her last words.

After the Deane had ended his Praiers, shee prayed in English for the Church, for her Sonne, and *Elizabeth* Queene of *England*, beseeching God to turne his heauy wrath from this

this Iland, and protesting (as she held vp the Crucifix) that she reposed her hope of Saluation in the blood of Christ Iesus: shee called vpon the holy Company of Saints in Heauen, to make intercession for her vnto him. Shee forgaue all her enemies: then kissing the Crucifix, and making the signe of the Crosse, she said: *As thy armes (oh Lord Iesu Christ) were spred forth vpon the Crosse, so receiue me into the same armes of thy Mercy, and pardon me my trespasses.* Then the Executioner asked forgiuenesse, whom shee forgaue: and her seruants (she making haste) tooke off her vpper garments, crying and lamenting aloud: yet neither by her kissing or crossing of them, did she euer change her cheerfull countenance, but bade them forbeare their womanish weeping, saying; *That shee was at the end of all her calamities.* Likewise turning her selfe towards her other seruants, most pitiously weeping, she signed them with the signe of the Crosse, and smilingly bade them all, *Adieu.* Then hauing a linnen cloth before her face, and laid her head vpon the Blocke, she recited the Psalme; *In thee (O Lord) haue I put my trust, let mee not be confounded for euer.* Then stretching forth her body, and many times together ingeminating these words; *Lord into thy hands I commend my Spirit,* her Head at the second blow was cut off; the Deane crying aloud, and saying, *So perish all the Enemies of Queene* Elizabeth; to which, the Earle of *Kent* answerd, *Amen:* so likewise did the people weeping. Afterwards her body being imbalmed, and solemnly made ready, was with Princely Funerals interred in the Cathedrall Church of *Peterborough*. And in *Paris* were her Obsequies in most magnificent manner, also, celebrated by the *Guises*; who neither in her life omitted any offices of loue or kindred toward her, nor yet after her death, to their great laud and glory. Booke 3.

Here you haue seen what was the lamentable end of the life of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, daughter to *Iames* the Fift, King of *Scotland*, grand-childe to *Henry* the seuenth King of *England*,

Booke 3.

land, by his elder daughter, of 46. yeares of age, and the 18. yeare of her impriſonment. A woman moſt conſtant in her Religion; of ſingular zeale and ſanctimonie towards God; of inuincible animoſitie and courage; in wiſedome aboue her Sexe; of ſurpaſſing beautie, and worthy to be recorded in the *Catalogue* of thoſe Princes, who of happy and proſperous, became miſerable and vnfortunate. Being yet an Infant, ſhee was with great ſedulitie ſought for, both by *Henry* the eighth, King of *England*, for his ſonne *Edward*; and by *Henry* the ſecond, King of *France*, for *Francis* the Dolphin. Shee was ſent into *France* at fiue yeares of age, and at ten marryed to the Dolphine. After the death of her husband, returning into *Scotland*, and being marryed to *Henrie*, Lord *Darley*, ſhe had by him IAMES, the Firſt Monarch of *Great Britanne*. Shee was perſecuted by *Murrey* her baſe Brother, and others her diſloyall and ambitious ſubiects depoſed from the Kingdome, driuen into *England*, circumuented (as ſome worthy perſons haue conceiued) by certaine in *England*, carefull for the retaining of their Religion, and the preſeruation of Queene *Elizabeths* life; expoſed into perilous attempts, by others (deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing the Romiſh Religion) and brought to ruine by the intimations or witneſſes of her abſent Secretaries; who (as it is thought) were corrupted with coine. By her Tombe was fixed, and ſoone after taken away, this following *Epitaph:*

MARIA

The Epitaph.

MARIA SCOTORVM Regina, Regis Filia, Regis *GALLORVM* Vidva, Reginæ *ANGLIÆ* Agnata, Et Hæres Proxima, Virtvtibvs Regiis Et Animo Regio Ornata. Ivre Regio Frvstra Sæpivs Implorato, Barbara Et Tyrannica Crvdelitate, Ornamentvm Nostri Secvli, Et Lvmen Vere Regivm Extingvitvr: Eodemqve Nefario Ivdicio, Et *MARIA SCOTORVM* Regina Morte Natvrali, Et Omnes Svperstites Reges, Plebeii Facti, Morte Civili Mvlctantvr.

Novvm Et Inavditvm Tvmvli Genvs, In Qvo Cvm Vivis Mortvi Inclvdvntvr, Hic Erat: Cvm Sacris Enim Divæ *MARIÆ* Cinebribvs, Omnivm Regvm Atqve Principvm Violatam, Atqve Prostratam Maiestatem Hic Iacere Scito; Et Qvia Tacitvm Regale Satis Svperqve Reges Svi Officii Monet, Plvra Non Addo, Viator.

Booke 3. The prouidence of God plainly seen in her death.

IN the lamentable death of this great Princesse, manifestly appeared (as some haue obserued) the prouidence of God: For the things which *Elizabeth* and *Mary* wished from the beginning, and were resolued vpon in all their designes, were hereby effected and consummate. Queene *Mary* (as her selfe confest at her death) desired nothing more feruently, than that the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* (which were diuided) might be vnited and ioyned in one, in her deareſt Sonne; Nor *Elizabeth*, but that the true Religion, together with the good and safety of the People in *England* might be continued and maintained. And *England* now with vnspeakable ioy and gladnesse, acknowledgeth, that God Almighty hath granted both their desires, to her vnexpected and euerlasting felicitie.

Elizabeth is sorry therefore, and grieueth thereat.

So soone as report (the messenger of this death) had brought the newes thereof to Queene *Elizabeth*, who not so much as thought of any such matter, she tooke it most impatiently: her speech, and countenance, at once failed her: through the extremitie of her grieuous discontent, shee became quite comfortlesse and disconsolate; and attired her selfe in mourning weedes, bitterly lamenting, and sheading many brinish teares from the compassionate riuers of her eyes. Shee sharply rebuked her Councell, and chased them out of her sight, commanding they should be questioned. And as for *William Dauison*, he was brought into the Starre-Chamber to be tryed. And so soone as her passionate anguish and excesse of sorrow, suffered her to write, shee suddenly addrest (by sir *Robert Carey*) to the King of *Scotland*, this Letter following, of her owne hand-writing:

Is angry with her Councell.

MOST

Queene ELIZABETH's Letter to King IAMES.



OST DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER:

Would to God you did know, but not feele, with what incomparable sorrow my sad-afflicted heart is troubled, by the late lamentable euent, which hapned contrary to my minde and meaning: but because my Penne abhorreth the recitall thereof, you shall vnderstand it by this my Kinsman. I beseech you, that (as God and many good men are witnesses with me of my innocencie) you also would belieue, that if I had once commanded it, I would neuer haue denyed the same. I am not so baseminded, nor of such a degenerate or ignoble spirit, as that either I am affraid to doe the thing that is iust, or to disclaime it being done.

But as it is most dishonourable in Princes, to couer or colour the conceptions of their hearts, in disguised words: So will I neuer dissemble any action of mine, but let it appeare in its owne liuely colours. Know this for certainty, that as I am sure, it hapned not by any fault of mine; so if I had euer intended such a deed, I would not haue imputed it to others. Nor can I assume that to my selfe which I neuer thought. The rest, the Deliuerer of these lines will impart vnto you.

For my part, I would haue you belieue, that there is none more intirely louing you, nor more ſtudiouſly carefull for the good of you and yours, than my ſelfe. If any haue ſuggeſted to you the contrary, be you perſwaded, that ſuch a one beareth more affection to others, than to you. God keepe you long ſafe and ſound.

Whileſt Sir *Robert Carey* was on the way with theſe letters, *William Dauiſon* was brought into the Starr-Chamber before certain Commiſſioners, to wit, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray* Lo: chiefe Iuſtice of the K. Bench, who for that time was likewiſe made Lord Keeper of the Priuy Seale; the ArchBiſhops of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, the Earles of *Worceſter*, *Cumberland*, and *Lincolne*; the Lords *Gray* and *Lumley*, Sir *Iames Crofts* Comptroller of the Queens houſe, Sir *Walter Mildmay* Chancellour of the Exchequer, Sir *Gilbert Gerard* Maſter of the Rolls, *Edm. Anderſon* chiefe Iuſtice of the Common Pleas, and Sir *Roger Manwood* chiefe Baron of the Exchequer. In the preſence of theſe, Sir *Francis Popham*, the Qu. Atturney generall, accuſed *William Dauiſon* of contempt againſt her Maieſtie, of the breach of his allegeance, the neglect and omiſſion of his dutie; for that the queene of *England*, out of her royall clemency, being vnwilling that the queene of *Scotland* (although ſhee ſtood condemned) ſhould be put to death, for certaine cauſes beſt knowne to her ſelfe, ſuch as were not to bee ſounded into by any others, nor could be drawne from her, eyther by the importunate vrging of the States of the land, or by her Councell: notwithſtanding ſhee had commanded the Warrant for her execution to be drawne (for the preuenting of ſome eminent perils) the which ſhe committed to the ſaid *William Dauiſons* truſt and taciturnitie; he, being a ſworne Secretary, forgetfull of his faith and obedience, (contemning her Maieſties command) had imparted the ſame to the Councell, and brought her to execution, without the knowledge or priuitie of her Maieſtie.

William Dauiſon (ſuch was his ſingular modeſty) anſwered temperatly, and yet with audacitie;

That he was very ſory, that he ſhould be thus troubleſome to Commiſſioners, concerning the Q. of Scotland, and the iudgement giuen againſt her (moſt grieuous, if it were) to the impeachment of his credite, if not to the finall loſſe ther-

of;

of; which to him was all in all. But this most grieued him, to be taxed of contempt against her Maiestie; to who for her Princely fauours, he was so obliged, that his offence must thereby be the more intolerable. That hee confessed himselfe guilty of the crimes obiected against him. That he had made shipwrack of his credite, which hee reckoned equiualent with his life. If in making his Apologie, he should contest with the Queen, he should do that which were most vnbeseeming the obedience of a subiect, the respect of a seruant, and the fidelity and reputation of a Secretary. He protested before God and the Commissioners, *That he had done nothing therein wittingly and willingly, but what he was perswaded was the Queenes will and pleasure; wherein if by ignorance or negligence he had done any thing preiudiciall, he could not but for that be sory, and submit himselfe to the censure of the Commissioners.*

Now as touching the particulars: Whereas the Queene blamed him for hauing beene ouer-hasty in setting the great seale to the Mandate, he auouched;

That she had darkely signified, but not expressely commanded that he should keepe it by him: Neyther, as hee thought, had hee trespassed in matter of secrecie; for that he had not imparted it to any but the Councell. As touching that, that he did not reuoke the Warrant, after the Queene had giuen him to vnderstand that shee had altered her minde; he affirmed, That it was agreed vpon by the generall consent of the Councell, that forthwith it should be sent away, and the Queene of Scotland *executed, for feare the Queene or State might be indangered or damnified.*

They vrge him vpon his owne confession.

Vpon this confession, Sir *Thomas Egerton* the Queenes Sollicitor (hauing read some part of it) began to presse him. But he desired him to reade it all thorow, and not selected parcels here and there; though he had rather it should not be read at all, because in it were contayned some secrets not fit to be reuealed; oftentimes interposing these words, *That as he was vnwilling to contest against the Qu. so was he loth*

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loth his modesty should be preiudiciall to the truth, or his owne reputation.

The Queen, Sergeants reproue him.

Sir *Thomas Gaudy* and Sir *William Pickering*, the Queenes Sergeants at Law, likewise in many and sharpe speeches, rebuked him, for that he had fraudulently abused her Maiesties Priuy Councell; as was confessed by *William Cecill* Baron of *Burghley*, Lo: high Treasurer: to whom (doubting whether the Queene had granted that they should proceed to the execution of the Queen of *Scotland*) he affirmed and protested she had: as also he said the like to the rest, who had subscribed to the Warrant or Mandate, for the execution of the said Q. of *Scotland*. Here *Dauison*, shedding teares, desired the Lawyers not to vrge him any further, but that they would remember, *That he was not to contest against the Queen*; wherefore he wholly submitted himselfe to *her Maiesties conscience, and the Commissioners censure.*

The Iudges opinion vpon his fact.

Sir *Roger Manwood*, beginning, made an historicall relation of the Queene of *Scotland*; how from her tender age she had vsurped the Armes of *England*: and so continuing his discourse to *Babingtons* conspiracie, commended the sentenee pronounced against her by vertue of the law, made knowne the clemency of the Queene, and gaue censure, that *Dauison*, for his inconsiderate anticipation, should be fined at ten thousand pounds, and imprisonment during the Qu. pleasure.

Sir *Edmund Anderson* argued, that he had done right, but not rightly; otherwise the man was honest.

Gerard was of the same opinion.

Sir *Walter Mildmay*, after he had declared with what mature deliberation, and setled grauity, they had proceeded in iudgement against the Queene of *Scotland*, and by what great, and how many intreaties and imprecations queene *Elizabeth* was drawne thereto; produced against *Dauison* this passage out of the holy Scripture: *The heart of the King is in the hands of the Lord*; and therefore none, much lesse a

seruant

seruant, ought fraudulently or couertly to anticipate the determinate purposes of Princes, without whose aduice nothing ought to be done, especially in matters of so great moment, as is the death of a Prince. But he cleered *Dauison* of malice, yet reproued him, as hauing beene inconsiderate in Princes affaires, and too forward in preuenting the queenes determination. And, for a caueat hereafter to men of his ranke and place, not to commit the like errour; accorded with the rest concerning his fine and imprisonment. Booke 3.

Sir *Iacob Croft* checkt and chid him, for hauing vnwisely vttered the things which he ought to haue concealed, for that Princes impart that to some one of their Councell, which they conceale from the rest.

Iohn Baron *Lumley* was of opinion (with the Iudges) that the sentence against the Qu. of *Scotland* was iustly giuen, yet seriously auerred, That in the memory of the precedent times, it was neuer heard or read, so high a contempt to haue beene committed against a Prince, that the Lords of the Councell, in the queenes house, at the Councell Table where her Maiestie was (as it were President of the Councell) should haue decreed such a businesse, and that without her priuity, they (and *Dauison* too) hauing free accesse vnto her when they pleased; protesting, That if he had but one only sonne that were faulty in such a fact, he should think him worthy to be very seuerely punished. But being perswaded of the honest disposition of the man, he would censure him no deeper than others did.

Arthur Lord *Gray*, inflamed with a religious zeale, in a set speech, yet somewhat exasperate, excepted against him, saying: DAVISON *is accused to haue behaued himselfe contemptuously towards the Queene; and this contempt is vrged to the full: for that he imployed his diligence in dispatching the Q. of Scotl. That he bewrayed secrets, and concealed from the Q. the sending away of the Warrant. But what was this Qu. he was so busie to make away? Was it not shee (I pray you) by whose life* The L. *Gray* defendeth him.

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our religion, the queene, the kingdome, and euery one of vs were in continuall danger? yet it is for her being so cut off, that wee haue this dayes businesse in hand. Now my opinion is, That he which hath deliuered our England from so great euills, deserues to be royally recompenced. I do not thinke him to haue reuealed any secrets, for hauing imparted the matter onely to the Councell, (and Magistrates appointed for matters of State,) whom chiefly it concerned to vnderstand that and such like, and which the queene her selfe before had vttered to two or three. If Dauison *haue offended in any thing, it is chiefly in this, That the queene meaning to take another course, he told her not that the Warrant was already sent away. But questionlesse he was driuen into a double doubt: whether to lose the queenes fauour, in sending away the Warrant without her knowledge; or by recalling it, to bring new plots and perills to the queene. Who remembreth not how turbulent the time was? what fearfull rumours were euery where dispersed? If any wrong or violence had then hapned to the queene or religion, whilest the Mandate was in his hands, had not the fault truly beene in him? Should not we, our wiues, and children, haue falne furiously vpon him? Should we not haue imbrued our hands in his blood? haue curst his imprudence, and haue erected, to his eternall ignominy, a trophee of indiscretion, engrauen in letters of blood? What mulct or penaltie soeuer you impose vpon him, shall not displease me; but surely I will alwayes hold him for an honest man.* This is the Orator-like speech, which we heard the Lord *Gray* made, and deliuered with a good grace and manly countenance.

The three Earles agreed in opinion with the rest, concerning the premised penaltie inflicted vpon *Dauison*, and with the Lo: *Gray*, touching his reputation.

The Archbishop of *Yorke* discoursed of matter of Religion, and shewed the blindenesse of heart, and naturall corruption, to be the fountaines from whence it floweth.

The Lords Grace of *Canterbury* approued the act, and commended the author of it, but discõmended withall the

maner,

maner or circumstance of proceeding which he had vsed.

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Lastly, Sir *Christ. Wray* (Lord Keeper of the priuy Seale) hauing made a briefe recapitulation of all the Commissioners opinions, confirmed the penaltie imposed by them, and declared, That although the queene (being iustly moued to displeasure) had submitted her Counsellors to examination, yet notwithstanding she did then pardon them; acknowledging, that what they had done, was from a desire and desigue tending to the defence of Religion and the State, and the repelling of eminent dangers.

Sentence giuen against him.

Dauison became humble Petitioner to the Cõmissioners, That they would intreat for him; not to be restored to the honourable place of Secretary, which he formerly enioyed, nor to haue his liberty granted him, nor his fine or punishment mitigated: but that he might yet be partaker of her Maiesties gracious fauour. The which, for all this, he neuer regained: neuertheless she sometimes supplyed and relieued his wants.

He maketh request to the Commissioners.

And thus this *Dauison*, a man of honest disposition and esteeme, not cunning nor acquainted with Court-tricks, was purposely brought vpon the Stage (as diuers haue thought) to be an actor in this Tragedie: and being put out of his part, as being at a *non plus* in the last Act, was for a long time after shut vp in prison, to the great griefe of many. Hitherto hath beene related what was publikely done against him: Now obserue, in briefe, how he excuseth himselfe, as I haue collected out of his owne accusation, and the Apologeticall discourse, which he made thereof to Sir *Fr. Walsingham*,

Dauison his particular Apologie.

The queene (said he) *after the Ambassadors of* France *and* Scotland *were departed, wished me to shew her the warrant for the execution of the sentence, pronounced against the queene of* Scotland. *Hauing shewed it, she willingly set her hand thereto, and bid me likewise affixe the great Seale of* England; *and iestingly, said, You will shew this now to* Walsingham, *who is sicke already, but will dye when he sees it. She added by and by,*

That

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That she had put it off so long, because shee would not seeme to be carried away by violence; yet knowing well the necessitie thereof. Then blaming Sir Ayme Poulet and Sir Drue Drury for not hauing eased her of that care and trouble; commanded Walsingham to know the cause of their cessation and delay.

The day after I had sealed the Warrant, she forbade me, by Killegray, to doe it: then telling her, that it was done already, shee checkt me for my diligence, saying; That by some wise-mens aduice, another course might haue beene taken. I answered, that iust courses are alwayes good and sure. But fearing she would cast some blame on me, as she had formerly done vpon the Lo. Burghley about the Duke of Norfolks death: I discloſed the whole matter to Sir Christ. Hatton; protesting, that I would neuer hereafter be so forward in so weighty a busines. Hatton presently discouered it to Burghley, and he to the rest of the Councell, who all concluding vpon the dispatch of the execution, vowed (as reason was) to be faulty alike; and to effect it, sent Beale instantly away with the Warrant and Letters. The third day after (I perceiuing the Queene to be troubled in minde, to haue the precedent night (as her MAIESTY sayd) dreamed of the Queene of Scotland's death) I asked her, if shee had changed her purpose. She answered me, That some other meanes might haue beene vsed; and then inquiring of me, Whether I had receiued any answer from Sir Ayme Poulet; I shewed her his letters, wherein he refused to vndertake the execution, as vniust: to which, in great choler she replyed; He and his confederats are all faithlesse & periured, in promising great matters, and not performing: but she should find some, that for her sake would doe it. As for my selfe, I told her how ignominious it was, and into what perills shee should bring Poulet and Drury. If she approued the deed being done, her renowne would be blasted with iniustice and disgrace (besides other dangers:) and in disallowing it, she should ruinate men of worthy merite, and their posterity for euer would be vndon. To conclude, the very day that the queene of Scotland dyed, her Maiesty checkt me iestingly, for that it was not yet dispatched.

Now

Now setting aside to speake of the anger and sorrow which the Queene of *England* conceiued for the death of the Queene of *Scotland*, and her anger against *William Dauison*, the truth is, that the King of *Scotland*, her onely Sonne, drew thereof extreme anguish, bitter and passionate torments; shewing himselfe a more pious Son then any that can be heard or read of; he lamented night and day his deare Mothers lamentable end, in weeping, and shedding many sad and brinish teares in his bitter agony; not thinking that Queene ELIZABETH (in regard of the mutuall loue which was betwixt them, the late and strait contracted league of amity, and the interceſſion of so many mighty Princes) would haue suffered his Mother to haue beene exposed into the cruell hands of an Executioner, she beeing a Princesse of coequall Maiestie, of her neerest alliance and consanguinity from the Blood Royall: nor could he receiue in *Scotland*, Sir *Robert Carie*, Sonne to *Henry*, Baron of *Hunsdon*, who was sent with Letters from ELIZABETH, to excuse her Maiestie, and to cast the fault vpon *Dauison*, and the Councell. He heard him (but hardly) from the mouth of another, and hardly receiued the Letters he brought. He reuok't the authority of his Ambassadour in *England*, and thought of reuenge: For there was no want of folke, which were busie to egge him on by perswasions, that the Christian Princes would not leaue vnreuenged so great and grieuous an iniury offered to Royall Maiesty, and to the Royall Name.

The indignation of the Nation of Scotland.

The Estates of *Scotland*, which were then gathered together in multitudinous numbers, protested to his Maiestie, that they were ready, and prest to reuenge this death, to defend the rightfull Title which hee had vnto *England*, and in that to hazzard both life and goods, and that they could not digest this iniury, offered not so much to his Maiestie, as to the whole Nation of *Scotland*. Some perswaded him to demand Nauall assistance of the K. of *Denmarke*,

Booke 3.

Suggeſtions vſed to the King.

with whom he had then begun a Treaty, touching marriage with his Daughter. Others (addicted to the Roman Religion) exclaiming againſt the Queene of *England*, that *She which had ſlaine the Mother, would willingly ſlay the Sonne too*; put it into his head to ioyne rather with the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, and with the Pope of *Rome*, and that he might eaſily by this meanes poſſeſſe himſelfe of *England*. Aboue all, he ſhould not truſt the Proteſtants of *England*; That they were now at the full height of their power, and ſought ſecretly his ruine. Others admoniſhed him, not to ſhew himſelf openly inclin'd to any party, but to hold both Papiſt and Proteſtant in ſuſpence. Becauſe that if he ſhould openly ranke himſelfe with the Proteſtants, all the Papiſts of *Europe* in their practices, would make him their marke to ſhoot at, and would prouide them in *England* ſome other Support then he, to rely vpon, which could not be without danger to him. Others aduiſed him, to continue conſtant in amity with *England*, not to expoſe or put foorth a certaine hope into the vncertaine hazzard of warre, and to perſeuer in the Religion now receiued; wherein if he ſhould ſeeme to wauer, he could neither purchaſe friends, nor put off enemies. Theſe were the things propounded to him by one and other, as euery mans particular pleaſure or deſire carried him. The King himſelfe, of perſpicuity, and politique apprehenſion aboue his age, beeing ſome times alone by himſelfe, and ſometimes with ſome few others; not with precipitate raſhnes (which is alwayes blind) but with deliberate conſideration, at many times, and for a long ſpace together, caſt theſe things in his mind.

Qu. Elizabeth indeuoureth to appeaſe them.

But Queene ELIZABETH, after ſhee had laid all the fault vpon *Dauiſon*, and the raſh credulity of her Councell, ſeeketh by little and little to weare away his griefe, leſt conſolations vntimely applyed, ſhould the more irritate; and attended, till the dolour (being appeaſed by the protraction of time) would ſuffer it ſelfe to be dealt withall.

For,

For, perceiuing then, that the *French* did sharpen and incitate the young King to reuenge, and fearing, that through suttle sleights, and eager desire of reuenge, he might be diuerted from the Protestant Religion, and from louing the *English*, she imployed all her possible industry, and Princely meanes, to cure his wounded heart, and alienated from her:

And for that cause propounded to him, by such Agents as shee had in *Scotland*, as also, by the Lord of *Hunsdon*, Gouernour of *Berwicke*.

By what reasons.

First, what danger there was in making warre vpon England, *for this cause, which now to all the Estates of* England *seemed necessary for the good of the whole Iland, and most iust. And whether hee were of power to goe thorow withall,* England *being then neuer more potent in military men, money, and munition, and* Scotland *neuer weaker, being brought low, and exhaust by ciuill and intestine broyles. If hee would haue the assistance of forreine powers, let him learne by the experience of his Mother, (who so long and often implored that in vaine,) what labour and trouble he would haue to obtaine it. And if he should procure it, what successe could he hope for by it, seeing that* England *ioyning with the shipping of* Holland *and* Zeland, *feared not the most puissant Princes of* Europe. *What hope could he put the King of* France *or the King of* Spaine *in, sith his power being once increased with the addition of* England *and Ireland to his Crowne, ought to be contrary to their designe, and that his Religion was so directly opposite to theirs, that they could not ayde and succour him, but to their owne preiudice. That the King of* France *could not behold, but with griefe, the King of* Scotlands *Dominion augmented by the Kingdome of* England, *without feare that*

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he should pursue the ancient right which the Englisſh *haue in* France, *or giue assistance to the* Guizes *his Allies, who at this instant gape for the Kingdome of* France. *That the King of* Spaine, *who would questionlesse giue place to his ambition, because that he brags (though falsly) to be the first Catholique King issued from the Bloud-Royall of the* Englisſh, *and of the house of* Lancaster. *That to this purpose some Iesuites and others haue with their vttermost power endeuoured, during the life of Queene* MARY *of* Scotland, *to enthrone him by election, in the Kingdome of* England, *as most fit to re-establish there the Romane authoritie in electing from the Crowne both Mother and Sonne. Nay moreouer, they begun to perswade the Queene of* Scotland *to make him thereof a legacy by her Testament, if King* IAMES *her Sonne would still perseuer in the Protestant Religion. Let the King consider whither these things doe tend, what succour hee can looke for from* Spaine, *and to what ignominy hee will precipitate his Soule to his eternall damnation, and all* Great-Britaine *to his vtter ruine, if hee forsakes the true Religion in which hee hath beene educated. That the Peeres and States who haue giuen sentence against his Mother, seeing that hee meditates vpon a reuenge, will not fayle to exclude him from the Crowne of* England, *by a new Act of the right of Succession. That in giuing place to necessity, and keeping in the agitation of his courage, hee will mediate easily their loue, sith that which is done, cannot be vndone. Let him then expect to possesse in his time the most flourishing Kingdome of* England, *and enioy in the meane while a Crowne of securitie, and beleeue that those which can tell well how to weigh and prize things, will iudge, that hee hath sufficiently fore-seene to his honour, in not fayling in due opportunitie to doe his Mother all the dutifull*

full seruices of a most pious sonne. Moreouer, let him likewise assure himselfe, that the Queene *of England will accounnt, hold, and esteeme him as her owne sonne, and will doe him all offices of amity, and vse him as a Mother her deerest sonne.*

These are the things that Queene ELIZABETH endeuoured with great care to possesse the King with: and to the end hee should not doubt but that his Mother had beene put to death without Queene ELIZABETHS consent, shee resolued to send him the sentence pronounced against *William Dauison*, sealed with the broad Seale of *England*, and all the Commissioners hands subscribed thereunto: and to appease his Maiestie the more, another iudgement signed by all the Iudges of *England*, certifying that that sentence pronounced, could in nothing hinder or bee preiudiciall to his right to the Kingdome of *England*.

Sir Francis Drake is sent into Spaine, to preuent the comming of the Inuincible Nauy for the inuasion of England.

In the mean time that Q. ELIZABETH by these or such like reasons endeuoured gently to calme the King of *Scotlands* agitations, fore-seeing the warre wherewith she was furiously threatned by the King of *Spaine*, whose hopes to frustrate, shee sent Sir *Francis Drake* with foure Royall Ships well appoynted, to the Coast of *Spaine*, and elsewhere, with command to take, burne, and pillage all such Ships as hee could finde, as well in the Harbours and Port-Townes, as on the Ocean: *Drake* arriuing in the Streight of *Gibraltar*, entred the Hauen thereof, where, after he had caused sixe great Ships to flye vnder the Forts protection, hee tooke and burnt a hundred Ships, more or lesse, in the which there was infinite prouision of warlike munitions & victuals, and among others, the Great *Gallion* of the Marquis of *Santa Cruz*, called *Rageusa*, richly loaden with merchandize. From thence, returning to Cape *S. Vincent*, hee there burnt all such Ships and Fisher-boats, which lay in that Rode: And then went to *Cascalet* Hauen, which is situated at the mouth of *Tage*: he vrged there the Marquis

His expeditions.

Booke 3.

Santa Cruz to fight: but hee not daring, ſtirr'd not, but let *Drake* freely ſayle along that Coaſt, and take their Ships without the leaſt impeachment. Then, hauing turned ſaile to the Iles of *Azoris*, met by chance (which he tooke with eaſe) a great and luſty Ship, moſt rich, and well furniſhed, called Saint *Philip*, which was returning from the Eaſt-Indies: This act cauſed the vulgar ſort of Mariners of diuers Countries to take the name of *Philip* for an ill ſigne or prognoſtication againſt *Philip* King of *Spaine*.

The great Carraque Saint Philip is taken.

By this *Drakes* worthy, though briefe expedition, *England* was much enriched and; the *Spaniards* ſuſtayning ſo great a loſſe of munition and warlike preparations, were conſtrayned to giue ouer their deſigne they had to inuade *England* for that yeere: Since which time, the *Engliſh* begun with alacrity couragiouſly to aſſault thoſe great and huge Ships, moſt like vnto Caſtles, which they before did much dread and feare, and diſcouered ſo plainely the opulent and rich commodities of the Indies, & the meanes how to trade and traffique in thoſe Eaſterne parts, in ſuch ſort, that they haue ſince eſtabliſhed an aduantagious trade, and profitable nauigation in thoſe Countries, hauing eſtabliſhed an Eaſt-Indie Company of Merchants.

The profit which the Engliſh receiued thereby.

The Eaſt Indies Companie.

At that very time, *Thomas Cauendiſh*, a *Suffolke* man, which two yeeres ſince was gone out of *England*, with three good Ships was ſayling the Sea in another Climate of the World, and hauing paſt beyond the Streight of *Magellan*, burnt and ranſacked in the entry of *Chile*, *Peru*, and *New Spaine*, many Townes of the *Spaniards*, tooke and pillaged neere *Calliforma*, eighteene rich Ships loaden, and a ſumptuous Ship-Royall of *Spaine*, with infinite riches, returning happily the ſame yeere into *England* (by *Philippinas*, *Molaques*, the Cape of *bona Speranza*, and the famous Ile of Saint *Helen*) with a precious bootie, and memorable glory, as beeing onely the third, who, ſince *Magellan*, circuited the whole Earth.

Thomas Cauendiſh circuits the Earth.

As

As Sir *Francis Drake*, and Maſter *Iohn Cauendiſh* purchaſed to their perpetuall honors an illuſtrious glory & ſplendent reputation, in doing their Countrey good ſeruice, ſo at that time two other *Engliſh* men, Sir *W. Stanley*, and *Rowland Yorke*, got an ignominious name of Traytors. This *Yorke*, borne in *London*, was a man moſt negligent and lazy, but deſperately hardy; he was in his time moſt famous among thoſe who reſpected Fencing, hauing been the firſt that brought into *England* that wicked and pernicious faſhion to fight in the Field in Duels, with a Rapier called a Tucke, onely for the thruſt: the *Engliſh* hauing till that very time, vſed to fight with Backe-ſwords, ſlaſhing and cutting one the other, armed with Targets or Bucklers, with very broad weapons, accounting it not to be a manly action to fight by thruſting and ſtabbing, and chiefly vnder the waſte. This *Yorke* hauing receiued ſome light iniury by the Earle of *Leiceſter* in the Low-Countries, ran away, and liued as a Souldier a certaine time on the *Spaniſh* ſide; and laſtly, being reconciled, was made Gouernour of a ſtrong Fort, ſituated neere the Towne of *Sutphen*. But as he was not vſed to pardon wrongs, & ſuffer himſelf to be deſpiſed, hee hammered in his head how he might be reuenged: and he being corrupted with money, yeelded vp not onely the ſaid Fort to the Enemy, but alſo many and ſundry times hee proteſted by oath to Sir *William Stanley* (who had formerly borne Armes in the warres of *Ireland*, with a ſingular fidelity and generous valiancy) that he was manifeſtly accuſed and conuicted to haue been one of *Babingtons* conſpiracy, by the aſſertion and confeſſion of the Conſpirators; and that hee looked but for the houre that he ſhould be apprehended and hanged. By theſe or ſuch like perſwaſions hee drew him to be a conſort to his wickedneſſe, and ſecond to his wicked deſignes, cauſing him to yeeld vp the faire, ſtrong, and rich Citie of *Dauentry* to the *Spaniard*, againſt the oath and faith hee had giuen both to the Earle of

Stanley and Yorke, Traitors.

New kinde of Duels brought into England.

Booke 3.

of *Leiceſter*, and the *States*. After this perfidious man had committed this deplorable crime, hee conſidered the haynouſneſſe of his offence, and fore-ſaw that hee ſhould be forthwith exclaimed of, and attainted of Treaſon: but hee fortified his affrighted and trembling conſcience vpon this, that hee had reſtored a place detained by Rebels, to him who was the right Lord and owner thereof: and as he was a ranke Papiſt, cauſed incontinently Papiſts to flocke to his Regiment, which conſiſted of one thouſand and three hundred *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, for to inſtruct them in the *Romiſh* Religion, vanting, hee would make a Seminary of ſouldiers, who would by armes couragiouſly defend the *Romane* Church, as Seminary Prieſts by words and writings: and to that purpoſe *Allen* (who ſhortly after was made a Cardinall) ſent him ſuddenly Maſſe-Prieſts, publiſhing withall a little Booke, by which he commended his treaſon in the behalfe of Pope *Pius* the Fifth his Bull againſt Queene ELIZABETH, exhorting and exciting the reſt to doe the like trechery, as if they had not beene bound to ſerue and obey a Queene excommunicated by the Pope. But behold, marke here the end, the *Spaniard* ſet *Yorke* and *Stanley* together by the eares; afterward, they poyſoned *Yorke*, who dyed thereof miſerably, they pillage his goods, and his bodie hauing beene buried in the ground, three moneths after, the *States* of *Holland* cauſed it to be taken vp, and hanged on a Gallows in chains. (So much for *York*). Now for *Stanley*; they turn'd him and his Regiment out of *Dauentry*, and expoſed them to danger, leauing them to ſtray and wander vp and downe at the mercy of their Enemies, to their great deſpiſe and diſgrace; ſo that ſome periſhed lamentably with hunger, others fled away, with much adoe to eſcape and ſaue their liues. Sir *William* himſelfe went into Spaine, hoping to be there queſtionleſſe made much of, and well rewarded: but neyther was he welcome, nor receiued according to his expectation there, but abhorred and deteſted; neuer-

With what ſucceſſe.

neuertheleſſe offered hee his ſeruice to aſſiſt in the inuading of *England*: but the *Spaniards*, who neuer truſt a Traytor twice, would not put their confidence in him: for the *Spaniards* hold ſtill this for a Maxime,

That it is lawfull to honour in ſome ſort a Traytor, but not to put any truſt in him.

Sir *William* then thus learned, (but too late) that he had firſt wronged and betrayed himſelfe.

The States of the vnited Prouinces doe blame the Earle of Leiceſter.

Theſe Treaſons cauſed the Earle of *Leiceſter* to be greatly hated of the Confederate *Netherlanders*, becauſe that theſe Traytors had beene his Fauourites, and likewiſe *Engliſhmen* borne, which Nation that people free and too licentious in ſpeech, ceaſed not to offend by iniuries, vntill they were reprehended for it, and forbidden by the *States*. In the meane while, they wrote tedious lines to the Queene, by which they greatly condemned the Earle of *Leiceſter*, blaming him to haue vnaduiſedly adminiſtrated the Common-wealth in that which concerned their treaſure, the warre, and trading, and imputing the dammage and hindrances cauſed by theſe Traytors, to the reſtraint which he had made of their power, and his credulitie. The Queene, (as euer wiſe) for to examine and accord the buſineſſe, alſo to ſound if they would condiſcend to a peace with Spaine, ſends thither, to that end, the illuſtrious Lord *Thomas Sackuile*, Baron of *Buckhurſt*, whom, in *Leiceſters* abſence, her Maieſtie had newly made one of her Priuy-Councell; together with *Norris* and *Clarke*; all which, laboured with no leſſe care than fidelity about it. But the ire and choller of *Leiceſter* (who was of a minde that the Lord *Buckhurſt* ſhewed himſelfe ſo officious and diligent, to no other purpoſe but to ſpye and obſerue his actions) and the fauour and power which he had about the Queene, were ſo great,

Booke 3.

that the Lord *Buckhurst* at his returne was confined to his House the space of many moneths.

The States send for Leicester again, to raise the siege before Sluce.

Afterwards, the *States* called backe *Leicester* from *England* for to succour their City of *Sluce*, which the Duke of *Parma* had then beleaguered with seuenteene thousand men, battering it so furiously, that hee made a great breach: but Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Francis Vere*, and Sir *N. Baskeruile*, with both the *Wallownes*, and *English* Forces of that Garrison, defended it along time couragiously with great praise and applauded valiancy; but *Leicester*, which should haue succoured them, being retyred, by reason of his weake force, they were forced to yeeld.

Leicester is molested.

And indeed the *States* hauing truely reserued that Soueraigne degree and power which they at first had giuen him by words, would not furnish him with a great and sufficient Army, and hee dained not to subiect himselfe to particulars of small ranke and note, who vnder the name of *States*, strriued to domineere ouer him, notwithstanding that their Gouernour had the same authority that *Charles* the Fifth had ouer his Commanders of the Low-Countries.

From thence deriued open hatred on both sides, the which discouered themselues yet apparantly, after that he had mentioned to agree vpon with Spaine: for their cares abhorr'd, and their hearts detested the very name of peace, as preiudiciall and obnoctious to their affaires.

Leicester goes about to make himselfe Lord ouer their Cities.

Euen as then he perceiued his authority to diminish, hee had recourse to fraudulous deceit, and resolued to breede factions with the people there, and to make himselfe Master of the City of *Leyden*, with other Townes. But being frustrated of his hope, of the losse of some with his men, & to the great discontentment that this action prouoked, (Queene ELIZABETH sending for him) he gaue ouer the gouernement and free administration of the *States* of the Vnited Prouinces, and was derided and laughed at of many, but most by those who enuied him, hauing forsaken

He is called home againe.

the Title of his *Excellencie*, which neuer any *English*-man had taken vpon him before him.

Booke 3.

The Title of his Excellency.

Leicester, vpon his departure for *England*, distributed, for a perpetuall memory of his person, to such as were of his faction, a *Medaille* or pieces of Gold which he had caused to be coyned; on the one side, there was his picture; on the other, a Flocke, with some lost Sheepe, a Dogge, who going from them, turned backe his head to looke on them, as if it were for pitty, with this Inscription;

Leicester distributes Medailles coyned en memory of his person, to those of his faction.

Ie quite malgre moy,
I forsake to my griefe,

And neere it this;

Non point le troupeau, mais les ingras.
Not the Flocke, but the vngratefull.

And questionlesse hee intended to inuade the *Netherland* Dominions for himselfe: but those Nations haue not only kept, by their care and diligence, the liberty which they hold by their Ancestors, wholly to themselues, against the *Spaniards* might, who warre as well with their art and deceits, as with their goods, as likewise against the *French* and *English* by craftinesse & policy, yea, against the Prince of *Orange* himselfe, who acted the *Foxes* part; but also they haue it maruellously increased by the fauour of their neighbouring friend; and which is more worthy admiration, is, that whereas other countries are ruinated by the war, these vnited Prouinces are inriched thereby.

The *States* established in his roome, for Gouernour of the vnited and confederate Prouinces, Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, then about twenty yeeres of age, son to the Prince of *Orange*, by his Wife the Lady *Anne de Saxe*, Daughter

The Estates doe put in Leicesters place, Prince Maurice *of Nassau.*

Booke 3.

to that Heroick Elector *Maurice*; and Queene ELIZABETH eſtabliſhed in *Leiceſters* ſtead, *Peregrine Bartue*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Generall of the *Engliſh* auxiliary Forces which then were in the Low-Countries, whom thoſe of *Leiceſters* faction much troubled: for the Garriſons of *Geertruiden-Berg*, *Worcom*, *Nerden*, *Heuſden*, & aboue all, that of *Middlebourgh*, being at the *Engliſh* deuotion, excited troubles, vnder pretext that they had ſworne loyalty and obedience to the Queene. And Sir *William Ruſſell*, Gouernour of *Fluſhing*, hauing drawne to his ſide the inhabitants of the Townes of *Emuid* and of *Campe*, were miſtruſted by the *Eſtates*, to haue a determination to reduce the whole Iland of *Zeland* vnder the *Engliſh*: and this ſuſpition was increaſed the more, by the comming of *Englands* Lord High Admirall out of *England*, who though hee much laboured to pacifie theſe troubles, the *States* neuertheleſſe poſſeſt with feare, diſſembled not their miſtruſtings, but witneſſed it both openly to the World by certaine pieces of Siluer, which ingeniouſly they cauſed to be coyned and ſtamped with the figure of two earthen Pots ſwimming vpon the Sea (according to the ancient Apologue) with this Inſcription;

Leiceſters faction in the Low-Countries. Ruſſell ſuſpected.

Si nous nous hurtons, nous nous caſſerons.

If wee knocke one at another, wee ſhall be broken.

And priuately by Letters which they wrote to the Queene, who (being moſt carefull of them, and yet in nothing forgetfull of her ſelfe, could prudently fore-ſee thoſe infinite dangers then apparant, the Spaniſh *Fleete* being then imminent,) commanded the Lord *Willoughby* to bring into ſubmiſſion ſuch *Engliſh*, as excited or ſtirred vp troubles; to be puniſhed

punished by the States, which hee most happily performed with the Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, *Leicester* being then back, and quickly finding out that the Baron of *Buckhurst*, and others, prepared themselues to accuse him to haue ill administrated the affaires of *Holland*, and that therefore he ought to come into iudgement before the Councell Table, wisely with-drew himselfe priuately to the Queen, and prostrating himselfe humbly at her feet, beseeched her *Maiestie* to testifie and speake for him, coniuring her not to receiue ignominiously him whom she had sent magnificently, neither to bury liuing and seeing, him, whom shee had raised from the dust. He, by these sweet and eloquent speeches, calmed so her discontents, that moderating the anger of her wrath, shee receiued him into her fauour as before.

Booke 3.

Leicester auoids his aduersaries accusation.

Therefore being called in question, and brought before the Councell Table, he (whereas he should haue appeared in an humble manner according to the custome of others) tooke his place among the Lords of her Maiesties Priuy-Councell, and as the Clerke had begun to reade the chiefe Articles of his accusation, interrupted him, complayning they had done him wrong to haue restrained those publike instructions granted vnto him, to priuate ones; and, in appealing to the Queenes iudgement, auoyded and annihilated all accusations, whereby his aduersaries were much indignated: but they broke their anger in silence.

In this yeere, in the moneth of February, died *Henry*, Lord *Neuill*, Baron of *Abergauenny*, grand-child of *Edward Neuill*, who in King HENRY the Sixth's Reigne, enioyed the title of Baron of *Abergauenny*, by his wife, who was onely Daughter & Heire to *R.* Lord *Beauchamp*, Earle of *Wigorn*, and Baron of *Abergauenny*, by whose right, the Daughter and Heire of this *Henry*, Lord *Neuill*, challenging the title and honour of this ancient Barony, had a memorable suit in Law about it, with *Edward Neuill*, the next Heire-male to the said Lordship, to whom the Castell of *Abergauenny*

The death of the Lord Neuill, Baron of Abergauenny.

Booke 3.

was legacied by Teſtament; and ſince, the honour and title of the ſame Barony was conferred and confirmed vnto him by Act of Parliament, where hee tooke place among the Peeres of that High Court, as the firſt Baron of *England*.

And the Ducheſſe of Somerſet, being very aged;

There died alſo in the ſame yeere and moneth, foure Noble perſons, both illuſtrious and famous: the firſt was, the Lady *Anne Stanhop*, Ducheſſe of Somerſet, about ninetie yeeres of age, wife to *Edward Seymor*, late Duke of Somerſet, and Protector of *England*. This Ducheſſe, by meere enuy and hate ſhe bore to the Lady *Katherine Parr*, Queene of *England*, and Dowager of King HENRY the Eighth, excited diuers tragedies in the Noble Houſe of the *Seymors*, at *Dudley* Earle of *Warwickes* perſwaſion, during his plotting of the ruine of this puiſſant and princely Houſe; and all, to preuent, leſt ſhee, who was Wife to this Noble Protector, ſhould giue place or precedence to this Queene Dowager, who then was her Husbands Brothers wife. The next was,

And Sir Ralph Sadler;

Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, a prudent and learned man, whoſe worth and vertue had beene approued in diuers weighty and important affaires of State. He was the laſt Banneret of *England*: which worthy dignity of Knighthood had bin conferred on him at the famous Battel of *Muſſelborough*. After him, alſo died

Alſo, Sir Thomas Bromley.

Sir *Thomas Bromley*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, hauing ſcarce attained to the ſixtieth yere of his age, a man excellently well ſeene in the Law. Six dayes after, he was followed by *Edward Manner*, Earle of Rutland (to whom the Queene had choſen and appointed for his Succeſſour, the third of the Noble Houſe of *Manner*, a Noble man, moſt learned and skilfull in the Law, and humane Arts) hauing but the Lady *Elizabeth*, one onely Daughter for heire, then but very young, who was married to *William Cecill*, Baron of *Burleigh*, Lord High Treaſurer.

The Earle of Rutland dyes;

And Sir Chriſtopher Hatton

Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, who was a Noble perſonage, excellently endued with

with rare vertues, (flouriſhing at that time illuſtriouſly at the Court, as one whoſe merit had purchaſed him the honour to be dearely affectionate & intimate to her Maieſtie, in whoſe fauour his worth greatly aduanced him) was from a Courtier eſtabliſhed to this high dignity of Lord Chancellour of *England*, not with little diſcontent of the Iudges and profeſſors of the Law, who ſince Church-men had bin depriued and diſmiſt of that honour, had iudiciouſly diſcharged that place, with no leſſe glory and equity, than prudence and diſcretion, which is the ſupreme magiſtracy of the Law; yet in former times paſt it was oftner prouided for with Eccleſiaſticall men, and Nobles, than of others: Neuertheleſſe, though Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* had been aduanced to that place, by the ſubtill art of ſome Courtiers, who hoped, that by his abſence from Court, and the difficulty he ſhould haue to exerciſe duly ſo high and ſo weighty a Magiſtracy, ſhould weare out and diminiſh the great fauour he was in neere Queene ELIZABETH. Neuertheleſſe, hee behaued himſelfe in that high Seat of Iuſtice, diſcreetly and worthily, to the well-liking of the Queene, and admiration of all her Subiects, diſcharging that Dignity with as great magnificence and honour, as any whatſoeuer had done before him, ſtudying to ſupply by equitie, that which he wanted in the knowledge of the Law.

is made Lord High Chancellor.

Sir *Iohn Perot* being this yeere ſent for out of *Ireland*, left that Kingdome very peaceable to Sir *William Fitz-Williams*: for he had drawne from thoſe perſons whom hee ſuſpected to be apt to rebell, oathes and hoſtages, which they as ſoone granted vnto him, as hee demanded; for, not ſeeming any way to fauour rebellion, hee impriſoned diuers *Iriſh* Rebels; and ſuch as were more dangerouſly giuen to rebellion, he hanged them, ſhewing & admoniſhing the reſt of their duety, and the fidelity which they ought to their Soueraigne in ſo doubtfull a time. The *Iriſh* ſeeing the ſincere loue, reſpect, and affection he bore to them who were true

William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputie of Ireland for the ſame time.

Booke 3.

The reaſon why it is a difficult thing to War againſt Ireland.

true ſubiects, moſt willingly lent their eares thereunto, and were true obſeruers of his inſtructions.

Hitherto (that I may a little ſtray) were the *Iriſh* warres very eaſie to the *Engliſh*: and eight hundred foot, with three hundred horſe, were eſteemed an inuincible Army: For *Randolph*, with ſixe hundred *Engliſh*, with much facility defeated *O-Neale* with foure thouſand *Iriſh*. *Collier*, in the yeere 1571. with his onely one Company, preuayled likewiſe againſt one thouſand *Hebridians* in *Connach*. The *Butlers*, with a great Company of the Rebels, were ouerthrowne by three hundred Horſe-men. And (to paſſe the reſt ouer) two Companies of foot, ſurprized in one day aboue twenty of the *Iriſh* Caſtels. But after that the *Perots* had by command daily exerciſed themſelues at home in their owne Countrey, and were well inſtructed in the diſcipline of Armes, and in the vſe of their Muskets, to reſiſt the *Hebridians*, and being practized in the wars of the *Netherlands*, had learned the arts of fortification, they vexed the *Engliſh* (as wee ſhall finde) with a difficult and dangerous warre.

THE

THE THIRTIETH

and most maruelous yere of her *Reigne*,
the euer-remembred Yeere of the Lord.

Anno Dom. 1588.



TO this admirable yeere of Christ 1588. are we now arriued: Which by *Regiomontanus* the Astrologian, was foretold about a hundred yeeres before, to be a *Yeere of Wonders*; and by the Germane Chronologers to be the *Climacterical yeere of the World.* The rumors of warres, which were before but slender relations, began now daily to be augmented, and were now become, not as before, a variable report, but an assured

A wonderfull and admirable Yeere.

Booke 3.

1588.

Great preparations are in hand in Spaine to assault and inuade England.

sured certainty by the generall voice of all men; that the *Spaniard* had prepared a most inuincible Nauy against *England*; and had out of *Italy*, *Sicilie*, and also *America*, gathered into *Spaine* the old experienced Commanders, such as were most famous Captaines, skilfull in military affaires.

By What counsell.

For the Pope of *Rome*, with certaine religious and deuout *Spaniards*, and some *English* Fugitiues, had long agoe diligently exhorted the *Spaniard* to inuade and conquer *England*, but that counsell was by the *Portugals* warres for tenne yeeres before interrupted; which now they carefully reiterated, and with much instigation perswaded him; that since Heauen had heaped vpon him infinite benefits and blessings, by subiecting to his Empire the Kingdome of *Portugall*, with the *East-India*, and many other wealthy Ilands; that it was now his part, of duety to enterprize something, which might bee agreeable and pleasing to God. That there could be nothing more acceptable to God, nor ought more worthy himselfe, than the aduancing of his Church. That the Church could not with more glory and merit be aduanced, than by the conquest of *England*, and there, by the extirpation of Heresie, to plant the Roman Catholique Religion. That these warres would be most iust, not onely becaus they were most necessary, but becaus they were vndertaken to propagate the Religion of Christ, seeing that the Queene of *England* being excommunicated, notwithstanding obstinately persisted against the Church of *Rome*, had succoured the Rebels in the *Netherlands*, molested the *Spaniards* with continuall pyracies, had surprized and pillaged diuers townes both in *Spaine* and *America*, and lately, violating the Maiesty of all Princes, had caused the Queene of *Scots* to be put to death: Therefore such warres should bee no lesse profitable than iust.

Becaus by this meanes the King of *Spaine*, making addi-

tion

tion to his Empire of the most flourishing Kingdomes, he might easily extinguish the *Netherlandish* Rebellion, which was nourished (as it were) by the breath of *England*, hee should assure to himself the voyages to both *India's* in safetie, and so lessen the annuall expences, laid out for the conuoying of his Fleetes forward and backward. To prooue this to him with more facility, they suggested that the *English* Nauy was neither in number, greatnesse, nor strength, comparable to the *Spanish*, (the *Portugall* Fleet being then added.) That *England* was altogether vnfortified, neyther was it furnished with Commanders, Souldiers, Horse, or prouision for warres, but destitute both of friends and money; besides, there were many through the Kingdome, which were addicted to Papistrie, and would soone ioyne themselues in his ayde. Last of all, so great were the forces of the King of *Spaine*, both by Sea and Land, and the vertue of the *Spaniards* such, that none would dare to oppose him, and therefore they promised assuredly a certaine victory. To this enterprise also, that God had presented a fit opportunity: for the Turke hauing then cõcluded a truce with him, and the *French* beeing intangled with intestine warres, were neither to be doubted or feared. That it was more facile to subdue *England* than the Low-Countries; because the passage out of *Spaine* into *England*, is more short and commodious, and through a vast and open Sea, but into the *Netherlands* of greater length and difficultie, through a narrow Sea, and very neere adiacent to *England*. That the *Netherlands* were in a manner continually a strong Bulwarke, being on all parts fortified with Townes and Castles, but *England* not with any; and therefore it would be an easie matter euen at the first, in an instant, for him to penetrate to the very heart of the Land with an Army. Finally, according to that military Axiome: *That the Enemy should not be left behinde*; therefore it was most necessary for the *Spaniard* to subdue *England*, being a mortall

The reason why.

Booke 3. 1588.

tall enemy, by whoſe aſſiſtance the Low-Countries had ſo long ſuſtained a great warre; and with whom they could not at all ſtand; So that if *England* were but once conquered, the *Netherlands* muſt of neceſſity yeeld to ſubiection.

They conſult about the meanes how to aſſault and ſubdue England.

Theſe matters thus reſolued, they began ſeriouſly to deliberate vpon ſome meanes for the inuaſion of *England*. *Aluarus Baſſanus*, Marqueſſe of *Santa Croix*, Generall of the Nauy, was of a minde; That before all, ſome Port or other in *Holland* or *Zealand*, ſhould by thoſe Land-troupes which the Prince of *Parma* had, and ſome few *Spaniſh* Ships ſent before, be vnawares to them ſurprized, where the *Spaniſh* Fleete might make their retreate, and from thence moſt opportunely begin the inuaſion, becauſe that in the *Brittiſh* Sea, being tempeſtuous, the windes are ſubiect to often changing, the ebbing and flowing thereof principally to be obſerued, the Fleete could not ſafely ride. Of this aduice likewiſe was the Prince of *Parma*, who earneſtly vrged this expedition. Others notwithſtanding diſallowed thereof, as being a thing difficult, full of danger, requiring much time, great labour, large expence, yet vncertaine of ſucceſſe; neyther could it be done ſecretly or vnawares, and by the *Engliſh* would eaſily be hindred and fruſtrated. And theſe were of opinion; That one might at leſſe charges, and with more facilitie, aſſault and ſubdue *England*, if at the mouth of the *Thames* a puiſſant Army of *Spaniards* and *Flemmings* were placed and conuayed in a powerfull Nauy, to take at the firſt (vnawares) the City of *London*, the Capitall and Chiefe of the Kingdome. This ſeeming eaſie, was reſolued vpon, and ſpeedily determined to be put in execution; yet ſome, neuertheleſſe, were of a mind, that war ſhould firſt be proclaymed by a *Herauld*, and that in ſo doing, it would be a ſleight to take away all ſuſpition from all Neighbouring-Princes, and moue the Queene to call to her helpe, forreine ſouldiers,

ſouldiers, (who as mercenary, being inſolent and vile) would behaue themſelues rudely, and tumultuouſly, ranſacking and pillaging the Countries in ſuch ſort, that it would take away the loue of her Subiects, and put *England* in confuſion. But theſe mindes were not ſeconded by thoſe who were obſtinate, as relying vpon the aſſurance of their forces and ſtrength, contenting themſelues to put their cauſe, their Nauy, & Armada's into the Popes hand, and into the interceſſions of the Catholiques to the Saints; and to affright and terrifie *England*, they ſet out a Libell, printed, containing the particulars of ſo great an equipage, which truely was ſuch, that in *Spaine*, *Italy*, and *Cicilia*, the *Spaniards* were amazed, & aſtoniſhed at it; and therefore audaciouſly termed it:

The inuincible NAVY.

Preparation in Flanders.

The Duke of *Parma* cauſed alſo Ships to bee built in *Flanders* by the commandement of the *Spaniard*, and likewiſe a number of Flat-bottom'd Boats, each of them bigge enough to tranſport thirtie Horſes, with Bridges fitting to them; hyred Mariners out of the Eaſt-Land Countries of *Germany*; prouided Pikes ſharpened at the one end, and ſhod with Iron, with hookes on one ſide; twenty thouſand Veſſels, and an infinite number of Wicker Baskets, and placed in the Sea-Townes of *Flanders*, one hundred and three Companies of foot, and foure thouſand horſe, amongſt which were ſeuen hundred *Engliſh* Fugitiues, a moſt contemned and deſpiſed Company; Neyther were *Stanley* their Generall, nor *Weſtmerland*, nor any other who had aſſiſted eyther with purſe or perſon, regarded: but for their impietie againſt their Countrey, prohibited all acceſſe, and deſeruedly, and as ill preſages, not without deteſtation, reiected. And Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, leſt hee ſhould ſeeme to be wanting, renewes vnto Cardinall *Alane*

Traytors hated.

Booke 3.

1588.

The Popes assistance.

(an *English* man, sent into the Low-Countries) [*The Declaratory Bulls of* Pius *the Fifth*, and Gregorie *the Thirteenth*,] excommunicates the Queene, deposes her from her gouernement, absolues her Subiects from their allegiance, publisheth in print the [*Crusado*] as against Turks and Infidels, whereby out of the Treasury of the Church, hee bestowes vpon all assistants plenarie indulgence: whereupon the Marqueſſe of [*Burgaw*] of the House of *Austria*, the Duke of *Pastraua*, *Amadæus* of *Sauoy*, *Vespasian Gonzaga*, *Iohn de Medices*, and diuers other noble Gentlemen serued in this warre as Volunteers.

Preparation in England

On the other side, Queene ELIZABETH, lest shee should be vnawares oppreſt, with singular diligence prepares as many ships and warlike necessaries as was possible. And shee her-selfe (who was of a piercing iudgement in distinguishing of dispositions, and when shee was at her owne election, without commendation of others, alwaies happy) designed by name the principall Officers to the seuerall Offices in the Nauie; and made *Charles Howard* of [*Effingham*] Lord high Admirall of *England*, Generall; of whose good succeſſe shee was very well perswaded, as a man whom she knew to be skilfull in Nauigation, prouident, valiant, industrious, and of great authority amongst Sea-men, by reason both of his moderation and Nobility.

By Sea,

Shee sends him seasonably enough to the West parts of *England*; where *Drake*, whom shee made Vice-Admirall, ioyned himselfe with him; Shee commands *Henrie Seimor*, the second sonne of the Duke of *Sommerset*, to lye in waite vpon the *Belgique* shores, with fortie Ships, *English* and *Dutch*, to hinder *Parma's* comming out of the Riuers with his forces; Although there wanted not some who earnestly aduised to expect the Enemy, and receiue him in a Land-battel, as it was deliberated in HENRY the Eighth's Reigne, when the *French* threatned *England* with a mightie Nauy.

For

For the Land-ſeruice, there were twenty thouſand Souldiers diſperſed vpon the South ſhores: beſides, two Armies of choyce trained Souldiers were leuied and enrolled; Of the one conſiſting of one thouſand horſe, and two and twenty thouſand foot; *Leiceſter* was Generall, and had his Campe at *Tilbury*, not far from the mouth of the *Thames*; (for the Enemy had certainely determined to approch *London* firſt.) And of the other which conſiſted of thirtie foure thouſand foote, and two thouſand horſe for the Queenes guard, ſhee made the Baron of *Hunſdon* Generall.

Conſultation for defence.

Arthur, Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knollys*, Sir *Iohn Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, Knights, great and expert Souldiers, were appointed to conſult about the Land-ſeruice; They aduized, That all thoſe places which were fit for the Enemies approch, eyther from *Spaine*, or the *Low-Countries*, as, *Milford-Hauen*, *Falmouth*, *Plimouth*, *Portland*, the *Ile of Wight*, *Portſmouth*, the *Downes* vpon the Shore of *Kent*, the *Thames mouth*, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, *&c.* ſhould be fortified with workes and with Garriſons; that the trayned Souldiers vpon all the Sea-coaſts, ſhould meet, vpon giuing a ſigne, to defend theſe places, they ſhould with all their endeuour hinder the Enemies landing; But if hee ſhould happen to land, that they ſhould waſte the Countrey farre and neere, ſpoyle euery thing that was vſefull, that he might finde no victuals but what he brought vpon his ſhoulders; and to keepe the Enemy continually buſied and diſtracted with aſſiduous alarmes, and crying, [*Arme, arme,*] day and night; But that they ſhould not fight till other Commanders ſhould ioyne their forces with them; That amongſt the Leaders, they ſhould nominate one which ſhould command the forces of euery ſeuerall Prouince: But it is ſuperfluous to ſet downe in particular what inland Prouinces were appoynted to guard both the ſhores, what number, what armes, and what manner

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manner of fight was prescribed by them.

And concerning the Papists at home.

About this time, there were diuers who made often remonstrances to the Queene, that the *Spaniards* were not more dreadfull abroad, than the Pontificians dangerous at home; for that the *Spaniards* had not dared to haue entr d into hostility with *England*, but vpon confidence of and from them, and therefore that [some pretences were tobe deuised to make them shorter by the head;] alledging the example of HENRY the Eighth, when the Emperour and the French King, vpon the Popes instigation, were ready to inuade *England*; Presently, as soone as hee had caused the Marquesse of *Exceter*, the Baron *Montacute*, *Edw. Neuill*, and others, whom hee suspected to fauor the Enemy, to be executed, the inuasion fell with them; but shee refusing this counsell, as too cruell, thought it sufficient to commit to prison to [*Wisbich*] in the Fen-Countries, certaine of the Pontificians, and those none of prime note neyther. And hauing an eye and a care of euery place, with frequent Letters excites those of the Nobility and Gentry, which were without them ready enough, giues instruction what was to be done in *Ireland* by [*Fitz-Williams*] the Deputy; Admonisheth the King of *Scotland*, both by his owne Seruants, and her Messengers to be vigilant ouer the Papists, and *Spanish* Faction in his Country: But hee well knowing how great a tempest and destruction threatned him, out of his perpetuall loue to true Religion, and the Queene, of his owne accord, had now before refused to giue audience to the Bishop of *Dunblan*, sent to him from the Bishop of *Rome*; and had caused a League to be made amongst the Protestants in *Scotland* to resist the *Spaniards*; And hee himselfe, marching with his Army into [*Annand*] hauing taken *Maxwels* campe, who contrary to his faith giuen, was then lately returned out of *Spaine*; and enclining to the *Spanish* faction, caused him to be cast into prison, proclaymed the *Spaniards* Enemies, and with

The King of Scotlands alacrity against the Spaniards.

with great alacrity prouided armes against them.

Amongst these great preparations of Warre on both sides, ouertures of peace were neuertheleſſe made. About two yeeres before, when the Prince of *Parma* had considered with himselfe how difficult a thing it was to end the Low-Countrey warre, while they were daily aided with supplies from the Queene, had by Letters (vsing also the assistance of *Iames Crofts*, a Priuy-Counceller, a man very studious of peace, and of *Andrew Loe*, and others) seriously negotiated for a treaty of peace, and that hee had authority from the *Spaniard* to that purpose; Shee fearing that this was but a pretence, whereby to make a breach of friendship betwixt her and the Confederate-Prouinces, and secretly to draw them to the *Spaniard*, deferred the matter for a time. But now that the imminent warre might be auerted and auoyded, she resolued to treat of peace, but with the Sword in her hand, and the Duke of *Parma* refused not the treaty.

Booke 3.

Conference of peace in the meane time.

Therefore, in February, there were sent into *Flanders*, *Henrie*, Earle of *Derby*, *William Brooke*, Lord *Cobham*, *Iames Crofts*, Controller of her Houshold, *Valentine Dale*, and *Iames Rogers*, Doctors of the Lawes, who being with all humility receiued in the Dukes name, they forthwith sent *Dale* vnto him, to consult of the place of meeting, and to peruse his Commission from the *Spaniard*. Hee appointed a place neere to [*Ostend*,] not in [*Ostend*] it selfe, which was now held against the King by the *English*; and promised to shew his Commission at the meeting. He aduized them to be speedy, lest something might fall out which might disturbe or interrupt the treaty of peace. *Richardot* said openly, [That hee knew not what might bee done to *England* in the meane time.] Not long after, *Rogers* was sent to the Prince, by the Queenes expresse commandment, to know certainly, if the designe for the inuasion of *England* were yet enterprized, which both hee and

Commissioners sent to that end into Flanders.

Booke 3.

Richardot ſeemed to intend. Hee affirmed, That hee had not ſo much as thought of the inuaſion of *England*. When he deſired a quicke diſpatch and expedition of that affaire, hee blamed in ſome manner *Richardot*, who was ſorry to haue vttered any ſuch words concerning *Englands* inuaſion.

Propoſitions of the Engliſh anſwered.

The twelfth of Aprill, the Earle of *Arenberg*, *Champigny*, *Richardot*, Doctor *Maeſie*, and *Garnier*, Commiſſioners from the Duke of *Parma*, ſat in Commiſſion with the *Engliſh* vnder Tents, neere the Towne of *Oſtend*, to whom they gaue place and precedence; and after their proteſtations that the Duke had full power giuen him to treate and conclude a Peace, the *Engliſh* propounded to them, that before all things it was requiſite to embrace a truce. But they refuſed it, alledging, that if a Peace was not forthwith concluded, it would be preiudicious to the *Spaniard*, who ſince ſixe moneths, had to their great charges maintained a puiſſant Army. The *Engliſh* inſiſting, replyed, that that Peace was promiſed, before thoſe troupes were conueyed into *Flanders*. They anſwered againe, that it was true, they had promiſed it ſixe moneths agoe, but that it was not then accepted. Moreouer, that it was not in the Queenes power to vndertake it for the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, who daily acted deeds of hoſtility. But the *Engliſh* maintained, that it would be generall for all the Queenes Dominions, and likewiſe for the Kingdome of *Scotland*. Yet they neuertheleſſe would not agree thereunto, but meerely for thoſe foure Cities which the Queen then had in poſſeſſion, as *Oſtend*, *Fluſhing*, *Bergen vp Zoom*, and the *Breele*, and that during the ſaid Treaty, and twentie dayes after, prouided that in the meane while it was lawfull to the Queene of *England* to aſſault *Spaine*, and to the King of *Spaine* to inuade *England*, as well out of *Spaine*, as of *Flanders*. During that time thus runned in ſpeech about this Truce, and the place appoynted for the conference,

which

which at last was appoynted at *Bourbourgh*, Sir *W. Crofts*, who for the great desire hee had of peace, was gone to *Bruxels*, without the knowledge of the rest of the Commissioners, propounded in particular some Articles, for which hee afterwards was imprisoned vpon the Earle of *Leicesters* accusation (though that to the iudgement of others, hee ought not to haue beene reproued or disauowed) (yet it is not lawfull to Commissioners to exceede the limits of their Commissions prescribed vnto them.) Finally, the *English* seeing they could not obtaine a full and intyre cessation of Armes, nor to see at all the Commission containing power for the Duke of *Parma* to treat of peace, they propounded:

THat *the ancient alliances betweene the Kings of* England, *and the Dukes of* Burgundie, *might be renewed and confirmed. That the* Flemmings *might peaceably enioy their priuiledges, and serue God with libertie of conscience. That the* Spaniards, *and other strangers might be sent out of* Flanders, *to ridde the* Flemmings, *and the neighbouring-Prouinces of all feare: And that if they would grant these things, the* Queene, *to shew that shee had not taken vp Armes for her owne particular interest, but for the necessary defence both of the* Flemmings, *and her selfe, would willingly hearken vnto any reasonable conditions touching the Townes which shee then possessed in the Low-Countries, paying the mony which shee had laide out about them.*

Whereunto the Dukes Deputies answered:

THat *when it would please them friendly to conferre with them about the renewing of their ancient alliances, there should be no disagree-*

Booke 3.

ment in that regard. That ſtranger Princes had nothing to doe with the Flemmings *priuiledges, of grace graunted as well vnto the reconciled Townes and Prouinces, as vnto the reſt which by force of Armes haue beene brought vnto obedience. That their ſtranger-Souldiers were of neceſſitie retained there, becauſe they were vp in armes both in* Holland, England, *and* France. *As for Townes taken from the King, and expences of money, the King of Spaine might well demand recompence of the Queene, of many thouſands of Crownes ſpent in the warres of the Low-Countries ſince her aſſiſting and taking into her protection the rebellious* Flemmings.

Complaint made vnto the Duke of Parma.

About this time, Dr. *Dale*, by the Queens cõmandement, was ſent vnto the Duke, to make a friendly complaint vnto him of a Booke lately ſet forth by one *Allin*, an *Engliſh* Cardinall, by which hee admoniſhed the Nobles and people of *England* and *Ireland*, to ioyne with the forces of *Spaine* vnder the Dukes conduct, for the execution of Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth his Sentence publiſhed by a Bull againſt the Queene, by which he declared her an Heretique illegitimate, and cruell againſt the Queene of *Scots*, &c. and commanded her Subiects to aſſiſt the Duke againſt her. Many of thoſe Bulls were printed at *Antwerpe*, to be diſperſed in *England*. The Duke made him anſwere, that hee had not ſeene any ſuch Booke or Bull, and that hee would not vndertake any thing in the Popes name, yet that hee was to obey his King. Moreouer, that he honoured and admired ſo much the Queene for her Royall vertues, that next vnto the King, he made more account of her Maieſtie, than of any other Prince. That hee had counſelled the King to treate of that peace which would be more profitable to the *Engliſh* than to the *Spaniards*; for, (quoth hee) if the *Spaniards* be ouercome, they can eaſily recouer their loſſe again:

but

but if you be once vanquished, your Kingdome is vtterly lost. Whereupon Doctor *Dale* replyed, That the Queene was powerfull enough to defend her Kingdome, and that himselfe might well iudge, according to his graue wisdome, that shee could not easily be ouerthrowne by the losse of one battell, seeing the King of *Spaine* himselfe, by so long a warre, could not as yet recouer the inheritance of his Ancestors in the Low-Countries. Well, (said hee) these things are in the hands of the Almightie God.

Afterwards, the Commissioners had many conferences and alterations, and, as it were, weaued the same webbe againe. When the *English* desired a toleration of Religion to be granted but for two yeres to the [*Vnited Prouinces*,] it was answered, That [as the *Spaniard* interceded not in the like kinde for the *English* Catholikes: so they hoped that the Queene, in her owne wisedome, would forbeare to request any thing of the *Spaniard* preiudiciall to his honour, his oath, and his conscience.] When they required re-payment of the money which the States of *Brabant* owed the Queene, they answered, That [that money was lent without the Kings priuity or authoritie. But all accounts beeing cast vp, it might appeare both how much that money was, and how much the King had spent in this warre, to whom more ought to be paid.] By such kinde of answeres, they deluded the *English*, vntill the Spanish *ARMADA* approched the coast of *England*, and the thunder of their Ordnance was heard from the Sea. Then receiuing a conuoy from the Prince, (who, during this treatie, had brought almost all his forces to the shore) by his Commissioners were honourably conducted to the borders neere *Calais*. So vanished this treatie into nothing; vndertaken by the Queene (as the wisest sort of men iudged) to auert the Spanish *Fleete*, continued by the *Spaniard*, to surprize *England* vnawares, & vnprouided: so that both of them seemed to sew the *Foxes* tale to the *Lyons* skin.

The conference breakes vp.

Booke 3.

The Spanish Armada

That Spanish *ARMADA*, the greatest and best furnished with men, munition, and all warlike preparations that euer the Ocean did see, and arrogantly named *Inuincible*, consisted of one hundred and thirtie ships, in which were nineteene thousand, two hundred and ninety souldiers, eight thousand, three hundred and fiftie Mariners; two thousand eightie Gally-slaues chayned, two thousand, six hundred and thirty peeces of great Ordnance. The Generall was *Alphonsus Perez Guzman*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*. (For *Antonius Columna*, Duke of *Palian*, of *S. Cruz*, or of the holy Crosse, designed Generall, dyed during the preparation) and vnder him was *Iohn Martinus Recaldus*, a most skilfull Nauigator. The

28. *Maij.* third before the Calends of Iune, they loosed from out of the Riuer of *Tagus*, and

Sets forth, and is dispersed. bending their course towards the *Groin* in *Galicia*, by a strong tempest they were dispersed, three Gallies with three Oares on a seat,

The Spanish Forces to assault *England*.

The number of the Gallions of *Portugall*.

THe Gallion S. Martin, *as Captaine Generall, and principall of the Fleet, was of the burthen of one thousand tunne, there were in her three hundred choyce Souldiers, one hundred and seuentie Mariners, and she caried fiftie pieces of Ordnance.*

S. Iohns *Gallion, called the Admirall generall, of the burthen of one thousand and fiftie tunne, had in her two hundred thirty one souldiers, one hundred seuentie nine mariners, and fiftie Canons.*

S. Markes *Gallion, of the burthen of seuen hundred ninety two tunne, with two hundred ninety two Souldiers, and one hundred and seuenteene mariners.*

The Gallion S. Philip, *of eight hundred tunne, foure hundred and fifteene souldiers, and fortie Canons.*

The Gallion S. Lewis, *of eight hundred and thirtie tunne, with three hundred seuenty sixe souldiers, one hundred and sixteene mariners, and forty Canons.*

S. Matthews *Gallion, of seuen hundred and fifty tunne, with two hundred seuenty seuen souldiers, two hundred mariners, and fortie Canons.*

S. Iames *Gallion, of fiue hundred and twenty tunne, with three hundred souldiers, one hundred mariners, and thirty Canons.*

The Gallion of Florence, *of nine hundred sixty one tunne, with foure hundred souldiers, one hundred mariners, and fiftie two canons.*

S. Christophers *Gallion, of three hundred fiftie two tunne, with three hundred souldiers, ninety mariners, and thirty Canons.*

S. Bernards *Gallion, of three hundred fifty two tunne, and two hundred and eight souldiers, one hundred mariners, and thirtie canons.*

The Ship called Zabra Augusta, *of one hundred sixty sixe tunne, with fifty fiue souldiers, fifty seuen mariners, and thirteene canons.*

The other Zabra, *called* Iulia, *of one hundred*

dred sixty sixe tunne, with fifty souldiers, and seuenty two mariners, and foureteene canons.

The whole body of the Portugall Fleet, consisted of twelue Vessels, viz. *tenne Gallions, and two Zabra's, the whole burthen whereof, made vp the number of seuen thousand seuen hundred thirty seuen tunne, and three thousand three hundred thirty souldiers, one thousand two hundred thirty three mariners, and three hundred and fifty canons, with all other necessaries, as Bullets, Powder, Match, &c.*

The Fleete of *Biscay*, commanded by the Generall, Don *Iean Martinez*, de *Ricalde*.

THE Admirall, called Saint Anne, *of seuen hundred sixty eight tunne, with three hundred twenty three souldiers, one hundred and foureteene mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Admirall Grangrina, *of one thousand one hundred sixtie tunne, with three hundred souldiers, one hundred mariners, and thirtie sixe canons.*

S. Iago, *of sixe hundred sixty sixe tunne, with two hundred and fifty souldiers, one hundred and two mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Conception of Zebeleu, *of foure hundred sixty eight tunne, one hundred souldiers, seuenty Mariners, and twenty canons.*

The Conception of Iohn, *of foure hundred and eighteene tunne, one hundred sixtie foure souldiers, seuenty mariners, and twenty foure canons.*

The Magdalen *of* Iohn Francesco d' Ayala, *of fiue hundred and thirty tunne, two hundred souldiers, seuen mariners, and twenty two canons.*

S. Iohn, *of three hundred and fifty tunne, one hundred thirty souldiers, one hundred mariners, and twenty foure canons.*

The Ship called the Mary, *of one hundred sixtie three tunne, one hundred and eightie souldiers, one hundred mariners, and twentie foure canons.*

Another,

seat, beeing by the industry of *Dauid Guin*, an *English* slaue, and the perfidiousnesse of the Turkish Gally-slaues, carried to the coast of *Frãce*, after some time, with great difficulty met at the *Groin*, and the Hauens thereabouts. So distressed and weather-beaten was it, as it was reported, that the Queene was constantly resolued not to expect it that yeere, and Secretary *Walsingham* wrote to the Lord Admirall, (as if the Warre were at an end) to send back foure of the greatest Ships. Hee (a man not very credulous) excusing himselfe fairely, intreated him not to beleeue any thing in so important a matter, without mature deliberation; and desired that hee might retaine them, though at his owne charges. And hauing a prosperous winde, sayled towards *Spaine*, with hope to surprize the Weather-beaten ships in the Harbours. When he was almost vpon the coasts of *Spaine*, the winde became South: and hee, who was commanded to defend the *English* shores,

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shores, fearing lest they with the same wind might arriue in *England* vnespied, returned to *Plimouth*.

Sets out againe.

With the same wind, the twelfth of *Iuly*, according to the *Iulian* computation, the Duke of *Medina*, with his whole Fleet, weighed ancor againe, and set forward from the *Groin*. About two dayes after, he sent before into the Low-Countries, *Roderick Telius*, to aduertize the Duke of *Parma* of the approch of the *ARMADA*, and to informe him of other needfull businesse. For hee had commandement to ioyne himselfe with the Forces and Fleete of the Prince of *Parma*, and to waft them ouer into *England*, vnder the protection of his *Armada*, and to set on shore his land-forces at the mouth of the *Thames*. Now what was done euery seuerall day in this Nauigation, according to the most credible relations, both of the *Spaniards*, and our owne Countreymen, that the truth may more cleerely appeare, I wil briefly deliuer.

The

Another, called the Manuel, *of fiue hundred and twenty tunne, one hundred and thirty souldiers, forty three mariners, and sixteene canons.*

A Ship called S. Mary *of* Monte Maior, *of seuen hundred and seuen tunne, two hundred and twenty souldiers, fifty mariners, and sixteene Canons.*

Other Vessels belonging to this Fleet, called *Pinnaces*.

THe *Pinnace, called the* Mary *of* Aguirra, *of seuenty tunne, thirty souldiers, twenty three mariners, and tenne canons.*

A Ship named Isabella, *of seuentie one tunne, thirty souldiers, thirty two mariners, and twelue canons.*

The Pinnace, called the Miguel de Susa, *of ninety sixe tunne, thirty souldiers, twenty sixe mariners, and twelue canons.*

The Pinnace of S. Stephano, *of seuentie eight tunne, thirty souldiers, twenty sixe mariners, and twelue canons.*

This whole Fleete consisted of foureteene Vessels, tenne great, and foure lesser, called Pinnaces, their whole burthen amounted to sixe thousand fiue hundred sixty seuen tunne, two thousand thirty seuen souldiers, eight hundred sixty three mariners, which make vp two thousand eight hundred and two. Also, two hundred canons, one thousand one hundred and ninety bullets, foure hundred sixtie seuen quintalls of powder, euery quintall accounted for one hundred twenty fiue weight, one hundred and forty of bullets, and eighty nine of match.

The Fleete of *Castile*, whereof *Diego Flores de Valdes* was Generall.

THe *Gallion generall, called the* Christopher, *of seuen hundred tunne, hauing in her two hundred and fiue souldiers, one hun-*

dred

dred and two mariners, and thirty canons.

The Gallion S. Iohn Baptiſt, *of ſeuen hundred and fifty tunne, with two hundred and fifty ſouldiers, one hundred and fortie mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Gallion S. Peter, *of fiue hundred and thirty tunne, with one hundred and thirty ſouldiers, one hundred and forty mariners, and forty canons.*

S. Iohns *Gallion, of fiue hundred and thirty tunne, with one hundred and ſeuenty ſouldiers, and one hundred and twenty mariners, and forty canons.*

The Gallion S. Iago el Maior, *of fiue hundred and thirty tunne, with two hundred and thirty ſouldiers, one hundred thirty two mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Gallion S. Philip *and S.* Iago, *of two hundred and thirty tunne, with one hundred and fifty ſouldiers, one hundred and ſixteene mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Gallion S. Medela, *and* Celedonia, *of fiue hundred and thirty tunne, with one hundred and ſeuenty ſouldiers, one hundred and tenne mariners, and thirty canons.*

S. Annes *Gallion, of two hundred and fifty tunne, with one hundred ſouldiers, eighty nine mariners, and twenty foure canons.*

Our Lady of Vigenia, *of ſeuen hundred and fifty tunne, with one hundred and ninety ſouldiers, one hundred mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Ship called the Trinity, *of ſeuen hundred and eighty tunne, with two hundred ſouldiers, one hundred twenty two mariners, and thirty canons.*

The S. Katherina, *of eight hundred ſixty two tunne, with two hundred ſouldiers, one hundred and ſixty mariners, and thirty canons.*

The S. Iohn Baptiſt, *of ſixe hundred fifty two tunne, with two hundred ſouldiers, and one hundred and thirty mariners, and thirty canons.*

Our Lady of Roſaria, *called the Pinnace, with thirty ſouldiers, twenty ſixe mariners, and twenty foure canons.*

The Pinnace called S. Anthony *of* Padua, *with three hundred ſouldiers, and fortie ſixe mariners, and ſixteene canons.*

The

The ſixteenth day, there was a great calme, and a thicke cloud couered the ſea till noone, and then a ſtrong North-winde blew, then a South-winde till mid-night, and then an Eaſt: So that the *ARMADA* beeing much ſcattered, could hardly re-collect it ſelfe, till it came within ſight of *England*, which was the nineteenth day of the moneth: which day the Lord High-Admirall of *England*, being certainely aduertized by Captaine *Flemming*, that the Spaniſh Fleet was come into the *Britiſh* ſea, (vulgarly called the Channell,) and diſcouered not farre from the *Lizard*, the winde then keeping the *Engliſh* Nauy in the Port, with great difficulty, and no leſſe induſtry, and alacrity of the mariners, (himſelfe not diſdaining to pull at the hawſer amongſt the common Souldiers) at length brought them into the open Sea.

The Engliſh Nauy ſets out.

The next day, the *Engliſh* came within ken of the *Spaniſh ARMADA*, built high like Towres and Caſtles,

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rallied into the forme of a Crescent, whose horns were at least seuen miles distant, comming slowly on, and although vnder full sayles, yet as though the windes laboured, and the Ocean sighed vnder the burthen of it, the *English* purposely suffered them to passe by them, that they might pursue them with a fauouring gale of winde.

The first fight.

The one and twentieth of Iuly, the Lord high Admirall of *England*, sending before him a Pinnace called the *Defiance*, by discharging a peece of Ordnance out of her, prouoked them to the fight, and presently out of his Ship called the *Arke-Royall*, the *Admirall* thundred vpon a *Spanish* Ship, which hee thought to haue beene the *Admirall* of *Spaine*, but was the Ship of *Alphonso Leua*. At the same instant, *Drake*, *Hawkins*, *Furbisher*, peale terribly vpon the Reare which *Ricaldus* commanded; who performed all the parts of a valiant and discreete Commander, to stay the Ships vnder

The number of this whole Fleet of Castille, consisted of foureteene Gallions, and two pinnaces; their entyre burthen amounting to eight thousand seuen hundred thirty foure tunne, hauing in it two thousand foure hundred eighty fiue souldiers, one thousand seuen hundred and nineteene mariners, together amounting to foure thousand one hundred seuenty seuen men, and three hundred eightie foure canons, with all other necessaries, and bullets, powder, and match.

The equipage of the ships of *Andeluzia*, commanded by the Generall D. *Pedro Valdes*.

THe *Admirall Ship*, *of one thousand one hundred and fifty tunne, hauing in it fifty souldiers, one hundred and eighteene mariners, with fiftie pieces of canons.*

The S. Francis, *of nine hundred and fifteene tunne, with two hundred and thirty souldiers, sixtie mariners, and thirtie canons.*

The Gallion S. Iohn Baptist, *of one hundred & ten tun, with two hundred and fifty souldiers, twenty mariners, and forty canons.*

The S. Iohn Gargaren, *of fiue hundred and nine tunne, with one hundred and seuentie souldiers, sixty mariners, and twentie cannons.*

A Ship called the Conception, *of eighty tunne, with two hundred souldiers, sixty fiue mariners, and twenty fiue canons.*

The Beare, or Ship called S. Anne, *of nine hundred tunne, with three hundred souldiers, eighty mariners, and thirtie canons.*

The S. Katherina, *of seuen hundred and thirty tun, with two hundred and fifty souldiers, eighty mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Trinitie, *of fiftie tun, with two hundred souldiers, twenty mariners, and thirtie canons.*

The S. Mary de Iuncar, *of seuen hundred and thirtie tunne, with two hundred and forty souldiers, eighty mariners, and twenty foure canons.*

The

The S. Bartholomew, *of nine hundred seuenty sixe tunne, with twenty fiue souldiers, eighty mariners, and thirtie canons.*

A Pinnace called the holy Ghost, with forty souldiers, thirty three mariners, ten cannons, and well stored with bullets, powder, and other necessaries.

This Fleet consisted of ten Gallions, one Pinnace, which in burthen amounted altogether to eight thousand seuen hundred and two tunne, hauing in it two thousand foure hundred souldiers, eight hundred mariners, two hundred and sixty canons, and all other necessaries thereunto belonging.

The Fleete of *Guypuscoa*, by *D. Michell de Quendo.*

THe *Generalls Ship, called S.* Anne, *of one thousand two hundred tunne, hauing in it thirty souldiers, ninety mariners, and fifty canons.*

The Admirall, called the Lady of Roses, *of nine hundred forty fiue tunne, with two hundred and thirty souldiers, sixty foure mariners, and thirty canons.*

The S. Sauiour, *of nine hundred fiftie eight tunne, with thirty three souldiers, eighty mariners, and thirty canons.*

The S. Martha, *of fiue hundred fortie eight tunne, with one hundred and eightie souldiers, seuenty mariners, and twenty fiue canons.*

S. Stephen, *of nine hundred thirty sixe tunne, with two hundred souldiers, seuentie mariners, and thirty canons.*

The S. Barba, *of fiue hundred twenty fiue tunne, with one hundred and sixty souldiers, fifty mariners, and fifteene canons.*

The Mary, *of two hundred ninety one tunne, with one hundred and twenty souldiers, fortie mariners, and twenty canons.*

The S. Crosse, *of sixe hundred and eighty tunne, with one hundred and fifty souldiers, forty mariners, and fifteene canons.*

The Vrsadoncella, *of fiue hundred tun, with*

der his gouernement from flying, desiring to ioyn with the body of the Fleet, vntill his owne Ship, extremely battered with shot, became vnseruiceable; and with much difficulty mingled her selfe with the rest of the Fleet: Then did the Duke of *Medina* re-collect his dispersed ships, and with full sayle held on his course. Neither could he do otherwise, in regard both that the Winde stood faire for the *English*, and that their ships inuaded, retyred, and re-inuaded them vpon euery quarter with incredible celerity. When they had continued the fight sharply two houres, the Lord high Admirall of *England* thought good to retyre, in respect that hee wanted forty ships which were not yet come out of the Hauen.

The ability of the English Fleet.

The night following; a Spanish Ship, called the St. *Katherine*, being very much battered in this conflict, was receiued into the middest of the army to bee repayred. And a huge great **Catalonia* ship of *Oquenda*, in which

* Cantabrica.

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was the Treasurer of the Fleet, was set on fire with Gun-powder, by the deuice of a *Flemmish* Gunner. But the fire was seasonably quenched by other shippes sent in for the purpose; amongst which, a *Gallion* of *Peter Valdes*, falling foule with another Ship, and her fore-mast intangled & broken with the others sayle-yard, the Ayre being stormy and the night darke, and none able to relieue or succour her, was forsaken, and became a prey to Sir *Francis Drake*, who sent *Valdes* to *Dertmouth*, and gaue the Ship to bee rifled and pillaged by the Souldiers. And *Drake* being that night commanded to carry the Lanthorne in the poope lighted, neglected it: for following certaine Germane Merchants Hulkes, whom hee tooke to be enemies, it was the occasion that almost all the *English* Fleet lay still, because they could not see the Lanthorne.

Peter Valdes taken.

Neyther could hee and the rest of the *English* shipping come neere the Admirall, *with sixty souldiers, forty mariners, and eighteene canons.*

The Pinnace called the Ascension, *of sixe hundred tunne, with thirty souldiers, twenty mariners, and twelue canons.*

The Pinnace called S. Barnaby, *and another named Our Lady of* Guadalupa, *with the Pinnace called the* Magdalen, *these three in burthen, souldiers, mariners, canons, and other necessaries, equalled the pinnace of the* Ascension.

There was in this Fleet of Guypuscoa, *foureteene Vessels, which were in burthen all together sixe thousand nine hundred ninety one tunne, had in it two thousand ninetie two souldiers, sixe hundred and seuenty mariners, making vp the number of two thousand seuen hundred and eight men, two hundred seuenty seuen canons, with all other necessaries.*

The Fleet of Easterne ships, called, *Leuantiscas*, whose Generall was *Martin de Vertendona.*

THe *Generals Ship, called* Ragazone, *of one thousand two hundred ninety foure tunne, hauing in it three hundred and fifty souldiers, ninety mariners, and thirty fiue canons.*

The Admirals ship, called la Laua, *of seuen hundred twenty eight tunne, with two hundred and tenne souldiers, eighty mariners, and thirty canons.*

La Rata *S.* Mary, the crowned, *of eight hundred and twenty tunne, with three hundred and forty souldiers, ninety mariners, and forty canons.*

The S. Iohn *of* Cicilia, *of eight hundred and eighty tunne, with two hundred and seuenty souldiers, seuenty mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Trinity Valencera, *of one thousand one hundred tunne, with two hundred and forty souldiers, ninety mariners, and forty sixe canons.* The

The Anunciade, *of seuen hundred and three tunne, with two hundred souldiers, ninety mariners, and thirty canons.*

The S. Nicholas Predaneli, *of eight hundred thirty foure tunne, with two hundred and eighty souldiers, eighty foure mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Iuliana, *of eight hundred tunne, with three hundred and thirty souldiers, eighty mariners, and thirty sixe canons.*

The S. Mary *of* Piſon, *of sixe hundred sixtie sixe tunne, with two hundred and fifty souldiers, eightie mariners, and twenty two canons.*

The Trinity of Eſcala, *of ninety tun, with three hundred and two souldiers, ninety mariners, and twentie fiue canons.*

This whole Fleete consisted of ten Ships, whose burthen was seuen thousand seuen hundred and fiue tunne, and had in it two thousand eight hundred and eighty souldiers, eight hundred and seuen mariners, and three hundred and eleuen canons, with all other necessaries.

The Fleet of Ships called *Vrcas*, whose Generall was *Lopas de Medina*.

THe *Generals Ship, called the great* Griffin, *of sixe hundred and fifty tunne, hauing in it two hundred and fifty souldiers, sixtie mariners, and forty canons.*

The Admirall, called S. Sauiour, *of sixe hundred and fiftie tunne, with two hundred and thirty souldiers, sixty mariners, and thirty canons.*

A Ship called the Pedro Martino, *of two hundred tunne, with eighty souldiers, thirty mariners, and thirty canons.*

The white Falcon, *of fiue hundred tun, with one hundred and seuenty souldiers, forty mariners, and eighteene canons.*

The Blacke-Caſtle, *of seuen hundred and fifty tunne, with two hundred and fiftie souldiers, fiftie mariners, and fiue and twenty canons.*

A

rall, till the euening following, who the precedent night, with the ſhips called the *Mary*, and the *Roſe*, hotly purſued the Spaniards. All this day, the Duke was ſecurely buſied in ſetting his Fleet in array, and commanded *Alphonſo Leua* to draw vp, and ioyne the auant-gard and the reare together, and aſſigned euery ſeuerall Ship his ſtation, according to the forme preſcribed in *Spaine*, with paine of death to euery one that forſooke their ſtations, ſends Enſigne *Glich*, to the Duke of *Parma*, to informe him of the eſtate of the Fleete; and committed the Ship of *Oquenda* in *Biſcay*, (hauing firſt remoued into other Ships, the Kings treaſure and the mariners) to the mercy of the Seas. Which the ſame day, with fifty mariners and ſouldiers more or leſſe, miſerably maimed and halfe burnt, fell into the *Engliſh* mens hands, and ſent to the Port of *Weymouth*.

The Ship of Oquenda taken.

The three and twentieth day of the moneth, at breake of the day, the *Spaniards* ha-

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uing a prosperous North-winde, turned sayle towards the *English*, who to get aduantage of the winde, easily turned themselues towards the West, and after they had contended to preuent each other of the benefit of the winde, both parts prepared themselues to the fight, and fought confusedly, and with various successe, while in one place the *English* valiantly fetched off the *London* ships dangerously circled in by the *Spaniards*, in another, *Ricaldus* then in danger, with no lesse resolution of the *Spaniards*, was disingaged. There was neuer more lightning and thundring of the Artillery, then there was on both sides, most of which notwithstanding went in vaine from the *Spanish*, flying sheere ouer the *English* Ships. Onely *Cocke* an English-man, in a small Barke of his owne, dyed gloriously in the middest of his Enemies. For the *English* Ships beeing much lesse thã the *Spaniards*, with great dexterity inuaded the enemy, and hauing discharged their

A Barke of Hambourgh, *with sixe hundred souldiers, fifty mariners, and twenty fiue canons.*

La Cassa de Par-grand, *together with* Sir Pedro el Maior, *the* Samson, *and* S. Pedro el Minor, *of as great burthen as the Barke of* Hambourgh.

The Barke of Danske, *of foure hundred and fiftie tunne, with two hundred and ten souldiers, fiftie mariners, and twentie fiue canons.*

The white Falcon Mediana, *of three hundred tunne, with eightie souldiers, thirtie mariners, and eightcene canons.*

The S. Andrew, *of foure hundred tunne, with two hundred and fiftie souldiers, and fortie mariners.*

La Cassa de var Chica, *of three hundred and fifty tunne, with one hundred and seuenty souldiers, forty mariners, and fifteene canons.*

La Cuerba Bolante, *of foure hundred tunne, with two hundred and tenne souldiers, forty mariners, and eighteene canons.*

The white Polonia, *of two hundred and fifty tunne, with sixty souldiers, thirty mariners, and twelue canons.*

The Aduenture, *and* S. Barba, *which were as much in burthen as the* S. Iago, *of sixe hundred tunne, with sixty souldiers, forty mariners, and nineteene canons.*

The Ship called El gatto, *of foure hundred tunne, with fifty souldiers, thirty mariners, and nine canons.*

The S. Gabriel, *of two hundred and eightie tunne, with fifty souldiers, and twenty fiue mariners.*

The Esayas *of like burthen.*

So that these twenty fiue Vrcas, are in burthen, ten thousand two hundred seuentie one tunne, and carryed three thousand two hundred twenty one souldiers, seuen hundred and eight mariners, and foure hundred and tenne canons, with all necessaries, as Powder, Lead, and Match.

Pinna-

Pinnaces and Zabra's commanded by Don *Antonio de Mendoza.*

THe *Generalls Ship, called* our Lady del Pilar de Zaragoſſa, *of three hundred tunne, with one hundred and twenty ſouldiers, fiftie foure mariners, and twelue canons.*

La Caridade Ingleſſe, *of one hundred and eighty tunne, eighty ſouldiers, thirty mariners, and twelue canons.*

S. Andrew d'Eſtoches, *of one hundred and thirty tunne, fiftie one ſouldiers, thirtie mariners, and twelue canons.*

The Pinnace of the Crucifix, *of one hundred and fifty tunne, with fifty ſouldiers, thirty mariners, and eighteene canons.*

A Ship called our Lady del puerto, *containing as much as the Pinnace of the* Crucifix.

The Conception of Caraffa, *and of our Lady* de Beguoa.

The Conception of Capitillo, *with the* S. Ieronimo, *are of ſixtie and ſeuenty tun, with fiftie ſouldiers, and thirty mariners, and eight canons apiece.*

Our Lady of Grace, *the Conception of* Francis Laſtero, *our Lady of* Guadalupa, *the Conception of the* Holy-Ghoſt, *and our Lady of* Freſneda; *theſe Ships containe iuſt as much as thoſe aboue-mentioned. Moreouer, a Ship called* Zabra la Trinidad, *with another* Zabra S. Andrew *the Conception, together with the conception of* Sommarriba, S. Katherine, S. Iohn de Caraffa, *and the* Aſſumption, *containe as much as thoſe that went next before.*

The whole number of the twenty two Pinnaces and Zabras, were in burthen, one thouſand one hundred thirty one tunne, and had in them foure hundred ſeuenty nine ſouldiers, fiue hundred ſeuenty foure mariners, and one hundred ninetie three canons, with all other neceſſaries.

The

their Ordnance, retyred preſently into the open Sea, and leuelled all their Shot with a certaine and ſucceſſefull ayme, againſt the great and ſluggiſh Ships of the *Spaniards*: And yet the *Engliſh* high Admirall thought not fit to grapple, and ſo try the fortune of a fight hand to hand, as many inconſiderately perſwaded: For the enemy had a ſtrong and wel appointed Army abroad, which hee wanted: their Ships were farre more in number, greater of burden, and ſtronger, and higher of building, and they fighting from aboue, threatned nothing leſſe than certaine deſtructiō to them that fought againſt them vpon the lower Ships: And hee did likewiſe fore-ſee, that the loſſe of his men would be much more preiudiciall to him, than the victory could be profitable; For beeing vanquiſhed, hee ſhould haue brought the Queene into almoſt ineuitable danger; and being *Victor*, hee ſhould onely haue a little blaze of glory, for the diſſipation and diſcomfiture of

The Engliſh Admirals prouidence.

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of his Enemy, and slaughter of his Souldiers.

The foure and twentieth day of the Moneth, there was a mutuall intermission of all hostile acts. The Admirall sent diuers small Barkes to the next shores of *England*, for supply of ammunition, and diuided his whole Fleet into foure squadrons; the first of which himselfe cõmanded; the second, *Drake*; the third, *Hawkins*; and the fourth, *Forbisher*; and appoynted certain Pinkes or Pinnaces out of euery squadron, to make impressions vpon the enemy at the dead of night in seuerall quarters; but a calme following, that counsel wanted successe.

The fiue and twentieth, which was Saint *Iames* his day, a *Gallion* of *Portugall*, called the S. *Anne*, which could not keepe company with the rest of the Fleete, was set vpon by diuers small *English* Barkes; In ayde of whom, *Læua* and *Diego Telles Enriques*, with three *Galleasses*, made out, whom the Lord Admirall, & the Lord *Thomas*

The foure *Galleasses* of *Naples*, commanded by D. *Ugo de Mencado*.

THe Generals Galleasse, called San Lorenzo, with two hundred and seuenty souldiers, one hundred and thirty mariners, three hundred slaues, and fifty canons.

The Galleasse Petrona, with one hundred and eightie souldiers, one hundred and twelue mariners, three hundred slaues, and fifty Canons.

The Galleasse Girona, with one hundred and seuenty souldiers, one hundred and twenty mariners, three hundred slaues, and fifty canons.

The Neopolitan Galleasse, with one hundred twenty foure souldiers, three hundred slaues, and fifty canons.

These foure Galleasses carryed altogether, eight hundred and seuenty souldiers, foure hundred sixty eight mariners, two hundred canons, and one thousand two hundred slaues.

The foure *Gallies* of *Portugall*, vnder the command of D. *Diego de Medrana*.

THe Generals Gallie, with a hundred and tenne souldiers, one hundred and sixe mariners, one hundred slaues, and fiftie canons.

The Princesse Gallie, the Gally Diana, the Gallie Vazana, containing as much as the Generalls Gallie.

The briefe and generall account of the whole Fleete.

THe whole Fleete together, was composed of twelue Gallions of Portugall, in burthen seuen thousand seuen hundred thirty seuen

seuen tunne, carrying foure thousand three hundred and thirty souldiers, one thousand two hundred thirty three mariners, foure hundred canons, with ammunition of bullets, powder, and match.

Of foureteene Ships of Biscay, *commanded by* Iohn Martinez de Ricaldo : *These Ships all together were of burthen, sixe thousand fiue hundred sixty seuen tunne, and carryed two thousand and fifty souldiers, nine hundred mariners, and two hundred and seuentie canons.*

Of sixteene Gallions of Castile, *in burthen one thousand seuen hundred tunne, carrying two thousand fiue hundred and sixty souldiers, and foure hundred and twenty canons.*

Of eleuen Ships of Andaluzia, *in burthen eight thousand seuen hundred sixty two tun, two thousand fiue hundred twenty fiue souldiers, nine hundred mariners, and two hundred and sixty canons.*

Of foureteene Ships of Guipuscoa, *in burthen sixe thousand nine hundred ninetie one tunne, two thousand one hundred and two souldiers, seuen hundred and eighteene mariners, and two hundred and eighty canons.*

Of the Easterne Fleete, with tenne Ships in burthen, seuen thousand seuen hundred and fiue tunne, carrying two thousand nine hundred souldiers, one hundred sixty seuen mariners, and three hundred and tenne canons.

Of the Fleete of Vrcas, *twenty three in number, in burthen ten thousand two hundred seuentie one tunne; and in them, three thousand three hundred twenty one souldiers, seuen hundred and eight mariners, and foure hundred canons.*

Of twenty two Pinnaces or Zabras, in burthen one thousand two hundred twentie one tunne; and in them, three hundred seuentie sixe souldiers, fiue hundred seuenty foure mariners, and one hundred and tenne canons.

Of foure Galleasses of Naples, *carrying eight hundred sixtie foure souldiers, fiue hundred mariners, two hundred canons.*

Of foure Gallies, which carried foure hundred

Thomas Howard in the *Golden Lyon* (which by reason of the great calme, were faine to be towed by fisher-Boats) so battered with the canon, that not without great difficulty, and with great losse of men, they brought off; after which time the *Galleasses* neuer offered to fight : The *Spaniards* report, that that day the *English* at a neerer distance than euer, with their great Ordnance extremely rent the *Spanish* Admirall, being at that time in the Rere; and hauing slaine many of their men, shot downe their maine Mast, but that *Mexia* and *Recaldus* came opportunely, and repelled the *English*. That then the *Spanish* Admirall, accompanied with *Recaldus* and others, inuaded the *English* Admirall, which escaped by the sudden changing of the Winde; that thereupon the *Spaniards* left the pursuit, and holding on their course, sent another messenger to the Duke of *Parma*, with all speed to ioine his *Fleet* with the Kings *ARMADA*,

The third fight.

Booke 3.

and to send supply of Bullets. Of this the *English* were ignorant, who write, that they shot off the Lanthorne from one of the *Spanish* Ships, the beake-head from another, and terribly battered a third; that the *None-such*, and *Mary Rose*, hauing had onely a short conflict with the *Spaniards*, left them, and with other Shippes went to the rescue of the *Triumph* then in danger. So that the relations of them that were present at the same actions, are different for the manner, while euery one remembers that which hee obserued of his owne side.

Knights created for their valours, by the Right Honourable Charles Howard, *Earle of Nottingham, Lord* High-Admirall.

The day following, the Lord High-Admiral of *England*, for their valour and fortitude, Knighted *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townesend*, *Iohn Hawkins*, and *Martin Furbisher*. And it was concluded, thenceforth not to assault the Enemy, till they came to the *Streights of Calais*, where *Henry Seymor*, and *William Winter* expected their comming. So the *Spanish Fleet* went

dred souldiers, and twenty canons.

In foure Galleasses, there were likewise, one thousand two hundred Gally-slaues, and in the foure Gallies, eight hundred eightie eight; which together, make vp the number of two thousand eighty eight persons.

And beside the aboue-mentioned Powder, there were, if any danger or necessitie should happen, sixe hundred quintalls of powder.

So as in the whole Fleete, there was one hundred and thirty Ships, twenty fiue Urca's of the burthen of fiue hundred, & seuen hundred tunne; nineteene Pinnaces, of the burthen of seuenty and an hundred tunne; thirteene Zabra's, with two of Portugall, foure Galleasses, and as many Gallies, of the burthen of fifty seuen thousand eight hundred sixty eight tunne; and in them, nineteene thousand two hundred ninety fiue souldiers, and eight thousand foure hundred and fiftie mariners, with two thousand sixe hundred and thirty gally-slaues, and two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of Ordnance of all sorts; among which, were great and middle Culuerings, and some great canons.

There was likewise twenty small Vessels, called Caruels, for the seruice of the Fleete, and tenne Falua's, with sixe Oares apiece.

There were in this Fleete, one hundred twenty foure Voluntaries, attended by foure hundred fifty & sixe seruants bearing armes, and two hundred thirty eight entertayned by the King, with one hundred sixty three seruants.

There was one hundred seuenty seuen persons appoynted to wayte vpon the Ordnance, with two Engineers, one Physician, one Surgeon, and thirty seruants. Fourescore and fiue both Physicians and Surgeons, with one hundred and eighty Church-men, all Dominicans, Franciscans, Flagellans, *or* Iesuites.

The

The *Collonels Regiments*, or *Tertois* payed by the King in this Fleet, with the number of Men vnder euery *Regiment.*

DOn Francisco de Bouadilla, *the Kings Camp-master generall.*

The Regiments of Sicily, commanded by Don Diego Pimentell, *vnder whom were twenty foure Captaines.*

The Regiment of Tertio, commanded by Don Francisco de Tolete, *vnder whom were twenty fiue Captaines.*

The Regiment of Don Alonzo-Iuzon, *vnder whom were twenty sixe Captaines.*

The Regiment of Yeffa comm. by Don Augustino Mexia, *vnder whom were twenty sixe Captaines.*

Diuers Companies of free bands, some of which were drawne from the troupes of Castile, by Don Iuan de Guzman; *the others, from Portugall, by* Gasper Sossa.

So that there were in the aboue-mentioned Regiments, or Tertois, and in the companies of Suelty, *one hundred seuenty one Ensignes, amounting to the number of eighteene thousand nine hundred seuenty three souldiers, with thirty more, to make vp the number of nineteene thousand two hundred ninety fiue, with diuers ministers, and officers, as well of iustice as of the Dukes Court, one hundred eighty fiue persons.*

To be short, the whole Fleete consisted of eighteene thousand nine hundred thirty seuen foot, eight thousand sixe hundred and fiftie mariners, two hundred twenty foure Voluntaries, with foure hundred fiftie fiue seruants that were allowed; and two hundred thirty eight other seruants on one part, one hundred sixty three on another; one hundred sixty seuen persons appointed to attend the canons, eighty fiue for the Hospitall to sicke persons, one hundred and eighty Church-men of all orders, twenty three Gentlemen of the Dukes Court, fifty seruants, seuenteene super-

went on with a full South-west winde, the *English* fleet following them. But so far was the title of *Inuincible*, or their terrible aspect vnable to affright our *English* shores; that the Youth of *England*, (leauing their Parents, Wiues, Children, Kindred, and Friends, out of their dearer loue to their Countrey) with Ships hyred at their owne charges, ioyned themselues in great numbers with the Fleete, with generous alacrity, and incredible courage; and amongst others, the Earles of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *Robert Cecill*, Sir *Henrie Brooke*, Sir *Charles Blunt*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *William Hatton*, Sir *Robert Carey*, Sir *Ambrose Willoughby*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Sir *Arthur Gorge*, and other worthie Nobles, of great note and account.

Diuers Noble-men and Knights of England, ioyne themselues with the English Fleet before Calais.

The seuen and twentieth day of the moneth, towards euening, the *Armada* cast anchor neere *Calais*, being aduized by the Pylots, that if they went further, it would

The Spanish *Fleet lyes at anchor, and rests betwixt Calais and Douer.*

Booke 3.

would bee in danger to be carryed into the North Ocean by the tyde; and euer against them, within cannon shot, lay the Admirall, and the *English* Fleet at anchor, to whom *Seymor* and *Winter* ioyned themselues. Now was the number of the *English* Ships come to bee one hundred and forty, all able for the fight, swift of sayle, & apt to cast about to take any aduantage, and yet there were not aboue fifteene of them, which bore the weight and burthen of the Warre, and repelled it. The *Spaniards* presently (as often before) by frequent messengers, vrged the Duke of *Parma*, to send forty *Fly-boates*, without which he could not fitly fight with the *English*, by reason of the magnitude and sluggishnesse of the *Spanish* Ships, and the great dexterity and agility of the *English*; and earnestly required him to put forth to sea with his Fleete, whom the *Armada* (as was agreed) should protect as it were with wings, till their arriuall in *England*: But he being vnprepared, could not readily come, his flat-bottom'd Boats being withall very broad, were full of leakes, victuall was wanting, and the mariners detayned a long time against their wills, were stolne away. Besides, the *Hollanders*, and *Zelanders* ships of Warre which houered about the Ports of *Newport* and *Dunkerke*, whence they were to set out, were so well prouided of great Ordnance, and Harquebuziers, that he durst not come from the shores, vnlesse wittingly and willingly hee should cast himselfe and his souldiers into visible and manifest danger: yet did hee not omit any thing worthy of a diligent, industrious, and valiant

The Duke of Parma is sent for againe by the Spaniards.

He is vnprepared.

The good seruice of the Hollanders, who hindred Parma *from ioyning his Forces with the Spanish Nauy.*

perintendants generall of the Army, one hundred seruants more belonging to them or to the offices of iustice.

So that in the whole Army there were twenty eight thousand sixe hundred eighty seuen persons, besides two thousand eight hundred and eight Gally-slaues, that tugg'd the Oare in the Galleasses and Gallies.

All these had good and sufficient prouision, victualls, and things necessary for so great and inuincible an enterprize, which I for breuity will omit to shew at large, praying to God that theirs or others ambitious enterprises vpon England, *may be still by the Almighty and euer-sauing hand of God confounded, and ouer-whelmed like* Pharao. *Amen.*

ABRAHAM DARCIE.

valiant Prince, being ſtrongly inflamed with a deſire to ſubdue *England*. Booke 3.

Forces to defend *England*, againſt *Spaines* pretended inuaſion.

By SEA.

Vnder the command of the Right Honourable Charles Howard, *Earle of Nottingham*, L. High Admirall of *England*.

ROYALL Ships.

SEuenteene *Royall Ships*, attended by twelue other warlike Ships, and ſixe Pinnaces.

LONDON Ships.

Sent out by the City of *London*, ſixteene tall Ships for warre, and foure Pinnaces.

BRISTOW Ships.

From *Briſtow*, three Ships, and one Pinnace.

BARSTABLE Ships.

From *Barſtable*, three good Ships, and one Pinnace.

EXETER Ships.

From *Exeter*, two Ships and one Pinnace.

PLIMMOVTH Ships.

From *Plimmouth*, ſeuen braue Ships, well appoynted, with a Fly-boat.

Alſo, one Pinnace of the Lord *Admirals*.

Another, of the Lord *Sheffields*.

And one of Sir *William Winters*.

MERCHANTS Ships.

The *Merchants Aduenturers* of England alſo ſent ten luſty Ships at their owne proper charges.

In

But the induſtry of the Queene preuented both his diligence, and the credulous hope of the *Spaniards*. For, by her command, the day after the *Spaniards* had caſt anchor, in the dead of the night, the Admirall ſent eight of his worſt Shippes, dawbed on the out-ſides with Greeke Pitch and Roſin, & filled full of ſulphure, and other materials ſuddenly combuſtible, vnder the conduct of *Young* & *Prowſe*, with a full gale of winde directly vpon the *Spaniſh Armada*; which, as the *Spaniards* ſaw approch neerer and neerer to them, (the flame ſhining ouer all the Sea) thinking thoſe burning ſhips beſides the danger of the fire, to be filled with ſome deadly Engines; with a howling and fearefull outcry, weyed anchor, cut their Cables, hoyſed their ſayles, cried out vpon their rowers, and, ſtrooke with a horrible and a pannique feare, with impetuous haſte betooke themſelues to a confuſed flight.

The Spaniards amazed fly confuſedly.

Booke 3.

flight. Amongst which, the *Admirals Galleasse* had her Rudder broken, and went almost adrift, and the day following, making fearefully towards *Calais*, ranne vpon the sands, and after a doubtfull fight with *Amias Preston*, *Thomas Gerard*, & *Harvey*, was taken; *Hugh Moncada*, the Captaine beeing slaine, and the souldiers and rowers eyther drowned or slaine, they found and carried away a great quantity of Gold. The Ship and Ordnance were seyzed by the Gouernour of *Calais*.

Hugh Moncada slaine.

The *Spaniards* affirme, that the Generall seeing these fiery shippes comming, commanded all the Fleete to weigh anchor, that the danger might passe them, and to take againe euery one his place. And surely, he himselfe tooke his owne againe, after warning giuen by a shot which was notwithstanding heard but of a very few, because the Ships being on all sides scattered, were some of them in that affright carried into the North Sea, & some others on the shores and

In the BRITTISH *Seas.*

There were also sixteene *Royall ships* sent into the narrow Sea, vnder the command of the Right Honourable Lord *Henry Seymor*, with many other small Ships, Barkes, and Pinnaces, sent out of the North and West parts of *England*, by diuers Noblemen, and other honourable persons, Gentlemen, and Merchants.

By LAND.

The Land-forces (which were encamped at *Tilbury* in *Essex*, vnder the command and gouernement of *Robert Dudley*, Earle of *Leicester*) were *these following.*

BEDFORD Shire.

OVt of *Bedfordshire*, there were seuenteene Lances, forty light horses, and fiue hundred foote sent, well appoynted.

BVCKINGHAM.

From *Buckingham shire*, eighteene Lances, fourescore and three Light-horses, and fiue hundred foot.

HARTFORD.

Out of *Hartford shire*, twenty fiue Lances, threescore light horses, and one thousand foot.

KENT.

Out of *Kent*, fifty Lances, one hundred light horses, and fiue thousand foot.

SVFFOLKE.

From *Suffolke*, fifty Lances, two hundred light horses, three thousand foot.

ESSEX.

Out of *Essex*, fifty Lances, one hundred light horses, and fiue thousand foot men.

MIDDLE-

MIDDLESEX.

Middlesex, thirty fiue Lances, foure-score and eight light horses.

SVRREY.

Raized out of *Surrey*, eight Lances, foure-score & eighteene light horses, and a thousand foot.

NORFOLKE.

Raized in *Norfolke*, three thousand foote.

LONDON.

Out of *London*, one thousand foot.

BARKESHIRE.

From *Barkeshire*, came one thousand foot.

OXFORD.

From *Oxford shire*, one thousand foot.

More by LAND.

There was likewise rayſed out of these *Shires* following, another ARMY, consisting of foure hundred foure-score & one Lances, one thousand foure hundred thirty and one light horses, and thirty foure thousand and fifty foot, for the safegard of her *Maiesties* Royall Person, and were vnder the command of the Lord *Chamberlaine*.

GLOCESTER Shire.

OVt of *Glocester shire*, there were twenty Lances, one hundred light horse, and two thousand fiue hundred foot.

SOMERSET.

Out of *Somerset shire*, fifty Lances, one hundred light horse, and foure thousand foote.

SVS-

and coasts of *Flanders*. In the meane time, *Drake* and *Fenner* assayle with great noyse of Cannon-shot that part of the *Spanish Fleete*, which were rallying themselues before *Grauelin*, and were by and by ioyned by *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beaston*, *Crosse*, *Raymon*, and anon, by the Lord Admirall himselfe, *Thomas Howard*, and *Sheffield*. The Duke, *Læua*, *Oquende*, *Ricauld*, and others, being come from the shore, sustained as well as they could, the charge, which was such, as the most part of their Shippes were torne and bruised, and the *Gallion* S. *Matthew*, commanded by *Diego Pymentel*, and appointed to assist *Francisco de Toleda*, in the *S. Philip*, was broken with the continuall batteries of *Seymor* and *Winter*, and being driuen towards *Ostend*, was againe beaten by the *Zelanders*, and taken by them of *Flushing*, as was the other called Saint *Matthew*, and all the rest of the *FLEET* grieuously afflicted all that day.

The

Booke 3.

The laſt day of the Moneth, at the breake of day, the Winde turned Northweſt, and the *Spaniards* ſtriuing to get into the ſtraight againe, are driuen towards *Zeland*. The *Engliſh*, as the *Spaniards* beleeue, ceaſed their fight, perceiuing ſome of their Ships in great danger, and ready to runne on the ſands and ſhelues on the Coaſt of *Zeland*, but the winde changing to Southweſt, the *Spaniards* tooke the benefit thereof, and beeing gotten out from amongſt thoſe ſands, conſulted in the Euening what they were to doe, and by common conſent, reſolued to returne into *Spaine* by the North Ocean, becauſe they wanted many neceſſary things, and aboue all, Bullets, that their Ships were broken, and that they had little hope of the Duke of *Parma's* putting to Sea.

The Spaniards reſolue to returne home by the North-Sea.

Being then already at ſea, they tooke their route towards the North, followed by the *Engliſh Fleete*, vnto whom they would ſometimes ſhew their proweſſe: and many being of opinion they

SVSSEX.

Out of *Suſſex*, were twenty Lances, one hundred light horſe, & two thouſand fiue hundred foot.

WILTSHIRE.

Out of *Wiltſhire*, were twenty fiue Lances, one hundred light horſe, and two thouſand three hundred foot.

BARKESHIRE.

Out of *Barkſhire*, ten Lances, foureſcore and fiue light horſe, and fiue hundred foot.

OXFORD.

Oxford, twenty three Lances, one hundred and three light horſe, and one hundred and fifty foot.

CAMBRIDGE.

Cambridge, thirteene Lances, forty light horſe, and ſeuen hundred foot.

NORTHAMPTON.

Northampton, twenty Lances, foureſcore light horſe, and ſixe hundred foot.

LEICESTER.

Leiceſter, nine Lances, threeſcore and tenne light horſe, and fiue hundred foot.

WARWICKE.

From *Warwicke*, ſeuenteene Lances, threeſcore & ſixteene light horſe, and fiue hundred foot.

HVNTINGION.

From *Huntington*, ſixe Lances, twenty ſixe light horſe, and foure hundred foot.

DORSET.

Dorſet, one hundred and twenty Lances, and one thouſand foot.

SVFFOLKE.

Out of *Suffolke*, were threeſcore and tenne Lances, two hundred and thirty light horſe, and three thouſand foot.

NORFOLKE.

Norfolke, foureſcore Lances, three hundred twenty one light horſe.

HARTFORD.

Hartfordſhire, fiue hundred foot.

SVRREY.
Out of *Surrey*, fiue hundred foot.
WORCESTER.
Worceſter-ſhire foure hundred foot.
SOVTHAMPTON.
Southampton two thouſand foot.
DEVON.
Deuon, two thouſand foot.
LONDON.
London, nine thouſand foot.
MIDDLESEX.
Middleſex, one thouſand foot.

This true Deſcription of Englands *and* Spaines *Forces thus particularly ſet downe, was faithfully gathered, for the better ſatisfaction of the Reader, out of ſundry true Engliſh Manuſcripts, and French Bookes, by*
ABRAHAM DARCIE.

they would returne, the Queene, with a Kingly courage, mounted on horſe-backe, and holding in her hand the trunchion of an ordinary Captaine, made a review of her Army, & campe, which was at *Tilbury*, walkes vp and downe, ſometimes like a Woman, and anon, with the countenance and pace of a Souldier, and with her preſence and words fortifieth the courages both of the Captaines and Souldiers beyond all beliefe.

The Queene viſits her Campe.

The very day of the laſt fight, the Duke of *Parma* hauing paid his vow to our Lady of *Halle*, came to *Dunkerke*, but too late, and was there receiued by the *Spaniards* with reproach, as if to fauour Queene ELIZABETH, hee had willingly cauſed them to loſe ſo faire an occaſion to execute their enterpriſe. Therefore, in ſome ſort to content them, he puniſhed ſome that had charge of the victuals, and mocking notwithſtanding at the *Spaniards* inſolency and arrogancy, who bragge that in all parts where they beare Armes, they euer draw after them an aſſured victory, and that the *Engliſh* dared not to looke them in the face, much leſſe endure their countenance. And ſurely, *Bernard Mendoza*, with great pride and vanity ſung forth in France, by a printed Pamphlet, the triumph before the victory: But the *Engliſh* Lord Admirall, to keepe the Prince of *Parma* from comming out of *Dunkerke*, commanded *Seimer* and the *Hollanders*, to keepe the Coaſts of *Flanders*, and hee himſelfe fol-

Booke 3.

lowed the *Spaniards* behinde, vntill they were past *Edenborough Frith* in *Scotland*. For, some feared they would retyre to the King of *Scots*, at that time much incensed for the death of his Mother; & that to appease him, *Asshbey*, her Maiesties Ambassadour there, offered him very good conditions, *to wit*, the dignitie of a Duke in *England*, a yeerely pension of fiue thousand pound, and a guard for his person, at her Maiesties costs, and other things. Now whether he did this of himselfe, or by procurement of others, I cannot well say, nor take no pleasure to enquire thereafter: but so it chanced, that the fault was imputed vnto him, and these conditions were neuer accomplished.

Conditions offered vnto the King of Scots.

The *Spaniards* then hauing lost all hope of pursuing their enterprize, and iudging their safety to consist meerely in their flight, follow still their route, without staying in any place. Thus did this *Fleete* returne shamefully into their Countrey, which was preparing three whole yeeres with so infinite expences, after hauing beene fought withall so oftentimes in one Moneth, and then put to flight with the losse of many men, (and not of aboue one hundred *English*, nor no Ship but *Cocks* Barke onely lost) all the shot of those great *Spanish* Ships, being spent in vaine, flying ouer the *English* Ships) hauing also gone round about the Iland of Great-Britaine, by *Scotland*, the Iles of *Orchades*, and *Ireland*, and beene furiously beaten, and greatly diminished by tempests, wrackes, and all sorts of miseries.

Money coyned in memory of this famous victory.

In memoriall of which defeat, there were certaine *Medailles* coyned, wherein some had a *Fleete* grauen vndersayle, and hastning away with all speed, with this Inscription,

Il est venu, il a veu, il a fuy.

Hee came, Hee saw, Hee fledde.

Tout ainsi cõme l'on dit de Cæsar, IL EST VENV, IL A VEV, IL A VAINCV.

And others, in honour of the Queene, with some Ships on fire

fire among a confused *Fleete*, with these words;

Vne Femme a conduict ceste action.

A Woman conducted this Action.

As thus they fled, many of their Ships were lost vpon the Coasts of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, where some seuen hundred Souldiers and Mariners were cast ashore, who, at the request of the Duke of *Parma*, vnto the King of *Scotland* in their behalfe, and by the Queenes permission were passed into *Flanders* a yeere after. But those poore wretches which were cast away in *Ireland*, were not so mercifully dealt withall: for some of them were slaine by the *Irish* dwelling in the woods; the other, by the commandement of the Deputy, who fearing lest they should ioyne with the *Irish* Rebels; and seeing that *Bingham*, Gouernour of *Connaugh*, had refused vpon his reiterated commandement to kill those which had yeelded themselues, hee sent *Fowle* the second *Marshall*, who, drawing them forth which had hidden themselues, cut off the heads of about two hundred of them, which the Queen detested with all her heart, as a deed full of cruelty. This so affrighted the rest, that sicke and weake as they were, and halfe starued, they re-embarked themselues in their broken vessels, and were for the most part sunke at Sea.

The *Fleete* being returned home, imputeth this mischiefe vnto the Duke of *Parma*, and vnto their too-much obedient prudence, in taking it for so haynous a crime, to disobey the commandement imposed vpon them: For they were straitly charged to attempt nothing, vntill the Duke of *Parma* were ioyned vnto them with his Forces, without reseruing any liberty vnto themselues to iudge of occasions which might happen: a thing very fit to haue bin done: & they boasted to haue bin able without that, to haue defeated the *English Fleete* in their Port; and the men of

Booke 3.

on peu dire de mesme de L'espagnol auss que IL EST VENV, IL A VEV, mais qui pis est IL S'EN EST EN FVY, au lieu que Cæsar estoit victorieux.

Misery of the Spaniards in Ireland.

Causes of the defeat.

Booke 3.

warre were in great dispute, whether it were necessary, whatsoeuer hapned, to obserue religiously what is commanded, lest by the neglect of obedience, the commandement should be lost: Or if it were fitter to correct things commanded by necessity, and apply them to present vse, according to the growth of affaires, that the occasions and moments of doing expeditions might not be lost.

The Spaniard takes patiently this ouerthrow.

The *Spaniard* did constantly beare this losse, as comming from aboue, rendring thankes vnto God that it was no greater, and vsed singular mercy and charity for the comfort of the Souldiers and Mariners.

Queene Elizabeth *caused a generall thankes-giuing to God for it, and publique reioycing in England.*

Queene ELIZABETH likewise commanded publique prayers and thanks-giuing to be made in all the Churches of *England*, and went her selfe in triumph amongst the Companies and Societies of *London*, which marched on both sides of her *Maiestie*, with their Banners, and roade thorow the Streetes (which were richly hung with blue hangings) in a Chariot drawne with two Horses, (Princes themselues not vsing foure, as now adayes particular persons doe) to Saint *Pauls* Church, where shee gaue God humble thankes, heard the *Sermon*, (which shewed the glory due to GOD alone,) and caused the Ensignes taken, to be there set vp and shewed vnto the people. Then shee assigned some reuenewes vnto the Admirall, for the seruice which hee had performed with so good and happy successe; praised highly her Sea-Captaines, as men borne for the preseruation of their Country; and as often as shee saw any of the other, called them by their names, to witnesse that shee tooke note of their deserts: which they tooke as sufficient reward for their seruices: Shee also recompenced the maymed and poorer sort with honourable pensions.

Praysed those who were of the English Navy.

The publike ioy is increased by the good newes which came out of Scotland.

This publique reioycing was increased by the arriuall of Sir *Robert Sidney*, who being come out of *Scotland*, assured her *Maiestie*, that the King of *Scots* embraced most affecti-

affectionately the Queenes friendship, made sincere profession of true Religion, and would defend it with all his might: Hee was sent vnto him before, when *Great Britaine* was first threatned with the *Spanish Fleete*, to acknowledge by his reioycings and thankes-giuing, of the good will which he bore to the Queene, to praise his forwardnesse to defend the common cause; to promise him reciprocall succours, if the *Spaniard* made any inuasion in *Scotland*; To giue him to vnderstand with what ambition the *Spaniard* gapeth after the whole Monarchy of *Great Brittaine*, solliciting the Pope to excommunicate his Royall person, both to spoyle him of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and to exclude him out of the succession of the Kingdome of *England*; To put him in minde of the threatnings which *Mendoza*, and the Popes *Nuntio* vttered against him, and that therefore hee was to take heed of Papists. Whereunto, (that wee may note it by the way) the KING answered graciously and merrily:

Booke 3.

I expect no other courtesie of the Spaniard, *then such as* Poliphemus *promised to* Vlysses, (*to wit,*) *That he would deuoure him the last of all his fellowes.*

About this time, died the Earle of *Leicester*, on the fourteenth of *December*, of a continuall burning Feauer, as hee was on his way to goe to *Killingworth*: which death, although the Queene much grieued at, yet this ioy was neuer a whit diminished thereby. Hee was the fifth sonne of *Iohn*, Duke of *Northumberland*; vnder King EDVVARD, first Gentleman of the Kings Chamber, vnder Queene MARIE, who restored him to his first honours, together

The death of Robert Dudley, *Earle of Leicester.*

Booke 3.

with his Brothers and Sisters, Master of the Artillery at the Siege of Saint *Quintaines*; and vnder *Queene* ELIZABETH, who affected him, because of a simpathy of spirits betweene them, occasioned perhaps by some secret constellation, which the Greeke Astrologers call *Sinastria*; he was Master of the Horse, Knight of the Royall Orders of the Garter, and of S. *Michael*, one of the Priuy Councell, Steward of the Queenes House, Chancellor of the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, Iustice in Eire of all the Forrests beyond *Trent*, the Queenes Lieutenant, and Captaine of the *English* Forces against *Spaines*, Gouernour, and Captaine generall of the vnited Prouinces of the *Netherlands*: he began in his latter time to conceit a new hope and title of honour and authority, looking to haue, with Soueraigne power annexed thereunto, a generall Lieutenancy vnder the Queene, both throughout all *England* and *Ireland*, of which he had gotten Letters Patents, if that the Right Honourable *William Cecill*, Lord *Burleigh*, and Sir *Christopher Hatton* had not opposed themselues thereunto, and also if the Queen had not betimes preuented the danger which might haue insued, in giuing too-much power to one man alone. Hee was reputed a compleat Courtier, magnificent, liberall, a protector and benefactor of Souldiers and Schollers, very skilfull in temporizing, and fitting himselfe to the times, to serue his owne turne, very officious, and cunning towards his ill-willers; for a time much giuen to Women, and finally, a good husband in excesse. To conclude, as long as he preferred a power subiect vnto enuy before a solid vertue, euill speakers tooke occasion to tugge and teare at him continually, during the best of his fortune, by defamatory libels, which contained some slight vntruths. And to say the truth, hee was openly held to be in the ranke of those which were worthy of praise, but the things which hee secretly plotted, displeased many. The Queene, who was flexible ynough in all other things, & was hardly euer seene

His dignities and titles.

His disposition and manners.

seene to remit any thing due to her treasure, caused his goods to be sold to their vttermost value, to pay that which he ought her.

Leicesters goods are sold.

The Duke of *Parma* hauing now broken off his purpose of inuading *England*, to carry away notwithstanding with this great prepared Army for that end, some glory from the *English*, and by the same meanes to open the way of *Zeland*, and deliuer *Brabant* from incursions, besiegeth *Bergen ap Zoom*, a Towne of *Brabant*, strong by reason of the situation thereof, and the Forts round about it, and garded by a garrison the most part *English*. But his indeuour was frustrated by the fore-sight of the Noble Lord *Willoughby*, and the valour of the Garrison Souldiers: For although that during the whottest of the siege, there arose a great discord amongst the besieged, some fauouring *Drury*, Gouernour of the place, established by the Lord *Willoughby*, the *English* Generall, and others adhering vnto *Morgan*, prouided thereof by the Queenes Letters, each of them notwithstanding hauing a care of the common good, behaued themselues valiantly, and by sallies and other military deuices, did all of them so finde the Enemy busied, that after hauing slaine, taken, or drowned about foure hundred, which *Grimston* and *Redhead*, feigning themselues to be Fugitiues, had drawne into the Fort by great promises, protestations, and oathes; the Duke hauing lost all hope of shutting vp their Hauen, and to make himselfe Master of the Towne, and seeing the Winter at hand, and victuals fayling, raysed his siege two Moneths after. And the Lord *Willoughby*, to honour with some recompence the well-deseruing, knighted Sir *Francis Vere*, who then began to shew himselfe, Sir *Thomas Knowles*, Sir *N. Parker*, and Sir *I. Pooly*, for their worthy valours.

Berghen ap Zoom besieged by the Duke of Parma.

Who raiseth the siege.

England being now freed from the present feare of a forreine Warre, found not her selfe so happily deliuered of an

Innouations in England.

Booke 3.

an inward *Schisme*; For schismaticall impiety waxeth alwaies insolent when any Warres be stirring, nor euer did shameleſſe and rebellious impudence, and outragious malice more insolently beard the *Eccleſiasticall Magistracie*: For whereas the Queene, who was

EVER THE SAME,

was very vnwilling to innouate any thing in Religion, thinking it the way to cut the nerues of the *Eccleſiasticall* administration, and the *Royall Prerogatiue*; some, which onely admired the discipline of the *Church of Geneua*, iudging that there was no better way to establish it, than by blazoning the *English Hierarchie*, and bringing the Prelates in hatred with the people, did in scurrilous maner spit out their slanderous venome against this *Hierarchie*, by certaine iniurious printed Bookes, which carryed the Titles of,

Martin Mar-Prelate, and other scandalous Bookes.

Martin Mar-Prelate, or

A Whip for the Prelates:

Minerales Diotrephes *demonstration of* Discipline, *&c.*

That the Authors of them seemed not to be professors of Pietie, but rather Roysters: neuertheleſſe, they were Ministers, the one was named *Penry*; and the other, *Vuedall*, and *Iob Throckmorton*, a learned man, but a merry conceited fellow, and had for their fautors or suppoſts, Sir *Richard Knightlie*, and Sir *R. Wigston*, worshipfull Knights, graue and prudent personages (who had beene seduced by like Ministers) & had bin fined deepe in the Starre-Chamber, in caſe the Arch-Bishop of *Canterburie*, according

to

To the *READER*.

MAruell not, READER, why I ſhould produce,
In the Omega of my Worke, excuſe,
And craue remiſſion of my errours paſt,
Leſt any *Zoylus* ſhould aſperſion caſt
On this my labours of-ſpring: but doe know,
Though I ſuch height of baſeneſſe will not ſhow,
To ſay all's bad, ſo my ambition is
No wayes ſo great, to ſay that nought's amiſſe:
The Sunne, ſometimes eclipſt, denyes his light;
So that the Day ſeemes turned into Night:
Faire *Venus* had a Mole vpon her Chinne;
The luckieſt Gameſter cannot alwayes winne:
The rareſt Man may erre, and tis moſt ſure,
There's none but GOD, that ſpotleſſe is and pure.
Then farre be ſuch a Philautie from mee,
To ſay that none, faults in this Worke can ſee.
'Twere ſtrange, if that a Strangers Penne, and Preſſe,
Should haue no faults, when beſt Workes haue no leſſe:
Then ſtay (raſh Cenſurer) and forbeare
To condemne all, though ſome miſtake be there.

A. D.

to his accuſtomed goodneſſe and mildeneſſe, had not with much adoe appeaſed the Queene.

Beginning of a great Rebellion in Ireland.

Whileſt theſe, I ſay, by ſlandering made way to this diſcipline, other companions in this their enterprize, in contempt of the Laws, began to put it in practice, in diuers corners of the Kingdome, holding Synods and Aſſemblies in certaine places, eſtabliſhing to that end Presbyteries, of which number *Thomas Cartwright*, *Edmund Snap*, *Andrew King*, *Proudlous*, *Pain*, and other Miniſters beeing committed, ſome turbulent ſpirits thought to haue reſcued them. But I leaue vnto the *Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorian*, the deſcription of the petulancy of theſe people, which was ſtayed by the wiſedome and patience of the Lords Archbiſhops, vnto whom the knowledge of that buſineſſe appertained.

Although that tempeſt which had thundered ſo loude, and with ſuch threatnings from out of *Spaine*, was now blowne ouer, yet fell there ſome little guſts, as reliques thereof in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and out of *England* vpon *Spaine*, ruſhed out a more grieuous, as anon wee ſhall declare. For, in *Ireland*, by reaſon that *Fitz-Williams*, the Lord Deputie, who made ſearch for all *Spaniſh* goods loſt by wrecke, did exact them with rigour, and by occaſion thereof, impriſoned ſome as fauourers of the *Spaniards*; amongſt other matters, occaſion was thence giuen & taken of all the troubles ſince hapning.

Ambaſſadour in Denmarke.

Daniel Rogers ſent into *Denmarke* to condole the death of *Frederick* the Second, and confirme the ancient alliances with his Succeſſour, treateth with the Curators of the Kingdome, to procure

THat *the* Danes *ſhould not beare Armes againſt the* Queene *in the ſeruice of any Enemies of her Kingdome. That they ſhould not grant permiſſion to ſtay Ships for particular faults,*

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in the straits of Denmarke *or* Seiland. *That the Iland-fishing, whereof the libertie was to be renewed euery seuen yeeres according to ancient order, might not be hindered by any new deuices. That the* English *might not pay any custome in the Sound, but at their returne from the* Baltique Sea, *nor in other Money than with that of* Denmarke. *That the proprietaries of the Ships should not be holden by the fraud or deceits of Pilots and Ship-masters. That the things wherewith Cloth are made vp, were free and exempted from paying any custome; and that the Tribute called* Last gelt, *should be forgiuen to the* English.

But these things were put off to another time, because of the Kings being vnder age: for the *Danes* were in some fashion ill pleased & discontēted with the *English*, for not passing then by the straits of *Denmarke*, going into *Russia*, but along the Coast of *Norwegue*, *Finmarck*, *Lappy*, *Scrufinic*, and *Biarmie*. But *Boris Theodoride* elected and chosen *Theodore Iahannide's* Successor to the Empire of *Russia*, who dyed vpon the beginning of this yeere, he mist no occasion to helpe and succour the *English*, purchasing carefully, by all meanes possible, the Royall amity of Queene ELIZABETH.

The Emperour of Russia most fauourable to the English.

FINIS.

Elliott M. bd

10/25/29

